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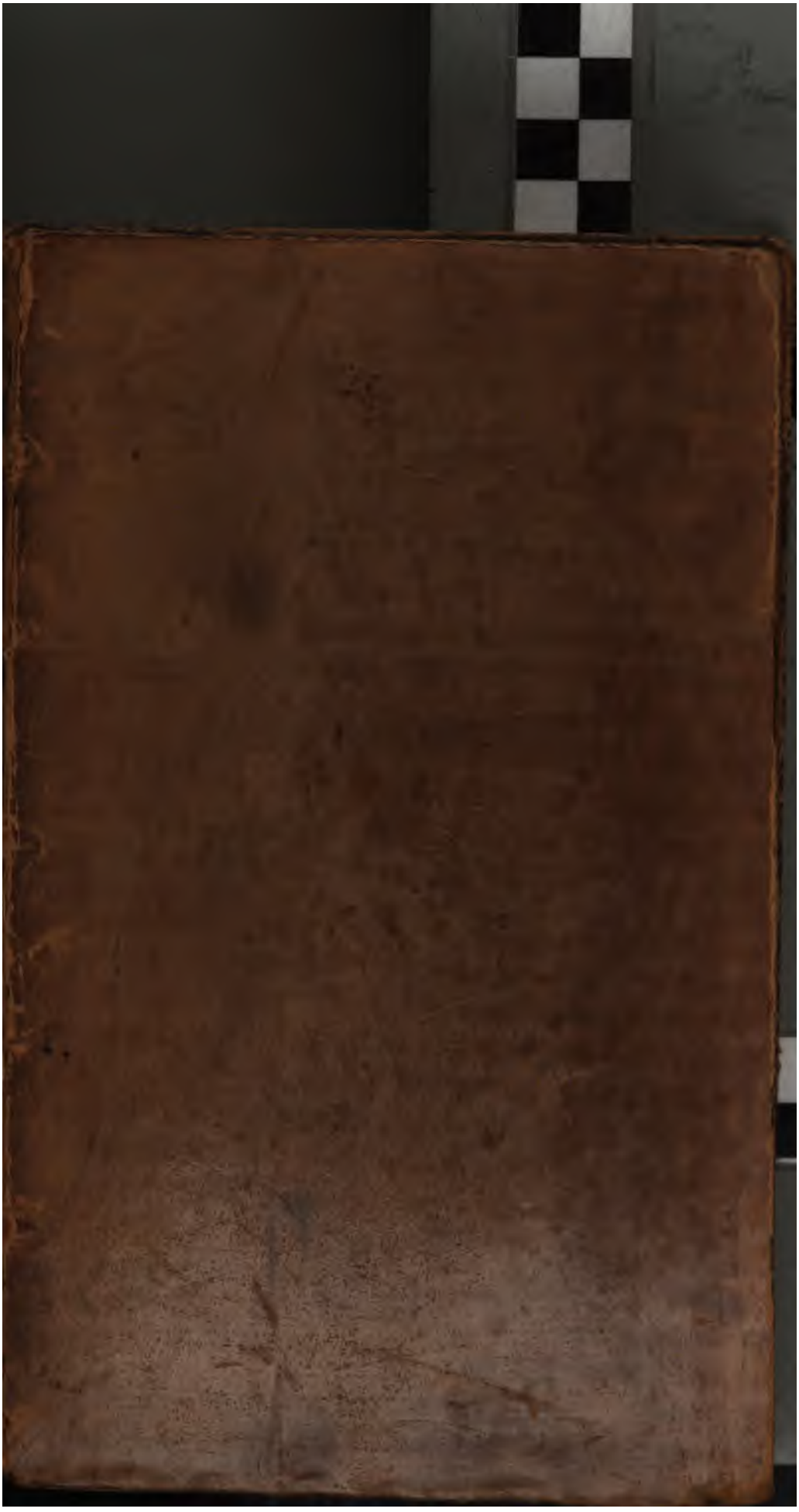

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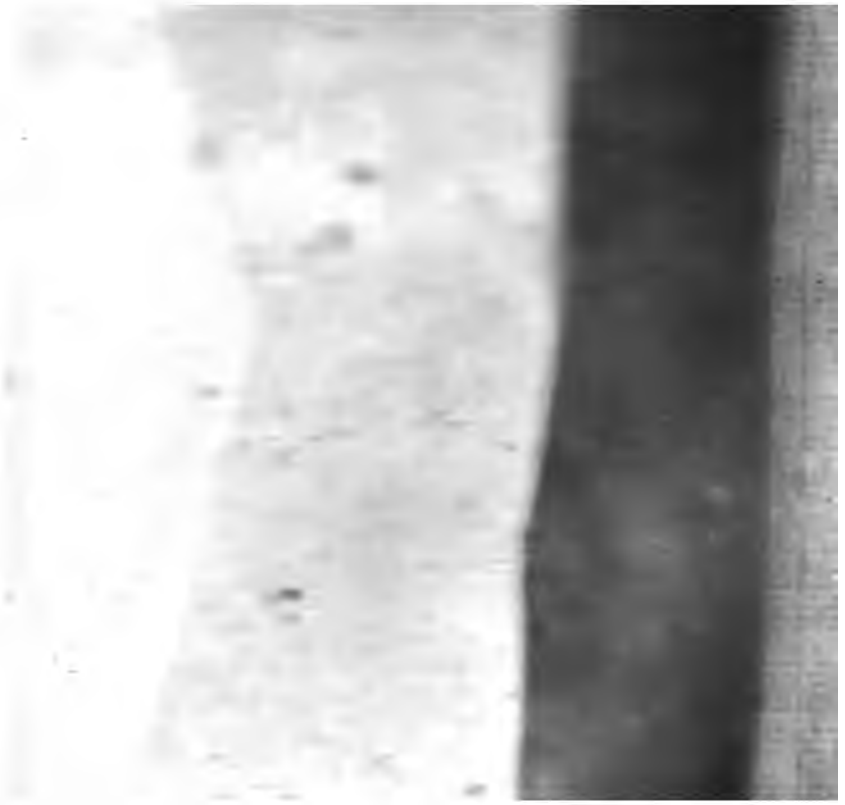

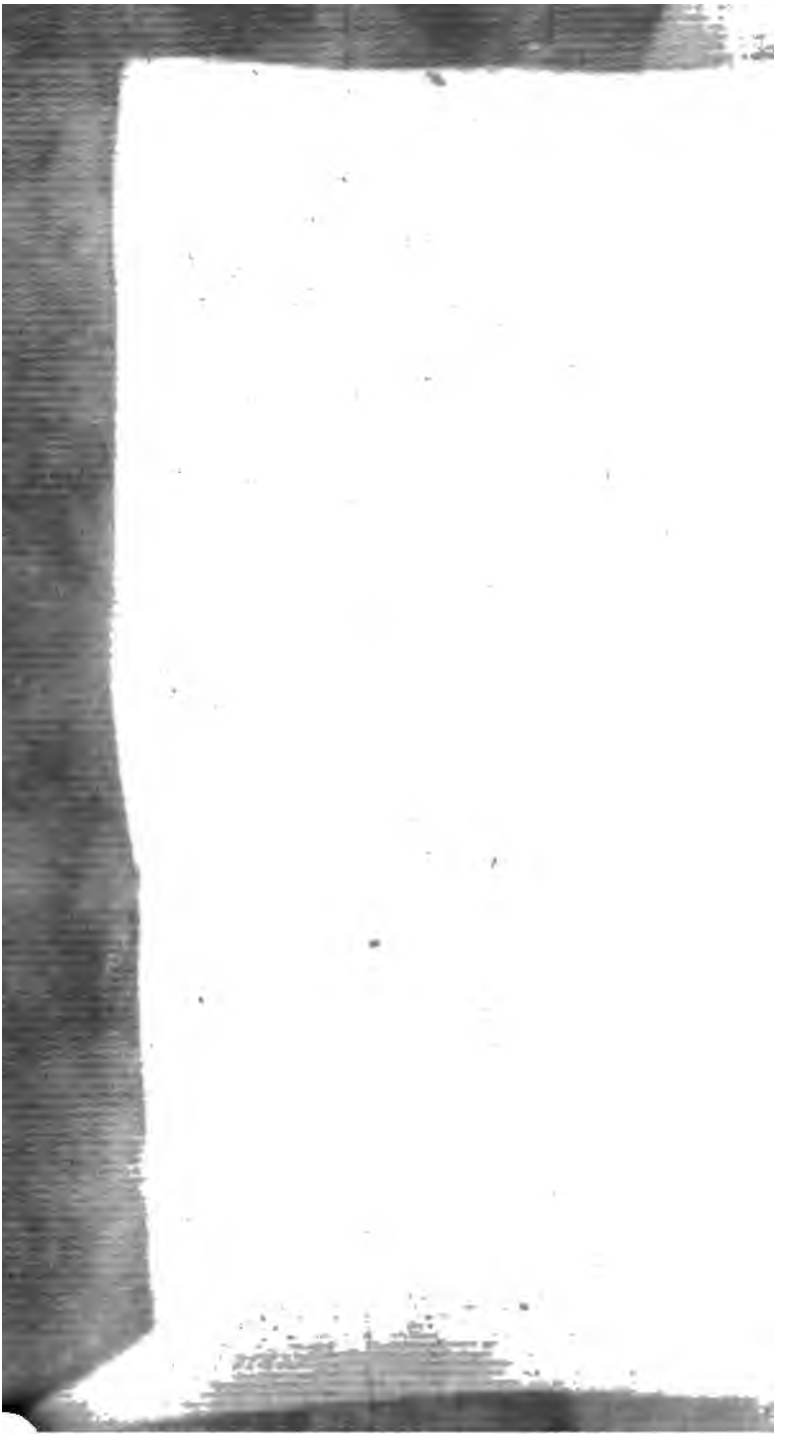

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. XXXI.

THE

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

Hiſtory of the UNITED PROVINCES, or Republic of HOLLAND.

SECT. I.

Containing a ſhort deſcription of Holland; *a character of the people*; *a view of the different departments of the republican government*; *of the commerce of the provinces*; *religion*, &c. &c.

A Variety of circumſtances conſpire in rendering the hiſtory of the *United Provinces* entertaining and inſtructive. The inhabitants of this country have ever been celebrated for their valour, their perſeverance, and love of liberty, which remain unaltered amidſt the viciſſitudes of time, and the moſt ſingular reverſes of fortune. The extraordinary revolutions, the complex form of the eſtabliſhed government, the opulence, commerce, artificial beauty, and other peculiarities of this country, as well as the induſtry, frugality, temperance, ſimplicity, and natural diſpoſition of the people, merit the utmoſt attention of the politician and philoſopher. It is not the

province of the hiſtorian to enter deeply upon ſuch reſearches; but our plan requires that we ſhould ſketch the outlines of the ſituation, conſtitution, and whatever regards the preſent ſtate of the country, previous to an hiſtorical detail.

Geography, ſituation, climate, &c. of the United Provinces.

The *United Provinces*, or *Republic of Holland*, conſiſts of the northern part of the *Netherlands*, bordered to the ſouth by *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Flemiſh Guelderland*, and the duchy of *Cleves*; on the eaſt, the frontiers extend to the territory of *Embden*, and the biſhopric of *Munſter*, while ſome portion of the northern ſkirts, and the whole weſtern coaſt, are waſhed by the *German* ocean; we include not the conqueſts of the *Republic*, which are precarious and eventual. The whole country is delightfully watered, and divided by large rivers, fine canals, and extenſive lakes, that preſent a ſcene exquiſitely beautiful and aſtoniſhing to the eye of a ſtranger. From this happy diſpoſition of land and water, *Holland* derives the utmoſt commercial advantages: domeſtic induſtry is promoted by the facility of carriage, and foreign trade abſolutely required from the ſmall proportion of fertile ſoil, to the number of inhabitants. No part of *Europe*, of the ſame extent, contains half the number of beautiful cities, towns, and villages, all diſtinguiſhed by an air of neatneſs peculiar to *Holland*. Every ſtreet, we may ſay every farm, is bordered by a canal; ſhips and houſes are almoſt every where blended together, and half the people ſeem to live upon the waters. Some inconveniencies however attend the natural ſituation of the provinces. To render the ſoil fertile, it is uſual at certain ſeaſons to open the ſluices, and overflow great part of the country; when the waters are drawn off, heaps of mud and ſlime remain, which impregnate the air with noxious exhalations, productive of various diſeaſes. This defect in the atmoſphere is however conſiderably corrected by frequent ſharp and keen eaſterly winds, that purify the air, but on account of their ſuddenneſs and ſeverity prove dangerous to the human conſtitution. Sir William Temple, an accurate obſerver, relates, that he has ſeen a moiſt hot ſouthern wind inſtantly yield to chilling eaſtern blaſts, without any intermediate temperature: in his own words, they ſucceed like the cold and hot fits of an ague. We may likewiſe reckon among the inconveniencies of *Holland*, the great obſtruction to commerce, from the long and rigorous froſts which entirely ſhut up the canals; and the extreme flatneſs of the lands, ſunk below the level of the

waters, and ſecured from inundations by vaſt dykes, kept in repair at a prodigious expence.[a]

As to the manners of the people, like thoſe of every other nation, they are influenced by the climate and the nature of the government. Cold, phlegmatic, uninventive, and brutal, they proſecute every meaſure with indefatigable perſeverance, and accompliſh the moſt arduous attempts, without a ſpark of genius, of liberality, or the true ſpirit of enterpriſe; by the ſingle virtue of patience they have become proficients in ſcience and the arts. *Holland* has produced poets, painters, and ſculptors; wits of the firſt claſs have ſtarted up, like grapes in *Siberia*, contrary to the uſual courſe of nature; but theſe are phenomena which appear with comets, only once in a century, to excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind. In general, every paſſion, every appetite, except that of gain, ſeems extinguiſhed; quarrels are ſeldom ſeen, unleſs occaſioned by drunkenneſs; jealouſy is never felt, and love unknown among *Dutchmen*. The dulneſs and inſenſibility of the *Batavians* became proverbial among the ancients; their deſcendants are no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the moderns for their want of feeling, of refinement, and of paſſion. The reader will form a ſufficient idea of the national character from a ſingle obſervation of Sir *William Temple*. "I have "known, ſays that ingenious writer, a man employed "four and twenty years about the making and perfecting a "globe, and another thirty in the inlaying of a table."[b] In a word, invincible patience, and an invariable attachment to ſelf-intereſt, are the lineaments that diſtinguiſh and mark the character of a *Hollander*. *Spain* has had proofs of their courage, *France* has experienced their arrogance, and *Great Britain* ſtill bears ſhameful and unrevenged marks of their avarice and cruelty. *Character of the People.*

The government of the republic has in it ſomething no leſs peculiar than the temper of the inhabitants; we can indeed eaſily trace the latter in the former. Caution and phlegmatic prudence appear in their tedious deliberations, a ſolicitous regard to freedom in every part of the conſtitution; compoſed of ſeven ſovereign provinces, each enjoying its own independent privileges, the ſtate may be termed a confederacy, united by one common *Government of the cities.*

[a] Le Clerc, Hiſt. Pref. 2. Temple on the Netherlands, chap. iii. [b] Id. ibid. Basnage, Hiſt. paſſim. Volt. Siecle, tom. i.

intereſt, and founded upon the league formed at *Utrecht*, to oppoſe the tyranny and oppreſſion of *Philip* II. *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Overyſſel*, *Groningen*, and *Frieſland*, are all ſeparate republics, acknowledging no authority, ſubordinate to no other power than that veſted in their particular ſtates; even the provinces are divided into ſmaller republics. Every city poſſeſſes certain ſovereign privileges; and in the provincial ſtates reſolutions are formed, not by a majority, but concurrence of voices. The provincial ſtates cannot ſeize an offender, pardon a crime, or frame laws, within the juriſdiction of a city. Every thing relative to itſelf, and unconnected with the reſt of the provinces, is tranſacted by its own magiſtrates: for inſtance, the ſovereign authority reſides in the ſenate of each city; the office of ſenator continues for life, and formerly the members of this ſupreme court were elected by the freemen and burghers: now the power of filling vacant places is in the ſtanding ſenate; whence the government of each city is ariſtocratical. From this it may be ſuppoſed, that the people have abſolutely ſurrendered their privileges; but when we conſider the check given to this oligarchy by the annual burgomaſters, the ſmall emolument of office, the ſimplicity required in magiſtrates, their numerous connections with the body of the people, we ſhall find that liberty is ſtrictly guarded, while the inconveniencies of tumultuous aſſemblies are avoided. It would be deſcending to a tedious minuteneſs to enter upon a deſcription of each particular city-office; ſufficient it is, that burgomaſters are elected by a majority of voices in the ſenate; that they preſide by turns, that they repreſent the dignity of the government, and ſupport the honour of the city upon all occaſions; that they diſpoſe of all inferior offices, iſſue out money from the common treaſury, for the ſafety, convenience, and all the expences of the city. Great truſt, dignity, and authority, are annexed to this office; yet the ſalary ſcarce amounts to 60l. *per annum*; nor do the burgomaſters aſſume more ſtate than ordinary citizens in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their domeſtic conduct.[c]

Provincial ſtates. The provincial ſtates are compoſed of deputies choſen by the ſenate. Here is lodged the ſovereign power, and in certain caſes an appeal from the city-judicatures. The reader will entertain a clearer idea of the whole, by tra-

[c] Ubi ſupra.

cing

cing the regulations of a particular province. In *Holland* the ſovereignty of the province is repreſented by nineteen deputies, choſen out of the nobility, the ſenators, and magiſtrates; the nobles have only one voice, the cities eighteen, according to the number called *Stemms*. *Amſterdam* has but a ſingle voice in the ſtates, and the ſmalleſt city in the province enjoys the ſame prerogative. Though the nobility poſſeſs but one vote in the ſtates, yet is their influence very conſiderable, having in their hands the vaſt employments civil and military, the direction of the eccleſiaſtical revenue, the right of ſending deputies to the ſtates general, and the nomination of a counſellor in the two ſupreme courts of judicature. The votes and ſentiments of the nobility are delivered by the penſioner of *Holland*, who aſſiſts at all the previous deliberations. Notwithſtanding the vaſt credit of the penſioner's office, he is but the ſervant of the province, and takes place behind all the deputies; yet from the perpetual duration of his employment, the ſeat he holds in the ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, his collecting opinions, digeſting reſolutions, propoſing all ſubjects of deliberation, and, above all, aſſuming a power to determine whether any important affair, on which the benefit or prejudice of the ſtate highly depends, ſhall be concluded by a majority of voices, give the penſioner the utmoſt conſequence in the republic. This is the general ſcheme of government in all the provinces; but with certain peculiarities in each, for which the reader muſt conſult political writers. There is no certain rule for the ſitting of the ſtates in all the provinces; in *Holland* they aſſemble at the *Hague* in the months of *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*: in the three firſt ſeſſions all vacancies are filled up, forms renewed, and taxes adjuſted; in a word, the general good and regulation of the province is debated: the laſt ſitting is expreſsly ſet aſide for determining the proportion of charges, to be ſupported by the province, with reſpect to the whole republic. On extraordinary occaſions, the provincial ſtates are convoked by the commiſſioned counſellors, or *Gecommiteerde Raaden*, properly a provincial council of ſtate, compoſed of a deputy from the nobles, one from each of the chief cities, and one from every three of the leſſer towns. This council ſits conſtantly at the *Hague*, prepares buſineſs for the provincial ſtates, and executes their reſolutions. The general revenues of the provinces are managed by a chamber of accounts, who, beſides this truſt, have the abſolute direc-

tion of the ancient demeſnes, without being queſtioned by the ſtates. A number of inferior regulations and circumſtances peculiar to each province take place; but it is our deſign to exhibit only the general plan of the ſeveral departments that compoſe the republic.[d]

States General.

We come now to the union of the ſeven ſovereign provinces, which may aptly be compared to the league of ſeveral princes, formed for their mutual ſecurity, repoſe, and defence: each preſerves his own ſovereignty, while he enters upon certain engagements peculiar to the confederacy; they are united into one body by treaty, but they are ſeparated by their particular privileges: no one has the right of impoſing laws, or interfering in the government of another; but he is abſolute in what does not reſpect the league, and within his own juriſdiction. Some politicians have ſuppoſed the ſtates general poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority, becauſe they are compoſed of deputies from the provinces that form the republic, and receive foreign ambaſſadors; but it muſt be conſidered, that the office of deputy continues but for a limited time, that the periods of their deputation are fixed by the provinces, and that they are incapable of coming to any reſolution without conſulting their conſtituents, and receiving their authority: out of the deputies are formed three ſeveral colleges, the ſtates general, the council of ſtate, and the chamber of accounts, which are to the republic in general, or the union of the ſeven provinces, what the departments of the ſame names are to each province. To the ſtates general, the provinces ſend two or more members at pleaſure; by this no variation is made in the determinations of the ſtates, as reſolutions are formed upon the votes of the provinces, and not the voices of the deputies. Should a province ſend twenty deputies, ſtill it poſſeſſes but one voice. Almoſt all the provinces differ in the time limited to their deputies; one ſends for a year, another for more, and ſome for life. *Holland* ſends to the ſtates general one of her nobles, who is perpetual, two deputies from the eight principal towns of the province, one from *North Holland*, two from the provincial council of ſtate, and the penſioner. Every province preſides in turn for a week, and is repreſented by the perſon beſt qualified among her deputies. This preſident is ſeated at the middle of a long table, the *greffier*

[d] BASNAGE, cap. iv. Introduction. TEMPLE, cap. ii. LE CLERC, p. 3. Pref.

or

or ſecretary at the bottom; and a foreign ambaſſador admitted to an audience, takes his place oppoſite to the preſident. The greffier, by order of the preſident, reads all papers, propoſes the queſtion, calls the votes; then the preſident concludes; or ſhould he refuſe determining by a plurality, his place is filled up by the preſident of the enſuing week. In this channel do all common affairs flow; but in caſes of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raiſing or coining money, or where the privileges of the provinces are concerned, then each diſtinct province or member of the union muſt be conſulted, his aſſent procured, and nothing determined by majority. Never but in one inſtance has this conſtitution been infringed. In the year 1668, Sir *William Temple* was diſpatched by *Charles* II. to form the triple alliance; in executing this commiſſion, the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch were neceſſary: had the buſineſs paſſed through the uſual forms, the ſcheme of the alliance would have been fruſtrated by foreign miniſters, whoſe duty and intereſt it was to oppoſe it. Engaging the voice of one city would have effectually baffled all the ſchemes of the *Britiſh* miniſter; but he had the ability and addreſs ſo powerfully to enforce the neceſſity of expedition, that the ſtates general concluded three treaties, formed and ſigned inſtruments in the ſpace of five days, without conſulting the provinces, agreeable to the eſſential laws of their conſtitution. In this, however, the deputies hazarded their lives; for had the provinces diſapproved their proceedings, their heads would have been the forfeit.[e].

Council of ſtate.

Another department relative to the general union of the provinces, is the council of ſtate, compoſed of deputies from each province; here the number deputed is fixed and invariable. *Holland* ſends three; *Guelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, two each; *Frieſland*, *Overyſſel*, and *Groningen*, a deputy for each province; the whole council amounting to twelve members. Matters are concluded by the perſonal, not the provincial voices; and every deputy has his turn in preſiding. Formerly the power of aſſembling the ſtates general reſided in this council; it alſo repreſented the ſtates general during their receſs, executed their reſolutions, and judged of the neceſſity of their meeting. At the earl of *Leiceſter*'s reſignation, the provincial ſtates obtained a power of continuing the ſtates general by their conſtant reſpective deputies, under pretence of the too

[e] Auct. citat ibid.

great authority reſiding in the council of ſtate, who to prolong and augment their own power ſeldom convoked the ſtates general. At preſent the buſineſs of the council of ſtate may be reduced to five claſſes; their deliberations regarding the ſecurity, defence, and protection of the ſtate; and the operations of the war: the orders for marching the troops, the regulation of military diſcipline, the ſuperintendance of the fortifications, magazines, &c. and the adminiſtration of the finances, and proportions of the ſeveral provinces to ſupport the general expence of government. With reſpect to the operations of war, the council always conſults with the ſtates general, except when profound ſecrecy and diſpatch are required. The power of the council over the fortifications extends only to thoſe places conquered ſince the union of *Utrecht*, and the provinces of *Overyſſel* and *Guelderland*, which are deemed the frontiers. In a word, this council ſuperintends the army, the garriſons, the public revenues, and the contributions raiſed in the enemy's country. At the cloſe of the year it forms a ſketch of the ſupplies for the current year, which it preſents by way of petition to the ſtates general; implying by the name, a requeſt rather than a demand upon the provinces, with which they may either comply or not, as they ſee reaſonable. Beſides the deputies, the ſtadtholder has a ſeat and vote in this council; but he is excluded the preſidency: at preſent the treaſurer-general has a ſeat, but only a deliberative voice. We need not enter into particulars; enough has been ſaid to point out the nature of this department.[f]

Chamber of accounts. To eaſe the council of ſtate, and ſupport a part of the load of public buſineſs, the chamber of accounts was erected by conſent of the ſeven united provinces: its firſt inſtitution was in the year 1607, it was confirmed in 1622, and conſiderably extended in 1651. It is compoſed of two deputies from each province, making in all fourteen. It ſtates and examines the accounts of all the receivers, paſſes the accounts of the admiralty, and regiſters the orders of the council of ſtate, with reſpect to the finances.[g]

Council of admiralty. We ſhall conclude our deſcription of the government of the *United Provinces*, with mentioning one more department of conſiderable importance; we mean the council of admiralty, in which the abſolute direction of naval affairs

[f] Id. ibid. [g] BASNAGE, cap. xiii.

reſides;

reſides. When the ſtates general, by advice of the council of ſtate, has deſtined a fleet upon any enterpriſe, and determined its force and number, all the reſt devolves upon the admiralty, which is divided into five departments, or different councils, cemented however by certain bonds of union. The province of *Holland* enjoys the benefit of three of theſe courts, *Zealand* has one, and *Frieſland* another: each is compoſed of ſeven deputies, four choſen out of the province where the council reſides, and three nominated by the other provinces. Here the admiral, or, in his abſence, the vice-admiral preſides. Beſides the care of equipping fleets, and iſſuing out money for naval ſervices, the admiralty has a judicative power, taking cognizance of all crimes, frauds, and piracies committed on the high ſeas; or in the payment or collection of the duties upon merchandiſe. The revenue ariſing from commerce is wholly appropriated to the purpoſes of the navy. One circumſtance of a very extraordinary nature, that fully diſplays the precaution of the government againſt corruption, or bias from conſanguinity, or other attachments, is, that no perſon related in the third degree, influenced by dependence or obligation, can ever be deputed members of the admiralty. This is an indiſpenſible law, and deemed ſo eſſential, that all petitions for its abolition have been conſtantly rejected. When a deputy is appointed, he muſt ſwear before the ſtates general, that he was elected by fair ſuffrage, without the leaſt exertion of undue influence or corruption, bribes or promiſes; that he will religiouſly obey the orders iſſued out by the ſtates general, in concurrence with the provincial ſtates; in a word, that he will promote, with all his ability, the general good of his country, without favour or attachment to any particular province.[h]

Of the dignity of ſtadtholder.

THE dignity of ſtadtholder, though not eſſential to the government of the republic, is however ſo important to its ſecurity, upon certain occaſions, that it ought not to be omitted in a deſcription of the political machine. This ſovereign office would ſeem to owe its birth to the nature of the government, in which all deliberations are ſo tedious, as frequently to endanger the ſtate. To remedy this defect, a ſtadtholder was created in *Holland*, as formerly a dictator at *Rome*, to anſwer preſent exigencies, and expedite meaſures. In the long war with *Philip* II. the infant republic

[h] BASNAGE, cap. XXXV.

ſtood

ſtood in want of a head to ſupport tottering liberty, and oppoſe the powerful efforts of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *William* I. prince of *Orange*, appeared of all men the beſt calculated to anſwer the purpoſes of the republic. He was then governor of three provinces, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, his ability confeſſed; his deteſtation of tyranny, and ardent love of freedom, had rendered him the darling of the people. He had expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers in the public ſervice; he had formed the nobleſt deſigns, and executed them with a vigour and intrepidity, that juſtly entitled him to the character of a patriot, hero, and ſtateſman. Theſe qualities, and the neceſſities of the ſtate, raiſed *William* to the dignity of ſtadtholder, with the following rights and privileges annexed. He was captain-general of the forces of the republic, by ſea and land; he diſpoſed of all commiſſions in the army and navy; he directed the operations of war, and led the troops in battle; he had a ſeat, but not a voice, in the ſtates-general; he was preſident of the council of ſtate; but to retrench his authority, and ſet bounds to the extenſion of the ſtadtholder's power, a council was given him, compoſed of deputies, from the ſtates-general, and the council of ſtate, who attended him into the field, and concerted with him all the operations of the campaign. Such was the origin, and ſuch the authority veſted in the ſtadtholder. We ſhall have occaſion to mention further particulars in the courſe of our narrative; what ſtrange revolutions, tumults, and diſſenſions this dignity produced; how it was aboliſhed by a perpetual edict, and afterwards made hereditary in the illuſtrious houſe of *Orange*[1].

Of the commerce of the United Provinces.

WHATEVER ſurprize the texture of this conſtitution, the nature of the country, and the diſpoſition of the people, may excite, we ſhall find ſtill greater cauſe of aſtoniſhment in the prodigious commercial power and wealth of the *United Provinces*. Politicians remark, that the moſt fruitful countries are ſeldom the richeſt. The neceſſaries of life ſhooting up almoſt ſpontaneouſly, render the toil and labour of the inhabitants unneceſſary. This damps the ſpirit of enterpriſe, checks that ardour excited by neceſſity, and renders mankind indolent, becauſe they can live without induſtry or danger. In the poverty of the *United Provinces* we ſhall find the cauſes of the vaſt ſtrides they made to opulence and grandeur. The country, in a manner, pro-

[1] BASNAGE, cap. xiv. de Chron. introd. p. 8.

duces

duces nothing but paſture; at leaſt the produce is very inadequate to the number of inhabitants, and the immenſe concourſe of cities, towns, and villages. Of the ſeven, only three are maritime provinces, and fit for the purpoſes of commerce. Not a ſingle material for ſhip-building is the growth of the *Netherlands*; the *Dutch* are forced to penetrate almoſt to the frigid zone for the fundamental requiſites of navigation. Even the harbours of the *United Provinces* are incommodious. The diſadvantages of the *Texel* are well known. At *Helvoetſluys* nature has formed a large baſon of water, defended from ſtorms by a variety of little encircling iſlands; but acceſs is rendered difficult and dangerous by large ſand-banks and ridges, that cannot be paſſed without pilots. The harbour of *Fluſhing*, though it has ſome advantages, is greatly expoſed to ſtorms and tempeſts. From *Poland*, and other northern countries, the *Dutch*, for a long time, drew the neceſſaries of life. Still they are ſupported in theſe by dint of traffic. No country in *Europe* is ſo loaded with taxes. Every commodity, every neceſſary, pays a duty, to ſupport the unavoidable expences of the government. War, the cruelleſt enemy to induſtry, has proved friendly to *Holland*. During a bloody conteſt, that continued forty years, the republic attained to the higheſt pitch of grandeur. Under ſuch inauſpicious circumſtances did this common-wealth launch out in the purſuit of commerce and navigation. The civil wars in *France*, the troubles in *Germany*, and the religious perſecutions in every part, crouded the *Provinces* with ingenious mechanics and artiſts; becauſe here they might practiſe the dictates of conſcience, and enjoy the fruits of induſtry, in ſecurity and repoſe. New manufactures were every day erected; and trades, too big for the wealth of individuals, conducted to advantage by joint ſtocks. The deſtruction of *Antwerp* was the greateſt advantage to *Holland*; it opened markets, before wholly engroſſed by that opulent city. When *Philip* II. came into poſſeſſion of *Portugal*, he prohibited the inhabitants from trading with his rebellious ſubjects of the *United Provinces*. This, inſtead of anſwering the king's deſign, proved highly beneficial to the republic. It gave ſpur to her induſtry, and forced her to attempt a trade directly with the *Eaſt-Indies*. The *India* commerce was put into the hands of a company, and managed with ſo much prudence, induſtry, and œconomy, that, in the ſpace of ſix years, a capital of ſix hundred thouſand pounds was increaſed to ſix millions ſterling, after clearing all charges

charges and expences. After this, the company roſe with inconceivable rapidity for a number of years; and though the profits have been long diminiſhed, yet, in point of wealth, dominion, and real power, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company is now infinitely beyond any other commercial eſtabliſhment, and a potent ſtate of itſelf, taken independant of the republic of the *United Provinces*. The governor-general of *Batavia* has the court, the ſtate, ſplendor, and appointments of a ſovereign prince. He makes war and peace at pleaſure; can aſſemble an army, upon the ſhorteſt notice, of thirty thouſand men; and equip a fleet of fifty ſail of the line, without building a ſingle veſſel[k]. The ſucceſs of the fiſheries, of the *Levant* trade, begun under the auſpices of *Henry* IV. of *France*, and of the *Eaſt-India* company, gave birth to a company for conducting the trade to the *Weſt-Indies*; which ſet out with an unexpected tide of fortune, and would have aſcended by continued progreſſion, had not the large dividends made, the eager purſuit of conqueſt, and the neglect of the regular courſe of traffic, ruined that commerce. The *Dutch* were driven out of the *Braſils*, whence the *Portugueſe* drew ſuch immenſe treaſures. Still, however, the *Weſt-India* company is poſſeſſed of ſeveral important ſettlements in *Africa*, of ſome valuable iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, of the profitable eſtabliſhment at *Surinam*, and of ſeveral late-eſtabliſhed factories on the continent of *South America*. We have elſewhere treated ſo largely of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* commerce, that to add would be to render it prolix. Upon the whole, next to that of *Great-Britain*, the trade of the *United Provinces* is certainly the greateſt; and that of the *India* company alone equal in value to half the commerce of *Europe*. As to the preſent low condition of *Holland*, as a maritime power, her temporizing, ſhuffling, and ſupine indolence, we ſhall advance no conjectures. We take up the pen as hiſtorians, not as profeſſed political writers.

Of the religion of the United Provinces.

To conclude this ſketch of the preſent ſtate of the *United Provinces*, we ſhall ſubjoin a few remarks on religion, the remote cauſe of the grandeur of the republic. The reſtraint on conſcience, the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, and the bloody perſecution of heretics, excited the revolt of the *Provinces*, in the reign of *Philip* II. The reformiſts were unanimous only in denying the papal ſupremacy, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition

[k] BASNAGE, cap. xxxvi. Univ. Hiſt. vol. x. book xiv.

to

to that of ſcripture. In a variety of other circumſtances they differed, particularly with reſpect to diſcipline. Every leading doctor formed a ſect; and religious ſectaries became as numerous in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, as ſcholars of rival ſchools had ever been in *Greece*. All were equally obnoxious to the apoſtolic ſee, and the profeſſors of the popiſh doctrines. They were ſtigmatized with the name of heretics, perſecuted by the ſword in this world, and damned to eternal perdition in the next. This indiſcriminate perſecution of the ſchiſmatics and reformiſts ſeems to have firſt ſuggeſted the idea of a toleration of conſcience in the *Seven Provinces*. The multitudes of ſectaries from *Germany* and *France*, that had taken refuge in the *Netherlands*, before the perſecution commenced in this quarter, and the neceſſity of exerting every means to oppoſe the tyranny of *Philip*, after the arrival of the duke of *Alva*, in quality of governor, rendered an union of all the different ſects, for their mutual defence, almoſt unavoidable. Accordingly, at the union of the *Seven Provinces*, by the treaty ſigned at *Utrecht*, every province was left at liberty to regulate the affairs of religion in the manner moſt conducive to her intereſt; but with this expreſs proviſo, that no man ſhould be oppreſſed on account of his particular tenets, and that all ſhould remain free and unreſtrained in points of conſcience. It is true, the ſuperiority in point of numbers, of the *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans*, procured an act, in the year 1583, declaring the evangelical religion the public belief, and enjoining that this only ſhould be profeſſed in the *Seven Provinces*; but policy has induced the government to wink at infractions of this ordinance; to favour no curious inquiries into the faith of any man; to offer no violence to conſcience; and to afford the protection of the laws to every induſtrious ſubject, whoſe opinions break not out into expreſſions and actions prejudicial to ſociety. The Roman catholic religion alone is excepted from this common protection; while *Jews*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Arminians*, *Browniſts*, and *Familiſts*, are allowed the exerciſe of their ſeveral doctrines. At *Amſterdam* every ſect known in *Europe*, almoſt in the whole world, hath its public meetings. The *Calviniſts* however compoſe the body of the people. They are poſſeſſed of all the authoriſed churches in the dominions of the republic, and their clergy alone are maintained by the public, by certain ſalaries paid them by the ſtate, without tythes, lands, or contributions on the people. Thus, freedom of ſentiment

ſentiment has rendered the country populous, and ſoftened all that theological acrimony and rancour that diſturbs the tranquility of other nations, poiſons ſociety, and produces effects the moſt oppoſite to the dictates of true religion. Ambition and faction are here diſabled from concealing their ſeditious deſigns and ſelfiſh views under the cloak of religion. In *Holland*, the difference of religion makes none in affection; *Jews* and *Chriſtians* live in the ſtricteſt ties of amity; they argue without reſentment, they diſſent without enmity, and they agree without confederacy; all from the freedom of the conſtitution, and the coldneſs of the paſſions. All are citizens aſſociated by the bands of ſociety and government, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of arts, induſtry, and genius; and equal freedom of ſentiment, ſpeculation, and inquiry. Whoever requires more, may be juſtly ſuſpected of ſecret deſigns, ariſing from other motives than religion; or, at the beſt, he muſt be deemed unreaſonable and narrow-minded [1].

SECT. II.

Containing the ancient ſtate of the Seven United Provinces. *The revolutions which firſt reduced them under the dominion of the houſe of* Burgundy, *and afterwards of the houſe of* Auſtria, *&c. &c.*

Ancient Hiſtory of Batavia.

FOR many ages the *Low Countries* have been the theatre of war, and ſcene of bloody battles. No ſoil in *Europe* has been ſo drenched with human gore, owing partly to the obſtinate valour of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the ambition of the neighbouring princes. The natives of the country now compoſing the republic, ever aſpired at liberty and military glory; the one they regarded as eſſential to the ſecurity of the other. *Julius Cæſar*, having experienced the valour of the *Batavians*, employed them ſucceſsfully againſt the *Gauls*; they every where routed and diſperſed that ferocious and warlike people [a]. The *Batavian* cavalry bore the higheſt reputation, and the infantry fought with the ſame order, diſcipline, and intrepidity in the marſhes and waters, as upon firm land: even the *Romans* dreaded their reſentment [b]. They became the body-

[1] BASNAGE, cap. xxxix. TEMPLE, chap. v. [a] JUL. Cæs. Comment. lib. vii. [b] TACIT. Hiſt. lib. v.

guard;

guards of the emperors, who repoſed equal confidence in their fidelity and courage; *Galba* diſmiſſed them from this truſt, but with marks of favour and eſteem. In all important expeditions, in every dangerous enterprize, where obſtinate boldneſs was required, the *Batavians* were ſelected, as troops already ſufficiently approved. They generally compoſed the forlorn hope of the *Roman* army, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the enemy, and made the firſt attack with an impetuoſity peculiar to themſelves. *Vitellius* was ſo ſenſible that the fate of the empire depended on the *Batavian* cohorts, that, apprehenſive of irritating them, he releaſed their general, who had been confined for high crimes and miſdemeanors [c]. They were exempt from tributes and impoſts, in conſequence of bearing the honourable title of allies to the empire. Afterwards they obtained the appellation of the friends and brethren of the *Romans*; but this was particularly applicable to the inhabitants of *Betaw*, an iſland formed by the *Rhine* and *Vahal*, or *Wahaal*. The government of this people ſeems to have been monarchical; and it is conjectured, that *Clodius Civilis* is deſcended from their kings; *Civilis*, that hero whoſe patriot eloquence rouſed the *Batavians* to throw off the *Roman* ſubjection; whoſe courage obtained many victories over the *Roman* general *Cerealis*; and whoſe valour ſhone more conſpicuous and bright in adverſity, after he had been defeated by the *German* legions. We know little more of the ancient hiſtory of the *Batavians*, than that the fierce and warlike ſpirit of the people obliged the *Romans* to maintain ſtrong garriſons on the banks of the *Rhine*; that they revolted againſt *Conſtantine*; that they performed ſignal ſervices to *Theodoſius* in *Britain*; and that, with the reſt of the empire, they fell under the power of the *Francs*; were governed by *Charlemagne*, and his deſcendants, until, upon the decline of that houſe, the great lords and officers of the crown, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the reigning princes, rendered their governments hereditary in their families (A).

AFTER the fall of *Charlemagne*'s empire, the provinces of the *Netherlands* experienced frequent revolutions. Some-

[c] SUETON. in Galb. TACIT. lib. vii.

(A) For the ancient hiſtory of the *Batavians*, and other inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, the reader may conſult the 14th, 15th, and 19th volumes of our Ancient Hiſtory. We have pretended to exhibit no more than a few ſtriking features, to render the Modern Hiſtory more complete and uniform.

times

times they were diſtinct and independent on each other; at other times they were united in one monarchy under the ſame prince. Some provinces had their kings, ſome were under the government of dukes, and others of counts. *Friſeland* might be termed a kingdom; *Brabant*, and *Guelderland*, dukedoms; and *Holland*, and *Flanders*, counties, or earldoms. *Utrecht* was a biſhopric, the prelates of which became generals and ſovereigns, wielding the ſword and ſcepter oftener than the croſier. We ſhall exhibit ſuch an imperfect ſketch of the government of the *Provinces* under the period we are mentioning, as hiſtory authoriſes[d].

Hiſtory of the Counts of Holland.

FORMERLY the frontiers of the province of *Holland* were more confined than at preſent. The *Friſons* encroached upon one quarter, and the biſhop of *Utrecht* on the other. Poſſibly indeed the provinces of *Holland* and *Groningen* were not at that time ſeparated by that immenſe bay called the *Zuyder-Zee*[e]. All that tract of land, now overflowed by the ſea, might formerly have conſiſted of low, ſwampy marſhes. This is the conjecture of Sir *William Temple*; and it ſeems corroborated by obſervation, and the great number of iſlands and ſand-banks that block up the paſſage into the bay. However this may be, we have the teſtimony of *John of Leyden*, that *Holland* contained only four cities, *Dordrecht*, *Haarlem*, *Leyden*, and *Delft*, at the cloſe of the 11th century. Hiſtorians are unanimous, that *Thieri*, general to *Charles the Bald*, was the firſt count of *Holland*. He was inveſted in that dignity by the ſovereign, againſt the inclinations of the people, who hazarded a battle, and were defeated in the field, in defence of their liberties. Afterwards they revolted, forced *Thieri* to take refuge with his king, and were a ſecond time conquered, and forced to ſubmit. To confirm the count in his new dignity, and ſecure him againſt future rebellions, *Charles* put to death every man who poſſeſſed any authority in the country[f]. It is farther aſſerted, that *Lewis*, brother to *Charles*, inveſted the ſame *Thieri* in the province of *Zealand*; yet it is more conſiſtent with the known policy of *Charles* and *Lewis*, to ſuppoſe that *Thieri* only acted as his governor, or lieutenant. Of the immediate ſucceſſors of this count we know nothing. Some hiſtorians ſpeak of a *Thieri*, marquis of *Vluerding*, ſuppoſed to be the deſcendant of the firſt count of *Holland*. His ambition drew him into a war

A. D. 868.

[d] JOH. LEYDEN. l. v. c. 4. [e] HERMAN. ad ann. 1047. [f] JOH. LEYDEN. l. vi. c. 2, 3, 4.

with

with the emperor *Henry*, out of which his ſpirited conduct extricated him with honour and advantage. He afterwards, by accident, killed in a tournament the brother of the biſhops of *Liege* and *Cologne*, which again involved him in a war. The enraged prelates entered *Holland*, laying waſte all before them, and reduced *Dordrecht*. *Thieri* met them, gave battle, and defeated them; but died of a wound received from a poiſoned arrow [g]. His brother *Florence* ſucceeded to his territories, and with them inherited the war againſt the biſhops, who had levied freſh forces, and again invaded *Holland*. They were defeated by the new count, who did not long ſurvive his victory. In the purſuit he was wounded, and expired a few days after. It is not improbable, that the *Thieri* we have been laſt mentioning was the firſt count of *Holland*, notwithſtanding the expreſs aſſertions of ſome writers to the contrary; and that the dominion of that province was obtained, not by gift, but by conqueſt. Both *Thieri* and his brother *Florence* were ambitious, warlike princes: it is allowed, they greatly extended their territories, and it is not improbable, they incurred the reſentment of the emperor, by denying his ſovereignty over the province of *Holland*. *Florence* dying, during the minority of his children, *Gertrude*, his widow, took the government into her hands, and conducted the reins with ſo much addreſs, that ſhe obtained a peace equally advantageous and honourable. Young *Thieri*, ſon of *Florence*, was frequently moleſted during his tutelage by *William* biſhop of *Utrecht*. As ſoon as he came of age, he fully avenged the inſults committed by this ambitious and perfidious prelate. We know nothing further of his government, nor indeed of the counts of *Holland*, until the province came under the dominion of the houſe of *Burgundy*. We are only told, that they were engaged in conſtant wars with their neighbours and powerful vaſſals, who were eternally ſtirring up factions, and exciting revolts, in hopes of recovering their liberty. In a civil war *Florence* IV. loſt his life, being beſieged, and taken in his own caſtle, by the lords of *Egmond*, *Brederode*, *Amſtel*, and *Waerden*. His ſon *John* fell a victim to the turbulent and ſeditious humour of his ſubjects, notwithſtanding he had ſacrificed his prime miniſter *Boerſelen*, to appeaſe their reſentment [h].

A. D. 1047.

1062.

THOUGH the dignity of count was hereditary, yet before they entered upon the government, the approbation of the barons, the chief lords, and the people, was required, to whom they ſwore religiouſly to obſerve all their rights and

[g] HERMAN. Chron. 141. [h] Chron. Belgic. p. 120.

privileges. On their acceſſion, the counts made a circuit to all the towns and cities, promiſing each, in particular, the ſecurity of its liberties and peculiar privileges. After they had taken the oaths, the people immediately paid the tax impoſed for the ſupport of their authority, which, in general, was very moderate and eaſy. According to the laws of ſucceſſion, the female ſucceeded, in default of the male line; hence it was, that the province of *Holland* frequently paſſed into foreign families, by marriages. At the death of *William* IV. *Margaret*, his ſiſter, ſucceeded, married the prince of *Bavaria*, and annexed *Holland* to the dominions of her huſband. As we cannot enlarge upon this ſubject, we ſhall only remark, that when the dukes of *Burgundy* became ſovereigns of this province, and indeed of the *Netherlands*, they altered the ancient form of government, appointing a count for the government of each city, and a ſtadtholder in every province, to adminiſter juſtice in their name. It was not before the 14th century, that the provincial ſtates were eſtabliſhed, or rather renewed. The ſtadtholder aſſembled the nobles and deputies from the chief cities, and, in conjunction with them, regulated the affairs of the provinces. Soon the ſtates aſſumed a power of convoking themſelves. This produced numberleſs diſputes between them and the ſtadtholders. *William* I. of *Orange*, that great aſſertor of the freedom of his country, was engaged in conſtant contentions upon this ſubject, with the provincial ſtates. The debate was referred to the ducheſs of *Parma*, who decided, that the ſtates had an undoubted right to aſſemble themſelves, but with the knowledge and approbation of the ſtadtholder. Afterwards the prince obtained a contrary judgment [i].

Ancient hiſtory of Guelderland.

A. D. 878.

It is mentioned, in honour of *Guelderland*, that it was the laſt province to receive the *Roman* yoke, and the firſt that aſſerted liberty, upon the decline of the empire. *Charlemagne* beſtowed extraordinary privileges on *Nimeguen*, the capital of the province. In the reign of *Charles the Bald*, the people elected *Otho du Pont* their chief, and the government continued many years in his family. It paſſed from father to ſon, and would ſeem hereditary; but, in fact, it was elective. The people called the governors tutors, implying, that they elected them for their defence and ſecurity. By marriage, the government of *Guelderland* devolved on *Otho*, count *Naſſau*, who was approved and confirmed by the people. In his adminiſtration, *Guelderland* was erected into an earldom, by the emperor *Henry* III. By his ſon *Gerhard*, the county of

A. D. 1079.

[i] Le Clerc, Hiſt. lib. i.

Zutphen

Zutphen was annexed to *Guelderland*; but whether by marriage, purchaſe, or conqueſt, is not preciſely determined. *Henry Naſſau*, earl of *Guelderland* and *Zutphen*, extended his dominions, and peformed ſignal ſervices in *Italy* to the emperor *Frederic*. This prince died in 1162, and was ſo well eſteemed, that the people immediately elected his ſon *Gerhard* II. The whole of *Gerhard*'s life was employed in waging war with the biſhop of *Utrecht*. He entailed the county on his brother *Otho*, who ſucceeded him; but the cruſade, at that time preached up in the *Low Countries*, healed up the breach, and reconciled the count and biſhop. *Gerhard* III. who ſucceeded his father *Otho*, is diſtinguiſhed only for encouraging monks, and building monaſteries. His ſon *Otho the Crooked*, after ſuſtaining the ſtrangeſt reverſes of fortune, and living for ſome time in captivity, raiſed *Guelderland* to a powerful, opulent, and reſpectable province. *Arnheim*, *Goſch*, *Bemmel*, *Herderwyk*, and other towns that lay open and expoſed, he ſurrounded with walls, and ſtrengthened by fortifications, conferring upon them a variety of privileges. After mortgaging the city of *Nimeguen* for twenty thouſand marks of ſilver to *William* king of the *Romans*, he attacked and reduced it, annexing this capital of the ancient *Batavians* to *Guelderland*. Towards the cloſe of his life, he was choſen guardian to *Florence* V. earl of *Holland*. The guardianſhip was diſputed with him, but he defeated his enemies in a bloody ſea-fight, before *Dyveland*, carried his point, and ſoon after expired [k].

His ſon *Renaud* was in hopes of enlarging his dominions, by the addition of *Limburg*. With this view he married a daughter of the duke of *Limburg*; but the duchy was not annexed to *Guelderland* till the death of her brother *Henry*. It was diſputed with the duke of *Brabant*, a bloody battle enſued, *Renaud* gained his ends, but he was ſoon after impriſoned by his ambitious ſon, and detained a captive for the laſt ſix years of his life. While his father lived, *Renaud*, ſurnamed *the Red*, aſſumed no other title than that of ſon to the earl of *Guelderland*. His marriage into the houſe of *Mechlin* produced a war with the duke of *Brabant*, who claimed ſome part of what *Renaud* deemed his wife's fortune. The duke was defeated, and to the glory of a victory, *Renaud* had the additional honour of erecting *Guelderland* into a duchy, by an edict of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. This mark of the emperor's eſteem had almoſt proved fatal to *Renaud*. During his attendance at *Francfort*, his dominions were invaded by

A. D. 1272.

A. D. 1320.

A. D. 1339.

[k] Chron. Geld. p. 19.

the combined forces of *Liege* and *Brabant*. He flew to the relief of his ſubjects, met, defeated, and diſperſed the enemy. In a word, this prince, ſo highly celebrated for his valour, clemency, and juſtice, raiſed *Guelderland* to the utmoſt power the province ever attained, only to be ſunk the lower by contentions among his children.

THE younger aſpired at ſucceeding his father, the elder maintained his birthright, and both made preparations for deciding the diſpute by the ſword. *Renaud the Groſs*, the eldeſt, fortified himſelf in *Thiel*, while *Edward*, the younger, aſſembled an army at *Nimeguen*. The nobility and people took different ſides; *Edward* was victorious; he took his brother priſoner, kept him two years confined, defeated the duke of *Brabant*, and was afterwards ſlain in a mutiny of his own officers[1]. His death ſet *Renaud* at liberty, and reſtored him to his right, which he lived but few months to enjoy.

BOTH the brothers dying without iſſue, the confuſion of the province was augmented. Their two ſiſters diſputed the ſucceſſion; the people were divided. The lords of *Eckeren* ſupported the pretenſions of *Margaret*, the elder ſiſter; and the *Bronchorſt* faction, always zealous for the younger branch, eſpouſed *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and ſon of *Mary*, the younger ſiſter. This civil war was brought to an iſſue only by the death of *Margaret*, by which the claim of the young duke remained undiſputed. *William* diſtinguiſhed his valour in ſeveral wars with the duke of *Brabant*, in all of which he proved victorious. His dominions fell to his brother *Renaud*, who made war on the earl of *Holland*, fought the bloody battle of *Gorcum*, and died without iſſue[m].

BY *Renaud*'s death, the duchy of *Guelderland* paſſed out of the houſe of *Juliers* into that of *Egmond*. A daughter of *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and grand-daughter of *Mary*, his mother, was married to the lord of *Egmond*. Her portion conſiſted of the duchy of *Guelderland* and county of *Zutphen*; but her huſband lived but a few days to enjoy this vaſt acceſſion to his honour and dominions. It was his ſon *Arnaud* who firſt took poſſeſſion of his mother's inheritance. *Arnaud* claimed the duchy of *Juliers* by the ſame right he held *Guelderland*. He maintained a war to gain poſſeſſion; but the inhabitants would never be brought to acknowledge his ſovereignty: at laſt, after having governed forty-eight years, he was confined by his own ſon, tired out with the expectation of ſucceeding at the deceaſe of a ſuperannuated father.

[1] Belg. Chron. p. 86. [m] Id. ibid. Egmond. Chron. p. 52.

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The unnatural *Adolphus* entered upon a dangerous alliance, marrying *Catherine* of *Bourbon*, whence he became brother-in-law to *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who puniſhed him for the want of filial duty, by depriving him of his dominions. The duke inviting *Adolphus* to his court, endeavoured to reconcile him to his father; but finding him inexorable, he had him arreſted, and then releaſed old *Arnaud*, after firſt obliging him to ſell the duchy of *Guelderland*, the county of *Zutphen*, and to diſinherit his ſon. By the death of his father, and the duke of *Burgundy*, ſlain at the battle of *Nanci*, *Adolphus* recovered his dominions, uniting the dominions of *Burgundy*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*, in his own perſon. His firſt wife being dead, he married *Mary*, only child and heireſs of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who had been forced into the match by the citizens of *Ghent*. They choſe him general of their forces againſt the *French* king, and *Adolphus* was ſlain bravely defending *Tournay*. His ſon *Charles*, born of the laſt marriage, ſucceeded, and was taken priſoner and detained fourteen years by the enemy, during which time his aunt was acknowledged ſovereign by the people. He no ſooner procured his releaſe, than his ſubjects received him with open arms; and indeed his conduct merited their utmoſt attachment and fidelity. Nothing could be more ſpirited and vigorous than the whole ſeries of his adminiſtration; but he was at length obliged to yield to the irreſiſtible power of the emperor *Charles* V. by which means *Guelderland* paſſed from the houſe of *Bourbon* into the *Auſtrian* family.[n]

Ancient hiſtory of Zealand.

WITH reſpect to the ancient hiſtory of *Zealand*, writers differ widly; ſome aſſerting that *Lewis le Debonaire* preſented the iſlands that compoſe this province to the earl of *Holland*, provided he would protect them againſt the *Germans*; others, on the contrary, affirming, that the Emperor *Henry* inveſted *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, in the iſle of *Walcheren*, and all its dependences. One writer in particular agrees to both aſſertions, and alledges, that the earls of *Holland* and *Flanders* were long engaged in war for the property of *Zealand*. Certain it is, that the earls of *Holland* had the ſovereignty of this province at a very early period; that the two provinces were always united under the ſame governors, and that they had the ſame ſtadtholder, when the deſertion of the *Netherlands* produced the union of *Utrecht*. As we have already exhibited a ſketch of the ancient hiſtory of *Holland*, it would be unneceſſary to dwell upon that of a province

[n] Chron. Egmond, p. 59. Chron. Geld. p. 26.

connected with it in intereſt, laws, government, and ſovereignty.[o]

Ancient hiſtory of the province of Utrecht.

THE province of *Utrecht* has experienced four different forms of government: firſt it was dependant on the kings and dukes of *Friſeland*; next the government became eccleſiaſtical; or, in other words, the ſovereigns were biſhops, who extended their dominion over ſeveral of the adjacent countries. Charles V. effected the third revolution, by diveſting the biſhops of their temporal ſovereignty, and rendering himſelf abſolute maſter of the liberties and privileges of the province. The laſt change of government happened at the general union of the ſeven provinces, to oppoſe *Philip* II. While *Utrecht* was dependent on *Friſeland*, it neceſſarily felt the revolutions which were ever changing the ſituation of that warlike province. *Pepin Heriſtal* firſt aſſerted the liberty of *Utrecht*, and recovered its independency; as he propoſed fixing the ſovereignty in his family, he omitted nothing that could engage the clergy in his intereſt. With this view, he not only aſſembled a kind of eccleſiaſtical council, but determined to reſtore the old cuſtom of governing the province by ſtates, in which the biſhops and clergy ſhould have voices: the happy influence of this inſtitution ſhewed how wiſely it had been projected; it continued under *Charlemagne* and his ſucceſſors; and to the provincial ſtate of *Utrecht* is the world obliged for that excellent collection of the ancient laws of the *Franks*. *Pepin Heriſtal* was not ſatisfied with diffuſing happineſs through every part of his own dominions; his ſoul aſpired after a more univerſal benevolence: he diſpatched miſſionaries to convert the idolatrous inhabitants of *Friſeland* to Chriſtianity. *Willidbrod* was ſent to preach the goſpel among thoſe barbarians; *Utrecht* was erected into an epiſcopal ſee by pope *Sergius*, in favour of *Willidibrod*, and he became the firſt biſhop. *Charles Martel* conferred many additional privileges on the infant biſhopric; he endowed it with lands, and freely gave away what coſt him little more than the trouble of framing the neceſſary charter. Theſe were indeed happy times for the church; when the whole of piety conſiſted in liberality to the clergy, and the moſt profligate could purchaſe future felicity by founding a convent, or adding a few acres to the eccleſiaſtical domain[p].

A. D. 692.

A. D. 696.

The firſt biſhops of *Utrecht* laboured aſſiduouſly in the vineyard of ſalvation; their induſtry and zeal were whetted by the ambition of extending their juriſdiction. As Chriſ-

[o] Hiſt. Hedæ, p. 186 [p] BONIF. epiſt. ad Steph.

tianity

tianity ſpread itſelf over the neighbouring country, ſo did the authority of the biſhops, who made ſubjection the teſt of the ſincerity of their converts: in a word, the ſuperſtitious generoſity of the people, ſo encreaſed the power of the biſhop of *Utrecht*, that in a ſhort time he became a powerful temporal prince, able to make head againſt the earls of *Holland*, the moſt formidable of the ſurrounding ſtates, and even the emperor himſelf. About the cloſe of the tenth century, a deſcent of the *Normans*, the peſts of *Europe*, almoſt wholly deſtroyed the city and province of *Utrecht*; nothing ſacred or prophane eſcaped their fury; churches, houſes, and cornfields were ſet on fire; the city was burnt to aſhes, and the cathedral reduced to a heap of ruins; but *Baldric*, who had great intereſt with the emperor *Otho*, ſoon rebuilt the epiſcopal city, and procured ſuch immunities as rendered it the capital of *Holland*, if we may credit ſome old verſes inſcribed on the wall of the church of *St. Martin* at *Utrecht*. *Baldric* was the firſt biſhop who coined money by authority.[q] A. D. 995.

Adelbold, counſellor of ſtate to the emperor *Henry* II. being elected biſhop of *Utrecht*, carried his pretenſions farther than any of his predeceſſors. Some hiſtorians alledge, that he was the firſt biſhop who made uſe of the ſword to extend his power; but this is certainly a miſtake, as we find the biſhops engaged in bloody wars at a much earlier period. He maintained a long diſpute with the earl of *Holland*, which they decided by the ſword; and was afterwards engaged in a war with the earl of *Guelderland*. *Adelbold*'s example was copied by his ſucceſſors, who made equal uſe of ſpiritual and temporal weapons to extend their authority. Jealous of their eccleſiaſtical rights, they became warriors, and compelled wherethey could not inſpire reſpect: ſometimes they were ſupported by the emperor, but often oppoſed, their pride giving offence to the imperial authority: it frequently happened that the rigid exertion of their ſpiritual power, excited revolts among their own ſubjects; and the election of biſhops was ſeldom unattended with bloodſhed. The neighbouring ſtates interpoſed; the competitors were ſupported by the earls of *Holland* and dukes of *Guelderland*; ſo that the ſword rather than the votes of the canons generally confirmed the biſhops. A. D. 1017.

As it is not our intention to give a regular ſucceſſion of the biſhops of *Utrecht*, we ſhall think it ſufficient to mention the peculiarities that diſtinguiſhed this dignity. What

[q] Apud GUICCIARDINI, p. 199.

right thoſe prelates had to temporal authority, will appear from the following obſervations. *Utrecht* was originally detached from *Friſeland*, to be erected into an epiſcopal ſee: the biſhops, by extending their authority over the ſurrounding towns and cities, came to be obeyed as ſovereigns; they were elected by the city and chapter, and, after taking poſſeſſion of the epiſcopal throne, acknowledged and obeyed as temporal ſovereigns. All ſeditions, tumults, and revolts among the people, were puniſhed as rebellions againſt the lawful ſovereigns. The biſhop's juriſdiction extended beyond his own province. *Woerden*, a city properly belonging to *Holland*, had long been the ſubject of contention between the biſhops and earls. *Bodegrave* had likewiſe occaſioned wars between the biſhops of *Utrecht* and earls of *Holland*; and although the latter poſſeſſed certain caſtles at *Dordrecht*, where they often reſided; yet the biſhops claimed a temporal authority over half the iſland. To the time of *Henry* of *Bavaria*, the epiſcopal juriſdiction extended over *Overyſſel*, and the greater part of *Friſeland*. *Henry* ſold the ſovereignty to *Charles* V. and in the inſtrument of ſale are reckoned the towns of *Zell*, *Dipenheim*, *Gouvvde*, *Oldenzeel*, and the territory of *Drenth*.

A. D. 1288. SEVERAL changes in the magiſtracy of *Utrecht* happened under *William de Naſſau*: that prelate became the moſt illuſtrious of his age, though his parentage was unknown, and his ignorance ſo extraordinary, that the pope refuſed him a bull, at a period when no great portion of learning was required to qualify for a biſhopric. *William* was engaged in conſtant diſputes with his neighbours, and with his own ſubjects; at laſt, their rebellion became ſo general, that they baniſhed the nobility, who had ſided with the biſhop; changed the form of government, and lodged the legiſlative power in the people; artiſans and mechanics were divided into companies, each of which had a vote in the election of magiſtrates. The new magiſtrates regulated the affairs of the city, changed the ſeal and the arms in deſpite of the biſhop, who was at laſt compelled to renounce his dignity.

William of *Meehlin* was the firſt of the ſucceeding prelates who attempted to reſtore the epiſcopal authority; his efforts were bold, but unſucceſsful: the magiſtrates of *Utrecht*, ſeconded by the *Hollanders*, made him priſoner. He broke out of confinement, fled to *Rome*, levied an army, and waged war againſt his ſubjects: often victorious, ſometimes vanquiſhed, he fell at laſt in battle; leaving the magiſtrates and people in the full poſſeſſion of their liberties,

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and the ſupreme authority. His ſucceſſor, leſs enterpriſing and ambitious, prudently confirmed the privileges of the magiſtrates, granting them charters to that effect; which he had ſcarce ſigned, when he ſuddenly expired. The ſucceeding biſhops made a handle of this extraordinary event, as if it had been a judgment from heaven to avenge the impiety of ſurrendering the rights of the church. They endeavoured to recover the authority of which they were unjuſtly diveſted; long ſtruggles enſued, and the people, whenever they found themſelves unable to reſiſt, called in the aſſiſtance of ſome neighbouring power. *David*, the natural ſon of *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, was ſo violently oppoſed by the magiſtrates, that he abdicated the epiſcopal throne.[r] *Frederic* prince of *Baden* being elected biſhop, he retired to *Mentz*, unable to ſupport the ſeditious humour of his ſubjects; *Maximilian*, to whom he was allied, oppoſed his diſmiſſion, and prevailed on him to return to *Utrecht*: he might have lived in peace, had not his ambition and avarice again obliged the people to revolt. *Philip*, the baſtard ſon of *Philip of Burgundy*, was next elected: as this prince had always been bred at court, where he had learned only the art of war and politics, he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed with the eccleſiaſtical dignity. In his ſpiritual capacity *Philip* acquired no great reputation; he therefore purſued the maxims of a temporal prince, rendered himſelf reſpectable by his prudence, and formidable by his valour: the troops of *France* and *Guelderland* experienced his ability in the field. *Eraſmus* highly extols this prelate; but his amours drew upon him the cenſures of the church.

A. D. 1300.

A D. 1480.

HITHERTO the biſhops of *Utrecht* were the friends and allies of the imperial crown; *Charles* V. wanted an opportunity of appropriating the ſovereignty to himſelf; and he ſucceeded in the following manner. *Henry*, ſon of the count palatine of *Bavaria*, was preferred to a great number of other competitors, and elected biſhop of *Utrecht* by a great majority; he was hardly eſtabliſhed in his new dignity, when he cited the ſenate and magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* before his tribunal, for permitting clandeſtine marriages. Inſtead of obeying the prelate's ſummons, the *Hollanders* preferred their complaints to *Charles* V. as earl of *Holland*. That prince annulled the biſhop's ſentence, and removed the excommunication denounced againſt the ſenate; declaring both unjuſt, arbitrary, and contrary to the privileges of the city. His ambition did not ſtop here; he encroached on

A. D. 1524.

[r] GUICC, ibid. p. 104. Batavia Sacra, l. i, ii.

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the liberties of *Utrecht*, and ſo excited the reſentment of the people, that one day they ſhut the gates and denied him entrance. The prelate raiſed an army, the magiſtrates called in the forces of *Guelderland*, a bloody war commenced, and the country was deſolated by the epiſcopal forces, who deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword: he ſoon, however, was unable to ſupport his army; the troops mutined for want of pay, and the biſhop applied to the emperor for money. *Charles*, like a true politician, ſeized this opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign; he furniſhed the ſum required, on condition that the biſhop ceded to him the
A. D. ſovereignty of *Utrecht* and its dependencies. The firſt treaty
527. was ſigned at *Schoonhoven*; but the magiſtrates and people, incenſed at the biſhop's diſhonourable proceedings, ſo contrary to their liberties, depoſed him, elected another, and reſolved to defend their privileges againſt all the power of the empire. In the ſhort war that enſued, the province was cruelly harraſſed, but the ſpirit of the people was invincible; at length, ſome perſons attached to the emperor and the depoſed prelate, privately introduced a body of imperial forces into the city, the biſhop returned, and made his public entrance, and three days after propoſed to the clergy and council the neceſſity of yielding to the emperor, and making entire ceſſion of the ſovereignty to a prince able to protect them, and who would undoubtedly obtain by force what they now had an opportunity of granting as a favour. Warm debates aroſe in the aſſembly, but to little purpoſe, as the town was already in the poſſeſſion of the *Imperialiſts*. At length, all agreed in ſigning an inſtrument, whereby the ſovereignty was perpetually veſted in the houſe of *Auſtria*.[a]

A. D. SOME years after *Charles* V. united the province to *Hol-*
1534. *land* and *Zealand*. An inſtrument was drawn up, whereby the provinces were to be governed by the ſtadtholder, cemented ſo ſtrictly as never to be ſeparated by marriage, ſale, bargain, or engagement, and united ſo intricately, that the ſame laws ſhould take place in all; criminals baniſhed from one province could not be ſkreened in another; in a word, it was propoſed, that the government, money, cuſtoms, and laws, ſhould be the ſame in *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Zealand*; each however reſerving its own peculiar rights, excluſive of the general union. This plan of union could not, however, a long time be rendered complete, or fully executed; it was nevertheleſs renewed in 1584. The other provinces were alarmed at the confederacy; but ſuch arguments were urged

[a] GUICCIARD. Deſcrit. p. 199.

as quieted their apprehenſions; and the union at laſt became general among the ſeven provinces.[t]

No people on earth were more paſſionately enamoured of liberty, or more obſtinate in the defence of freedom, than the inhabitants of *Friſeland*. The fortune, the military ſkill, and the power of the *Romans* however prevailed. *Druſus* attacked them in every quarter with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that they were forced to ſubmit to the *Roman* empire. At the death of this general they revolted, maſſacred all the *Romans* in the province, defeated the army ſent againſt them under *Apronius*, and again glorioufly recovered their liberty, after having lived forty years in ſubjection.[u] Complaints were carried to the emperor *Nero*, that the *Friſons* had not only abjured his ſovereignty, but ſeized upon certain land belonging to the empire, and allotted for the maintenance of the *Roman* troops. The ambaſſadors of the province boldly appeared at court, aſſerted to the emperor's face, that no nation exceeded the *Friſons* in equity and valour; proteſted their deſire of living in amity with the *Romans*, but not in ſubjection; and concluded with demanding a place in *Pompey*'s theatre, to which they underſtood they had a right as ambaſſadors.[w] *Ancient hiſtory of* Friſeland.

FOR a long ſeries of years the *Friſelanders* enjoyed their liberty; but moſt hiſtorians relate, that on the decline of the *Roman* empire, they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*. *Adalgiſe*, who is conſidered as the firſt *Chriſtian* king of *Friſeland*, refuſed to pay the *Francs* homage; a war enſued, and *Pepin* was forced to give battle to *Radbode*, the ſucceeding monarch, who purſued the independent ſyſtem of his father. *Radbode* was defeated, but his valour procured him *Pepin*'s eſteem, whoſe daughter he married. This harmony was of ſhort duration; *Charles Martel* returned with a numerous army, gave battle to *Radbode*, and was compleatly overthrown, with prodigious ſlaughter: *Charles* left the *Friſelanders* unmoleſted, while he had other buſineſs in hand: as ſoon as he was at liberty, he determined to wipe off the late diſhonour. He invaded the province with a formidable ſquadron and numerous army, fought divers bloody battles, and at laſt ſo far ſubdued the ſpirit of the inhabitants, that they conſented to acknowledge his ſuperiority, but not his ſovereignty: the former expreſſion was equivocal; the latter would be a plain confeſſion that they A. D. 715.

[t] Id. ibid. [u] Dio, Hiſt. lib. xli. v. cxxvi. cxxvii.
[w] Tacit. lib. xiii. cap. 54.

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were ſubdued.[x] Under *Charlemagne* the province was abſolutely conquered, the *Friſelanders* agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty pounds of ſilver annually. It was the policy of *Charlemagne* to govern the province by counts or lieutenants: *Friſeland* was aſſigned to the direction of a governor, with the title of *Poteſtas* or *Podeſtad*. *Forteman the Great* was the firſt perſon inveſted with this title and employment; he preſided at courts of juſtice, repreſenting the emperor's perſon, and executed all the orders of the imperial court. The great ſervices performed by *Forteman* and the *Friſelanders*, againſt the *Saxons*, ſo won upon *Charlemagne* that he exempted the province from every mark of ſervitude, declared it free, and left the inhabitants to fix upon what plan of government they thought proper. They made no alteration, but continued *Forteman* for his life in the government.

A. D. 838. THE adminiſtration of *Ludigman*, the ſecond podeſtad, was leſs fortunate. In his time the province was invaded by the *Normans*, and after the defeat of the *Friſelanders* wholly deſtroyed; thoſe barbarians ſparing no ſex, age, or condition. *Haarman*, the fourth podeſtad, was in the ſame manner infeſted by the *Danes*, enemies no leſs cruel than the *Normans*. *Sigefrid*, their king, exerted the moſt deſpotic tyranny, but the valour of *Haarman* reſcued the *Friſelanders*, expelled the *Danes*, and ſlew their king. *Galem*, the next podeſtad, took every precaution to ſecure his coaſts againſt thoſe ſwarms of barbarians iſſuing annually out of the northern kingdoms. All his endeavours could not, however, prevent great numbers from ſettling in the country, where their deſcendants continued for a term of years[y].

A. D. 935. *William*, earl of *Holland*, and king of the *Romans*, beſtowed many valuable privileges on the *Friſelanders*. He hoped, by gaining their affections, he ſhould obtain the ſovereignty of the province; but the podeſtad *Sierdama*, ſupported by a numerous body of the people, declared, they would never betray their country to oblige an emperor; and to convince *William* of their reſolution, they ſtruck a medal, on the reverſe of which was this motto in *Latin*, "*Liberty prevails over gold!*" This was conſtrued as an affront by *William*. He led his army twice into the province, and was ſlain in the ſecond expedition[z].

MARTENA was one of the moſt warlike of the podeſtads. He drove away the foreigners, who came in ſhoals to invade the province, defeated the *Hollanders*, burned the town of

[x] Chron. Fridegi, Continuat. part ii. p. 676. [y] FRIUS Rer. Batav. lib. ix. [z] Id. ibid.

Enck-

Enckhuſe, the inhabitants of which made a deſcent on *Friſeland*, and laid all the ſurrounding territory deſolate. Many of the noble families, now flouriſhing in the provinces, are lineally deſcended from this hero. After his death, the election of a ſucceſſor produced two violent factions, called *Skirranghers* and *Wathopers*, which for a number of years filled the country with confuſion and diſcord. *Invingen*, his ſucceſſor, maintained his poſt with the utmoſt difficulty. Beſides the domeſtic troubles, he had to ſuſtain a foreign war againſt *Albert* of *Bavaria*, who entered the province at the head of a numerous army, upon ſome provocation. *Invingen* endeavoured, on account of the ſuperiority of the enemy, to keep the *Friſelanders* within their camp; but their impetuoſity would ſubmit to no reſtraint. They marched into the open field, fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, nor yielded victory, before almoſt their whole army was cut in pieces. *Albert*, leaving garriſons in the other towns, retired; and ſo low were the *Friſelanders* reduced, that ſeveral perſons refuſed to accept the dignity of podeſtad. It is probable, that the violence of the two factions rendered the office equally fatiguing, unprofitable, and dangerous. To pleaſe both parties, and in ſome meaſure cloſe thoſe wounds that brought the ſtate to the laſt gaſp, two podeſtads were elected, one out of each faction. This expedient did not anſwer expectation; the people ranged themſelves under the banners of the different podeſtads, and fought with all the acrimony of inveterate enemies. Ambition had begun the quarrel, and now habitual animoſity continued it; for all real cauſe of diſſenſion was removed by the diviſion and partition of the ſupreme power. The parties were gratified with all they could require; but they could not be ſatiated with blood until they had extirpated each other, and ruined their country. In what manner this province became ſubject to the empire we know not; but a declaration of *Sigiſmund's*, declaring it unalienable, and impoſing a tribute, renders the fact undoubted. Probable it is, that the weaker faction beſought the emperor's protection, and, as an equivalent, ſurrendered their privileges[a]. A. D. 1417.

A LONG war between *Joan* of *Bavaria*, and *Philip the Good*, of *Burgundy*, ended in the reduction of *Friſeland*, which paſſed into the houſe of *Bourbon*. Afterwards the province became ſubject to the houſe of *Auſtria*, but never recovered its liberty until the revolt in the *Netherlands* gave birth to the republic of the *United Provinces*.

[a] WEINPIN. p. 319. SNOC. Rer. Bat. lib. ix.

WITH

Ancient hiſtory of Overyſſel.

WITH reſpect to the ancient inhabitants of *Overyſſel*, there are various opinions among the learned. To avoid critical diſquiſitions, we ſhall exhibit that which to us ſeems founded upon the beſt authority. All agree that the province was firſt peopled by a nation called *Salians*; but as ſeveral different nations bore this name, the difficulty is, to aſcertain which of them firſt migrated into *Overyſſel*. Writers diſtinguiſh the river *Iſſel* into *old* and *new*; the former was called *Sala*, and the latter was the *Foſſa Druſiana*, or communication opened by *Druſus*, between the *Rhine* and the *Iſſel*, lower down than their firſt confluence. On the banks of the *Old Iſſel*, or *Sala*, lived a people called, from the name of the river, *Salians*. In their neighbourhood were the *Sicambri*, and both were ſeparated from the *Romans* by the river. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions their frequent irruptions, their warlike humour, the battles they fought with *Julian*, the ſervices they afterwards afforded him, and the regard he expreſſed for this nation [b]. *Tacitus* deſcribes their ſituation and manners ſo juſtly and expreſſively, that we can entertain no doubt of their having been the inhabitants of that country we now call *Overyſſel*, which extends along the banks of the *Iſſel*. To ſtrengthen our conjecture, that part of the province bordering upon the river is ſtill called *Salandt*, or the land of the *Salians* (B). And the river itſelf, which waters the province, was for many ages called the *Sala* [c].

THE manners and government of the ancient inhabitants of *Overyſſel* are admirably painted by *Tacitus*. They had a general, to whom they committed the conduct of the army. He held the title of king, but he was choſen by the people, and his authority circumſcribed to narrow limits. The whole legiſlative power was in the people, and a part of the executive,

[b] SNOC. lib. xiii. cap. ix. TACIT. de Mor. Germ. cap. xii. p. 206.

[c] JUN. Batav. cap. ix. Anc. Univer. Hiſt. tom. xvi.

(B) Writers mention a people called *Salians*, towards *Lorrain*, between the *Rhine*, the *Meuſe*, and *Moſelle*. *Livy* ſpeaks of a nation of this name in *Provence*. Modern authors alledge, that ſome officers of the imperial court had the name of *Salians*, "*Majores domus aut Salæ.*" From one or other of theſe, they pretend to deduce the origin of the *Salique* law, or that regulation by which the female line is excluded from ſucceeding to the crown in *France*. It would be entering upon dry and tedious criticiſm, to follow authors thro' this ſubject; what we have ſaid is all that can be aſſerted with probability.

executive, particularly what regarded puniſhments. All public affairs were canvaſſed in general aſſemblies of the cities, or rather of the clans. Here a prieſt aſſiſted, whoſe province it was to preſerve ſolemn order and decorum. Each of the chiefs delivered his ſentiments, and was favourably heard, in proportion to his reputation for eloquence, military valour, or patriot virtue. Shouts, cries, and the rattling of arms, notified the approbation of the aſſembly. Among the *Salians* were three kinds of puniſhments. Petty criminals were mulcted a horſe, cow, or ſome other animal, which makes their code widely different from the *Salique* law, where fines were always paid in ſpecie. Traitors were hanged on the neareſt tree, and infamous perſons thrown into the ſea, or ſtifled in mud; and as to quarrels and differences, they were uſually decided by ſingle combat. It is abſurd to derive the *Salique* law, ſo celebrated in *Europe*, from the cuſtoms of the inhabitants of *Overyſſel*. Probability is ſtrongly againſt this etymon, which cannot indeed be ſupported by a ſingle argument beſides the affinity of names. Several excellent writers have made it appear, that the *Salique* law is nothing more than an abridgment of the code of law in uſe among the *Francs*[d].

CHARLEMAGNE introduced great changes into the government of *Overyſſel*, which he conquered, while the king and army were engaged in *France*. Counts were created governors, to adminiſter juſtice in the king's name. They were to be aſſiſted by an officer, termed *Scullet*, without whom no act of the governor's was valid or legal. In the diviſion of the empire, between *Charles the Bald*, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, *Overyſſel* and the other provinces were adjudged to *Lewis*; but he was forced to ſupport his right by continual wars with the emperor *Lotharius*, which deſolated the country. Next *Overyſſel* became ſubject to the biſhops of *Utrecht*, more oppreſſive and arbitrary ſovereigns than either the emperor, or houſe of *Bavaria*. This indeed was a power they aſſumed, but what the people never acknowledged, and which they only exerciſed when their fortune in war happened to prevail. *Barnulph* was the firſt biſhop who rendered his dominion univerſal over that province; and he indeed governed it with all the rigour of an eccleſiaſtic, ambitious of power, and inſolent in the poſſeſſion. He, however, admitted the imperial ſovereignty, as appears by his making application to *Henry* III. to confirm him in his juriſdiction. In a word, the intrigue, the capacity, and policy of this prelate, raiſed him to the ſovereignty of *Overyſſel*; for as to the A. D. 997. A. D. 1028.

[d] DANIEL, Diſſert. iii. ſur l'Hiſt. de France.

emperor's

emperor's confirmation, it was a mere empty compliment, made with intention to quiet alarms, and lull the jealouſy *Henry* might entertain of the growing power of the ſee of *Utrecht*. At length, however, the inhabitants perceiving the aſpiring views of the biſhops, determined to ſet bounds to their authority. The moſt natural barrier of liberty that occurred, was, reſtoring the power of the ſtates, an ancient form of government in all the provinces, and long neglected in *Overyſſel*, under the kings, counts, and biſhops. Whether this reſolution met with oppoſition we know not. Probably the biſhops dreaded diſcovering their real deſigns, by obſtructing a meaſure ſo wholſome, ſo equitable and conſtitutional. The executive power ſtill remained with them, but the legiſlative was lodged in the ſtates, and the ſovereigns, united in council. The biſhops abuſed even this remnant of their authority. By the permiſſion given them of wielding the ſword, they engaged the province in perpetual wars; and though they were generally victorious, yet their conqueſts ſerved only to depopulate and impoveriſh the country. *Holland*, *Guelderland*, and *Friſeland*, experienced the weight of their arms, but the province almoſt ſunk under the burthen of taxes, and the ravages conſequent on a perpetual courſe of war. Frequently the people, who deduced no benefit from the moſt brilliant victories, oppoſed the march of the army, and when they found the biſhops engaged in bloody wars, ſtood ſpectators of the event, and regulated their conduct accordingly. This cautious conduct of the ſtates proves their inclination to throw off their ſubjection to the biſhops, and likewiſe their inability, until thoſe prelates were weakened by the violence of their conflicts, the number of their battles, and the extent of their conqueſts, which it required a conſtant ſtanding force to maintain [e].

But, beſides the ſtates, there was another check on the ambition of thoſe warlike eccleſiaſtics. The lords or barons of the province, many of whom were powerful, and all abſolute within their own juriſdictions, frequently armed their vaſſals, entered into a confederacy, and violently oppoſed the biſhops. Bloody battles were fought, but the fortune of the barons prevailing, animoſity and the deſire of revenge ſtimulated them to ſolicit the protection of the empire, to admit the imperial troops into their ſtrong towns, and to reduce the power of the biſhops, by acknowledging a ſovereignty more abſolute and deſpotic, becauſe it was more potent and able to enforce ſubjection. Even the firſt effects of this reſo-

[e] Guicc. Deſcrit, p. 185. Revis. Hiſt. lib. v.

lution

lution proved fatal. The imperial troops, at firſt introduced, not being ſufficient wholly to expel the eccleſiaſtical army, plundered and deſtroyed the country, under pretence of defending the privileges of the people. The neighbouring ſtates took advantage of the ruinous condition of *Overyſſel*. They made terrible irruptions, and fully revenged the defeats and diſgraces ſuſtained from the ſpirited conduct of the biſhops. At laſt the province experienced a ſudden and extraordinary revolution, owing to the prodigality of *John* III. biſhop of *Utrecht*, raiſed to the epiſcopal throne by one of thoſe bold ſtrokes which the popes ſometimes hazarded, to diſplay their power, and procure a confeſſion of their ſovereignty. The ſituation of the empire had obliged the emperor to neglect the affairs of *Overyſſel*, the epiſcopal ſee was vacant, and the chapter, in which always reſided the right of election, raiſed the lord of *Bronkhorſt* to this dignity. However the pope thought proper to declare this election void, appointing a creature of his own, the ſecretary of the *French* king, afterwards known by the name of *John* III. The profuſion and diſſipation of the new prelate ſoon encumbered him with ſuch an enormous load of debt, as rendered it neceſſary to mortgage a great part of his territories. He found means to involve the province in his diſtreſs; and, to extricate themſelves, the ſtates were forced to diſpoſe of ſeveral fiefs, which greatly retrenched their extent of dominion [f]. *Zealand*, *Twenthe*, and *Vollenhove*, were ſold to the duke of *Gueldrland*, and earl of *Holland*. *John*, however, paying the laſt tribute to nature, *Frederic Blankenheymen* was elevated to the epiſcopal throne, and ſoon redeemed by his penury and avarice what *John* had ſold to anſwer the purpoſes of profligacy. In particular, he recovered the caſtle and appennage of *Vollenhove*, in which he ſpent the laſt days of his life. A. D. 1412.
The parſimony of *Blankenheymen* would ſeem to have reſtored in ſome meaſure the power of the biſhops. The wealth of the epiſcopal ſee gave it influence, enabled the prelates to extend their views, and to build and garriſon forts and caſtles, to reſtrain the inſults of neighbouring ſtates, and over-awe the attempts of the people to recover their liberty. In this manner *Florence* fortified *Hardemberg*, which he made the place of his reſidence in *Overyſſel*. But all theſe precautions could not hinder the people from revolting againſt *David* of *Burgundy*, natural ſon of *Philip the Good*, who was elected A. D. biſhop of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants of *Overyſſel* threw off the 1457.

[f] REVII Hiſt. lib. v. SYLVAN. p. 28. GUICCIARD. deſcrit. p. 191.

yoke, refuſed to acknowledge him, diſregarded all his ſpiritual denunciations, and prepared to reſiſt his temporal power. They even had the boldneſs to accuſe the pope of corruption, and affirm that he had been influenced by the duke of *Burgundy*'s money to confirm the election. *Philip*, incenſed at the affront offered to his ſon, poured his troops into *Overyſſel*, over-run the country with three great armies, and laid ſiege to *Deventer*. After a ſiege of nine weeks, the duke of *Cleves* offered his mediation, obliged *Philip* to relinquiſh the ſiege, and the province to acknowledge the biſhop. *David* held the dignity for forty years, and died in the year 1497 [g]. Nothing extraordinary happened from this time until the province paſſed into the houſe of *Auſtria*, *Charles* V. taking poſſeſſion, in conſequence of the ceſſion made to him of the dioceſe of *Utrecht*. His ſon *Philip* II. was acknowledged in 1584; the inhabitants ſwore fidelity to him, but he did not long keep poſſeſſion. The rebellion broke out in the *Netherlands*, the tide of faction became ſtrong, and *Overyſſel* followed the current of popular humour, entered into the deſigns of *Utrecht*, and formed a part of the republic of the *United Provinces*.

Ancient hiſtory of Groningen, *and the* Ommelands, *or ſurrounding territory.*

SOME writers aſcribe great antiquity to the province of *Groningen*, deducing the name from ſome of the moſt renowned *Trojan* warriors. Such aſſertions are founded in imagination, and merit no conſideration. But a learned antiquarian of that country proves irrefragably, that *Groningen* is the citadel built by the *Roman* general *Corbulo*, to ſecure the obedience of the *Friſelanders*, or at leaſt reſtrain their irruptions into the *Roman* territories [h]. This allegation is confirmed by a great number of ingenious remarks on the route of *Germanicus*, when he marched againſt the *Cheruſci*, and particularly by the conformity between the governments of *Groningen* and of ancient *Rome*. In the former we find a ſenate, inveſted with ſovereign authority, conſuls, prætors, cenſors, and ædiles, and, occaſionally, a dictator. Several of the laws appear to be founded directly on the *Twelve Tables*; and yet, after all, there are ſcarce any monuments of the *Roman* power remaining. From theſe circumſtances we muſt infer, that *Groningen* was originally a *Roman* colony, which, towards the decline of the empire, raiſed itſelf to independency. It became afterwards ſubject to the biſhops of *Utrecht*, though we are not particularly informed of the ſteps by which thoſe prelates acquired the ſovereignty. In the

[g] Vid. ſup. Hiſt. Utrecht.

[h] MENSO. ALTING. deſcrip. agr. Batav. Friſii, p. 54.

eleventh century, *Groningen* was a flouriſhing city, had a very extenſive territory, but was nevertheleſs dependent on the ſee of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants revolted againſt *Godfrey* the biſhop; he laid ſiege to the city; it was valiantly defended againſt *Godfrey* and the earl of *Holland*, and at length relieved by the emperor's interpoſition, who reconciled the biſhop and the citizens. In this war *Groningen* loſt a great part of its territory. The city afterwards became the ſubject of contention between the ſee of *Utrecht* and the earls of *Holland*. Each pretended a right, and the emperor claimed to himſelf the power of acting in quality of umpire, as feudal lord. Sometime after *Groningen* flouriſhed exceedingly, grew ſo wealthy and powerful, that, like *Rome*, the city aſpired at the conqueſt of the neighbouring provinces, eſpecially of *Friſeland*. *Albert* of *Saxony* was ſent by the emperor *Maximilian* to check the deſigns formed by the *Gruns*, for ſo the inhabitants of *Groningen* were called. The emperor propoſed reducing *Friſeland* under his own obedience, and thought it could not be more commodiouſly effected than by protecting the province againſt the ambitious views of the *Gruns*. A war enſued; *Albert* laid ſiege to *Groningen*, and the citizens repelled all his attacks with the utmoſt valour and magnanimity. After ſuffering extreme hardſhips, they entered into a treaty with the biſhop of *Utrecht*, whereby they conſented that a judge ſhould be nominated by the prelate, to preſide in the city, but under the direction of the magiſtrates, and with this proviſo, that the city ſhould be left in the full poſſeſſion of liberty. Under the protection of the biſhop they hoped to eſcape the imperial yoke; however, when it was propoſed that they ſhould reſtore to the emperor their conqueſts in *Friſeland*, the *Gruns* boldly declared, they would rather hazard all than evacuate what had been purchaſed with their blood. The congreſs broke up, and the war was renewed with *Albert* of *Saxony*, whom they defeated. *Albert* died of chagrin, and left his diſgrace to be revenged by his ſons, *Henry* and *George*, who attacked the *Gruns* with great violence and impetuoſity. *Groningen* applied for aid to the duke of *Guelderland*[1]; but the conſequence was, that, after a tedious and ruinous war, the city was ſurrendered to the emperor *Charles* V. A. D. 1490. A. D. 1536.

As to the *Ommelands*, or country ſurrounding *Groningen*, it formerly compoſed a ſovereignty independent on the city. That quarter called the *Fivelingo* was governed by conſuls, generally choſen out of the principal inhabitants. On the decline of the ſtate, the conſular dignity dwindled into the

[1] Hedæ, p. 341.

office of *Eſchevin*, or magiſtrate of juſtice. Several civil wars were lighted up by the ambition of certain families to obtain the conſulſhip; and this might poſſibly be the reaſon why the dignity declined. The people found it neceſſary to retrench the authority of that ſupreme magiſtrate, in order to reſtrain the ambition of competitors, induced by the elevation in which it placed them, to aſpire at the office. In the year 1280 a war broke out among the candidates for the conſulſhip, that almoſt terminated in the deſtruction of the country. Houſes were burned, fields deſtroyed, old men, women, and children maſſacred with the moſt ſavage barbarity, and unrelenting animoſity.

ONE circumſtance ſhews, that part of the *Ommelands* was ſubject to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Munſter*. *Ludolphus*, one of the biſhops, laid the whole territory of *Fivelingo* under a ſevere interdiction, for having eſpouſed certain perſons proſecuted for the violent death of a clergyman. But the *Ommelanders* long refuſed to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the biſhops of *Utrecht*, after they were poſſeſſed of the ſupreme authority of *Groningen*[k]. Nothing ſhews more clearly that they were an independent, free people at a late period. This farther appears from the frequent wars carried on between them and the city. In the year 1232, the cantons, if we may ſo expreſs it, of *Fivelingo* and *Drenth*, united againſt the city of *Groningen*, and formed an alliance offenſive and defenſive. They were indeed defeated in every engagement, owing to a new kind of arms uſed by the *Gruns*, but ſtill they maintained the war with great obſtinacy. It ended however greatly to the diſadvantage of the *Ommelanders*, moſt of their chiefs being carried priſoners to *Groningen*, or ſlain in the field of battle. Another war broke out in 1252, in which they fully revenged the diſgraces of the ſucceeding rupture. A mortality appeared among the cattle of *Friſeland*, which made the *Gruns* raiſe the duties upon all merchandiſe, and particularly cattle, ſent to their markets by the *Ommelanders*[l]. The inhabitants of *Fivelingo*, ſhocked at their oppreſſion, and the barbarous diſpoſition of profiting by the misfortunes of their neighbours, formed an alliance with the other cantons, raiſed an army, and laid ſiege to *Groningen*. So ſpirited were the endeavours of the allies, that *Groningen* was forced to capitulate, conſent to have her walls demoliſhed, and all the forts and outworks raſed. We ſhall cloſe this account with obſerving, that the cantons were independent on each other, and only united by

[k] BUCCHEL. Not. ad Hedam. p. 255. [l] ANONIMI CONTINUATIS Meneonis, tom. iii. p. 288.

intereſt.

intereſt. Each had its own army, laws, and political maxims. They made war upon each other, and ſhewed every other prerogative of ſovereignty. The differences of individuals became frequently the occaſion of a war between the cantons, and nothing was more common than to ſee the whole country laid deſolate for the moſt trifling circumſtance. It was this want of union that at laſt brought the *Ommelands* under the dominion of *Groningen*, a more firm and compact body. This much, we apprehend, will be ſufficient to convey an idea of the ancient hiſtory of the *United Provinces*. The detail was too minute for an ancient hiſtory; yet is it a neceſſary introduction to the account we propoſe giving of the origin, riſe, and progreſs of the republic of *Holland*.

SECT. III.

Of the origin of the diſcontents in the Netherlands, *and the firſt ſeeds of the rebellion that began to appear in the years* 1566 *and* 1567.

Introduction to the hiſtory of the United Provinces.

THE *Netherlands* came into the poſſeſſion of the houſe of *Auſtria*, by the marriage of *Mary of Burgundy* to *Maximilian*. Upon the emperor's reſignation, with the whimſical deſign of filling the papal throne, the *Seventeen Provinces* devolved, by right, on don *John*, prince of *Spain*. This prince died young, and left a ſon who did not long ſurvive his father. *Philip le Beau* was the next heir by the death of theſe two princes, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of *Joan* of *Arragon*, his ſpouſe. He mounted the *Caſtilian* throne in the year 1505, and died the year following, leaving his ſon *Charles* V. a minor, under the tutelage of *Lewis* XII. of *France*. *Charles* aſcended the imperial throne by election, he ſucceeded to the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Naples* by inheritance in right of his mother, and to the *Netherlands*, as neareſt heir to his grandfather. At his acceſſion ſeveral of the provinces, now compoſing the republic of *Holland*, claimed a kind of independency; but the policy, power, and warlike diſpoſition of *Charles* ſoon reduced them under his obedience. When he reſigned the imperial diadem into the hands of his ſon, the *Low Countries* were in a moſt flouriſhing condition; at leaſt that part now termed the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. *Philip* could reckon in this ſmall portion of his vaſt dominions above three-hundred-and-fifty

cities encloſed by walls, and ſix-thouſand-three-hundred towns, all conſiderable, wealthy, and commercial. The number of the inhabitants was prodigious for the extent of the country. The *Flemings* were remarkable for their ſkill in navigation, their aſſiduity in commerce, and valour in war. Under the mild government of the houſe of *Burgundy* they became excellent artizans and rich merchants; during the warlike reign of *Charles* they were made ſoldiers, or rather they improved thoſe military talents already arrived at conſiderable perfection by the perpetual ruptures among themſelves, and diſputes with their neighbours. This was the ſituation of the *Netherlands* when *Philip* came into poſſeſſion. That prince was ſuppoſed perfectly to underſtand the art of reigning. He was maſter of vaſt talents, and could give peace or war to *Europe* without ſtirring from his cabinet. The *Flemings* had approved their loyalty to his predeceſſors; and yet by a ſtrange fatality, by the influence of ſuperſtition, and from a certain haughtineſs of conduct, and arbitrary maxims which he adopted, *Philip* loſt the affections of the *Flemings*, and a great part of his dominions. No period of hiſtory is more ſtriking than this, and no war more important than the revolution which placed ſeven ſmall provinces in a ſtate of independency, in deſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the moſt powerful monarch in *Europe*. It is remarkable, that only the poorer and leſs populous provinces recovered their freedom; and that, in conſequence of their liberty, they roſe to an unparalelled height of grandeur and affluence, amidſt all the horrors of a war, the moſt tedious, ruinous and oppreſſive that can be imagined. Rouſed more by deſpair, than well-grounded hopes, and feebly aſſiſted by the neighbouring powers, they encountered the moſt celebrated generals of *Chriſtendom*, backed by the veterans of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, ſupplied with the money, and directed by the counſels of the richeſt, the moſt politic, and ambitious monarch of the age. The princes of the houſe of *Naſſau*, who were the ſoul of the provinces, and the genuine aſſertors of liberty, were too inconſiderable to maintain armies above a ſingle campaign; yet did their deteſtation of the *Spaniſh* nation, their love of liberty, their perſeverance and courage, enable them to ſurmount every difficulty, excite a ſpirit of freedom throughout all the *Netherlands*, and form leagues, which, though of ſhort duration, contributed however to the great deſign of effecting a revolution, and throwing off the galling yoke of ſervitude and ſubjection. In a word, the great grandſon of *William* I. prince of *Orange*, became, in little more than a century, the arbitrator

arbitrator of *Europe*, and the chief bulwark againſt the aſpiring views of the houſe of *Bourbon*, of that very monarchy by which his predeceſſor was proſcribed.[1]

THE different characters of *Charles* V. and *Philip* were ſoon perceived by the nobility of the *Netherlands*, and this circumſtance offered the firſt cauſe of chagrin. *Charles* was a warrior, he always appeared at the head of his own armies; whereas *Philip* embroiled *Europe*, governed ſtates, and commanded armies by orders iſſued from his cabinet. The father was courteous, affable, and free of acceſs; the ſon, grave, auſtere, and harſh in his manners. The one accommodated himſelf to the diſpoſition and humours of the different nations under his government; the other was altogether a *Spaniard*, and diſcovered a partiality for that nation, which could not but prove diſguſting to his other ſubjects. *Spaniards* engroſſed the royal favour, they alone enjoyed *Philip*'s confidence; to them all places of truſt and profit were given; and the nobility of the *Netherlands* were excluded from a ſhare in the government of their own country; at leaſt, the places they enjoyed were of an inferior nature, and themſelves ſubjected to the contempt and caprice of foreigners. *The firſt cauſes of diſcontent in the Netherlands.*

To theſe cauſes of diſcontent were ſuperadded others on the ſcore of religion; than which nothing more univerſally influences the human mind. The doctrines of *Luther* were already eſtabliſhed in *Germany*; thoſe of *Calvin* had taken deep root in *France*. The perſecutions carried on againſt the reformiſts of both were of the utmoſt benefit to *England* and the *Netherlands*. The vaſt commerce of the latter required an acceſſion of inhabitants, and the fugitives were joyfully received, without inquiry made into their religious opinions. The natural inconſtancy of the human mind renders it fond of novelty; new doctrines, the moſt abſurd, ſpread ſometimes with inconceivable rapidity; but thoſe of *Luther* and *Calvin* were adopted in the provinces with unuſual credit, becauſe they were congenial to liberty. *Charles* V. had publiſhed rigorous edicts againſt the *Lutherans*; and it is confidently reported, that in the *Auſtrian* dominions no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons periſhed under the rod of perſecution; but inſtead of diminiſhing the reformiſts, their number was every day encreaſed. *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, ſiſter to the emperor, and governante of the *Low Countries*, obſerved the progreſs of the contagion; ſhe endeavoured to ſoften the emperor, and invited him

[1] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. tom. xxi. b. xix.

into the *Low Countries*, to behold with his own eyes how perſecution begat hereſy.[m] *Charles* prudently dropt his ſeverity; but *Philip* proved inflexible. The more narrowly to watch over the reformiſts, an inquiſition, ſimular to thoſe of *Spain* and *Italy*, was eſtabliſhed: nothing could be more odious to the *Flemings* than this deteſtable tribunal, which they loaded with juſt execrations, not doubting but their lives and liberties would ſoon become the victims of its tyranny and cruelty. The people in general were not more incenſed at the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, than the clergy were at his erecting a number of new biſhoprics, under pretence that the preſent dioceſes were too large for the biſhops to have an eye over their whole flocks. To maintain theſe new dignities, it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs ſeveral abbeys, and aſſign their revenues to the biſhops. Thus the abbots, inſtead of poſſeſſing the firſt place in the aſſembly of the ſtates, were forced to yield the precedency to the biſhops, and content themſelves with an inferior ſtation. Inſtead of three dioceſes, the provinces now ſaw themſelves encumbered with no leſs than ſeventeen; of which three were archbiſhoprics, that of *Mechlin* being given to cardinal *Granvele* with the dignity and authority of primate. The inferior clergy exclaimed againſt this proceeding, as an uſurpation of the rights of the church; the nobility called it an innovation dangerous to their liberty, by introducing ſo many new members into the great council; and the people murmured at this additional reſtraint on liberty and conſcience, by making ſuch a number of ſpiritual tribunals dependent on the king and the apoſtolic ſee. In ſhort, perſons of all ranks and degrees cried out againſt the inquiſition and the new biſhoprics, as a direct breach of the king's oath. But of all the diſcontented party, only two particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their birth, their capacity, their alliances, ſervices, friends, and employments:[n] theſe were *William* of *Naſſau*, prince of *Orange*, governor of *Utrecht*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; and count of *Egmond*, governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, who drew upon them the eyes of all *Europe*. The former was born in *Germany*, of proteſtant parents; but having entered young into the ſervice of *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, and afterwards into that of *Charles* V. he conformed to the religion of the court, became a great favourite of the emperor's, and received the moſt ſubſtantial marks of his confidence and friendſhip. Count *Egmond* was

[m] GROT. Annal. l. i. p. 12. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 2.
[n] TEMPLE's Mem. c. i. p. 23. BENTIVOG. p. i. l. i. p. 25.

a na-

a native of the *Netherlands*, and enjoyed the moſt conſiderable poſts, honours, and diſtinctions civil and military. He gained great reputation at the famous battle of St. *Quintin*, and commanded in chief when the victory at *Gravelin* was obtained. Thoſe two perſons, very oppoſite in their characters, were equally eſteemed and beloved. *William* of *Naſſau*'s genius was better adapted to the cabinet than the field; he was prudent, penetrating, popular, and plauſible; his eloquence was ſpecious, and his diſcernment happy in unravelling the moſt myſterious intrigues and negociations. On the contrary, *Egmond* was a warrior, free in his ſpeech, open in his conduct, familiar in his behaviour to the ſoldiers; but too ſincere and honeſt for a courtier. He publickly expreſſed his reſentment againſt the late ſevere edicts, the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, and the regulations made in the church; while the prince of *Orange*, then a hoſtage in *France* for the execution of the peace of *Cambray*, diſcovered the deſign formed by *Henry* II. and king *Philip*, of exterminating the proteſtants, and gave notice of it to his friends in the *Netherlands*.[p]

WE have already ſeen cauſe ſufficient for diſcontent, but the public murmuring grew louder, when *Philip*'s intention of fixing his reſidence in *Spain* was known, when it was ſeen that he put the government of the *Netherlands* into the hands of the ducheſs of *Parma* his natural ſiſter, aſſiſted by the counſels of *Granvele*, a deteſted eccleſiaſtic; that a demand of money was made for the ſupport of the foreign troops, with which the provinces were oppreſſed; and that *Granvele*, in the king's name, had, at the general aſſembly of the ſtates, in a particular manner recommended the perſecution of the proteſtants, and made work for the inquiſition. Before the king's departure the ſtates reſpectfully petitioned that the foreign troops might be withdrawn; *Philip* thence perceived that his deſigns were ſuſpected: he pretended to approve of the requeſt; but inſtead of complying, he reſolved to prevaricate, by appointing the prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* to the command of three thouſand *Spaniſh* troops left in the country: both however refuſed the employment, as unconſtitutional; but the truth is, they aſpired at the government of the *Netherlands*, and were chagrined at the diſappointment. What above all gave umbrage to the nobility, was the elevation of cardinal *Granvele*, in whoſe hands the chief direction of affairs were placed: they could not with temper behold the ſuperiority

[p] GROT. l. i. p. 11. & ſeq.

of

of a perſon of obſcure birth, an ambitious crafty churchman, and furious zealot. Three councils were eſtabliſhed at *Bruſſels*, one to preſide over the laws and courts of juſtice; a ſecond to direct every thing reſpecting peace or war; and the third to manage the revenues: but the ducheſs of *Parma* was particularly ordered to conſult *Granvele* in every matter, and place her chief confidence in that prelate [p].

A. D. 1560.

THE ducheſs no ſooner arrived at *Bruſſels* to enter upon the government, than complaints poured in upon her from the eccleſiaſtics, againſt the propoſed eſtabliſhment of new biſhoprics. She endeavoured to appeaſe them with ſoothing expreſſions, refuſed introducing the new biſhop at *Antwerp*; but ſaid, that the king's orders muſt be executed in all the other provinces. The people exclaimed againſt the inquiſition already beginning to exerciſe its tyranny. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* blamed the cardinal, by whoſe advice it was erected. This prelate had likewiſe incurred the diſpleaſure of *Philip de Montmorency*, count *Horn*, for having obſtructed his promotion to the government of *Guelderland*. They carried their grievances to the governante, and the prince of *Orange* ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon aſſembling the ſtates general, to apply proper remedies to thoſe diſorders, which muſt infallibly deſtroy the conſtitution, and overturn the government. *Granvele* oppoſed this propoſition with violence; which determined the prince of *Orange*, count *Egmond*, and count *Horn* to write to the king, that the only poſſible means of reſtoring the tranquillity of the provinces, was by removing the cardinal, whoſe inſolence rendered him odious to the people. They promiſed, if their requeſt was granted, to ſupport the crown, the governante, and the eſtabliſhed religion, with all their power and influence.

Remonſtrances made to the ducheſs of Parma, *and to the king.*

A. D. 1563.

Philip long deferred returning an anſwer to this letter; at laſt he replied, that it was not uſual with him to remove his miniſters, without ſuffering them to give an account of their conduct. He added, that he ſhould be glad to have a more explicit account of the tranſactions in the *Low Countries*; he invited either of the noblemen to *Spain* for that purpoſe, and aſſured them of a favourable reception. An anſwer ſo general and unſatisfactory, obliged the prince, *Egmond*, and *Horn*, to write again in a more preſſing ſtrain, and acquaint the king, that they could not with honour aſſiſt at the council, while they were expoſed to the inſults of the cardinal. *Philip*'s anſwer was ſo gracious, that they were encouraged

Cardinal Granvele *reſigns.*

[p] Id. ibid. BENTIVOG. p. 14.

couraged to paſs ſuch affronts and mortifications on *Granvele*, as obliged him to retire to *Spain*; a conduct which the king never forgave [q]. A. D. 1564.

CARDINAL *Granvele*'s reſignation did not produce the expected effect. *Viglius* and count *Barlaimont*, two of his creatures, were admitted into the council of ſtate. They poſſeſſed the governante's confidence; and trod exactly in the cardinal's footſteps. They puſhed on the inquiſition to perſecutions, ſtigmatized the principal nobility as diſaffected heretics, and broke out into the moſt ungovernable zeal for the catholic religion. Their violence appeared ſo unſeaſonable, that one of *Philip*'s miniſters repreſented to him the danger of a general revolt of the provinces, unleſs the rigour and ſeverity of the inquiſition were mitigated; to which that prince replied, "He had rather be without ſubjects, than be a king of heretics." [r] Agreeable to theſe ſentiments, he publiſhed the decrees of the council of Trent in all his dominions, ordering they ſhould eſpecially be enforced in the *Low Countries*, notwithſtanding they were diametrically oppoſite to the rights and liberties of the provinces. It is ſaid, the prince of *Orange* gave offence by the remonſtrances he made on this head; it is certain, that the propoſal for inveſting the council of ſtate with the whole power, and aboliſhing the two other councils, in which *Viglius* and *Barlaimont* had great influence, met with violent oppoſition. The diviſions produced in the council by this motion, the difficulty of eſtabliſhing the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the bold ſpirit of the people, who had wreſted out of the hands of the inquiſition certain perſons condemned to be burnt for hereſy, greatly diſturbed and embarraſſed the ducheſs of *Parma*. She approved of the ſcheme ſuggeſted in council of ſending count *Egmond* into *Spain*, to inform *Philip* of the ſtate of affairs; but the prince of *Orange* remarked, that it was of the utmoſt conſequence the count ſhould have clear and explicit inſtructions; by which he was thought to point at *Viglius*, nominated to attend the ambaſſador. *Egmond* was well received, the king remitted the rigour of the edicts and of the inquiſition; all tumults and diſcontents were appeaſed, the prince of *Orange* and his friends were conſulted by the governante in the conduct of affairs; and ſhe, in return, was obeyed and honoured. The prince of *Orange*, however, entertained ſuſpicions about the ſincerity of this change in the king's diſpoſition; and even declared publickly, that

The decrees of the council of Trent *publiſhed.*

Count Egmond *ſent into* Spain.

[q] LE CLERC, l. i. p. 5. BENTIVOG. p. 11.

Egmond

Egmond was either over-reached by the policy, or bribed by the money of the court of *Spain*.

A. D. 1565. THE prince's conjectures, with reſpect to the latter, were too well founded; in the beginning of the following year, the queen-mother of *France*, and her ſon *Charles* IX. had a conference with *Iſabella* queen of *Spain*, at *Bayonne*; the duke of *Alva* aſſiſted, and it was pretended that this interview had no other object than a tender expreſſion of love between the mother and her children; though it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that the extirpation of the proteſtants of *France* and the *Netherlands* was here concerted. The prince of *Orange* made the firſt diſcovery, which was afterwards confirmed by an acknowledgment, that religion formed a part of the ſubject of the conference; and by the king's letters to the ducheſs of *Parma*, diſclaiming the interpretations put on his inſtructions to count *Egmond*; ordering that the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the imperial edicts, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; that the utmoſt aſſiſtance of the civil power ſhould be given to the inquiſition; and that all heretics ſhould be put to death without remiſſion. Aſtoniſhment and dread firſt appeared in every face, upon the publication of the edicts; rage ſucceeded, written libels were publiſhed, bold ſpeeches uttered, and dangerous cabals formed againſt the government. The public indignation was increaſed by the terrible ſpectacles every day preſented by the inquiſition, of men periſhing in the flames on account of religion. The conſtancy of the ſufferers ſtrongly moved the paſſions of the beholders, weakened the opinion of their guilt, heightened the deteſtation of the puniſhers, and inſpired them with ſentiments of revenge. Open mutinies of the citizens in ſeveral towns appeared, the priſons were forced, and the unhappy convicts reſcued out of the hands of the executioner. A confederacy of the nobility was formed, never to ſuffer the inquiſition in the *Netherlands*, under the force of edicts, viſits, commiſſions, or any other ſhape or denomination this terrible tribunal ſhould aſſume, as being contrary to all laws ſacred and prophane, and the moſt arbitrary, execrable, and iniquitous ſpecies of tyranny ever deviſed or invented by human genius, fruitful in wicked expedients. The confederacy became general, and was ſubſcribed by a multitude of catholics as well as proteſtants; by nobles and burghers, merchants, tradeſmen, and peaſants.[a]

A project for extirpating the proteſtants.

A. D. 1566.

A confederacy formed againſt the inquiſition.

[a] GROT. l. i. p. 20. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 7.

So

So unexpected and formidable a ſhew of reſiſtance diſ- A. D.
concerted the ducheſs of *Parma*; ſhe found that all reſolu- 1566.
tions of force and rigour would be unſafe for the govern-
ment, now too weak to enforce them by the weight of
authority. The confederates, headed by *Henry de Breden-
rode*, deſcended from the old earls of *Holland*, and much
reſpected in the country, went in a body to *Bruſſels*, and in
bold terms petitioned the governante to aboliſh the inqui-
ſition, and recal the edicts againſt liberty of conſcience. It
was diſputed in the council of ſtate whether they ſhould be
admitted to an audience; but their numbers were ſo formi-
dable, as to render a denial hazardous. The ducheſs uſed
every poſſible means to appeaſe the confederates; but they
inſiſted ſo peremptorily on the terms of the petition, that ſhe
was forced to diſmiſs them with an abſolute promiſe they
ſhould be granted; for which purpoſe ſhe immediately
employed all her intereſt with the king. In the mean
time, ſtrict injunctions were laid on the inquiſition, not to
perſiſt in their perſecution of hereſy. Sir *William Temple*
alledges, that *Philip*, in conſequence of the governante's re-
monſtrances, granted all that was required, but too late;
all other hiſtorians affirm, that he was inflexible, and the
ducheſs could procure no better conditions than that the
heretics ſhould henceforth be hanged inſtead of being burned.
Even this appeared a conceſſion unworthy of the king; the
royal name was therefore forbid to be uſed.[t]

BEFORE the confederates proceeded to extremities, they *The king evades the petition of the confederates.*
ſent deputies to *Madrid*; but according to *Bentivoglio*, they
were refuſed admittance into the king's preſence. It appears
however, from circumſtances, that they found means of repre-
ſenting to the king and council, that the diſturbances in the
Low Countries aroſe from the deteſtation in which people of
all degrees held the inquiſition. Their remonſtrances pro-
duced no other effect than a kind of promiſe couched in
equivocal terms; and it was ſoon perceived that the gover-
nante had expreſs orders to reſume her ſeverity, and puniſh
with the utmoſt rigour every deviation from the eſtabliſhed
religion. Irritated with this conduct, the people broke out
into open acts of rebellion; in ſeveral towns of *Flanders*,
Holland, and *Utrecht*, the mob aſſembled, deſtroyed the
churches, pulled down images, beat the officers of the in-
quiſition, and committed a thouſand irregularities; the
effects of barbarous rage and brutiſh reſentment: ſtill how-
ever the nobility and more wealthy inhabitants kept them-

[t] BENTIVOG. p. 1. l. ii. p. 18.

ſelves

ſelves within bounds. They were unſatisfied with the government, but they dreaded the conſequences of popular tumults as the greateſt of misfortunes. Many of them united their councils and forces with thoſe of the governeſs, to ſuppreſs the ſeditious and turbulent humour of the people. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* were the chief inſtruments of the repoſe that enſued. Their moderation, authority, and the veneration in which they were held, operated ſo powerfully, that had the government made but reaſonable conceſſions, the public tranquillity might have again been reſtored, and the affections of the *Flemings* regained [u].

The Prince of Orange *retires to* Germany.

The ſubmiſſion of the people ſerved only to augment the ſecurity of the government. A new oath of allegiance was now adminiſtred by the governante, and all perſons obliged to ſwear they would regard as traitors and enemies to their country, all whom the king ſhould think proper to proſcribe. *Egmond*, and great numbers of the nobility, took the oath; but the prince of *Orange* refuſed to alter the uſual form required by the laws of his country. He ſaid it would be unnatural in him to ſwear the deſtruction of his wife and family who were proteſtants, and of conſequence in the number of the proſcribed. In the mean time, the promiſe made by the governante was wholly neglected. The perſecution went on with redoubled violence; the fury of the inquiſition ſeemed enraged by the ſhort ſuſpenſion of their authority. Thouſands of wretches groaned under the extremity of torture, and breathed their laſt in bitter execrations poured out on the authors of their misfortunes. Troops were levied to ſupport their diabolical tyranny, and the reſolution was taken at court to ſend the duke of *Alva* with ten thouſand veterans to put the laſt hand to the miſeries of the people, and the deſpotiſm of the court. Upon advice of this final reſolution, the prince of *Orange*, count *Broderode*, count *Hoogſtrade*, followed by great numbers of the nobility and people, retired into *Germany*, apprehending they could not remain in ſafety under a government ſupported by violence and the ſword [x].

HAD *Philip* now granted a general amneſty, it is more than probable he might have ſtill commanded the reſpect of the people; but it appears that he was not ſatisfied with enjoying his poſſeſſions in tranquillity; he muſt puniſh his headſtrong ſubjects with the loſs of their privileges. The duke of *Alva*, with the troops deſtined for

[u] LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 18. [x] Id. ibid. GROT. lib. i. p. 29.

the

the *Netherlands*, embarked at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *May*. The army was compoſed of the beſt *Spaniſh* and *Italian* ſoldiers, commanded by the moſt experienced officers which the wars of *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. had bred up in *Europe*. Theſe on their arrival were joined by two thouſand *Germans* raiſed by the ducheſs of *Parma* during the late commotions. Such a force, under ſo renowned a general as the duke of *Alva*, a man haughty, moroſe, ſevere and cruel in his diſpoſition, could not but terrify the inhabitants, who beheld theſe vaſt preparations with aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion and deſpair. From the character of *Alva*, the princeſs of *Parma* foreſaw that he would aſſume the chief authority, though his commiſſion extended no further than the ſupreme command of the army. She endeavoured but too late to divert the king's intention of ſending an army into the *Netherlands*, aſſuring him that all was now in perfect tranquillity, the heretics either in cuſtody or baniſhment, and ſufficient garriſons in all the towns. She repreſented the outrage offered by the preſence of ſuch a military force to the privileges of the provinces; but *Philip*, who regarded theſe privileges as chimeras, purſued his reſolution [y].

A. D. 1567. *The duke of* Alva *with an army ſent to the* Netherlands.

On the duke's arrival at *Bruſſels*, the governante received him civilly, and told him that if the prince of *Orange* and the lords of his party were treated with lenity, ſhe was perſuaded they would continue firm in their loyalty; but ſuch meaſures were not agreeable to the proud *Spaniard*. He immediately made public the powers veſted in him by the king, whence it appeared that the authority of the governante was greatly retrenched. *Alva* had not only the command of the troops, but the preſidency of the councils of ſtate, juſtice, and the finances. He had the right of puniſhing or pardoning crimes, and of rewarding all who had faithfully ſerved the king. In a word, he was chief in every thing, civil and military, and the ducheſs of *Parma* was reduced to a mere cypher. He begun his government with removing the edicts againſt the reformiſts, and exerting the full power of the inquiſition. Inſtead of the ordinary judges, *Alva* eſtabliſhed a council of twelve, to take cognizance of the late tumults, and puniſh with the utmoſt rigour all who were ſuſpected on account of their religion. The cruelty of this tribunal ſoon gained it the appellation of the bloody council. One *Vergas*, a *Spaniſh* lawyer, was ſet up at the head of this iniquitous council, and it became a proverbial

A new council eſtabliſhed.

[y] Auct. ſup. citat. ibid.

expreſ-

expreſſion in Spain, *That the gangrene in the* Low Countries *required the keen knife of* Vergas. To this extraordinary board was committed the care of mortifying at pleaſure the rights and privileges of the province. It annihilated the authority of the council of ſtate, which never afterwards met but in the duke's chamber. All who had preſented petitions, requeſting that the ſeverity of the religious edicts might be mitigated, were treated as traitors. Thoſe who, from the neceſſity of the times, had connived at the proteſtant aſſemblies, were regarded and puniſhed as heretics. But blood alone was not the object of this tribunal; it confiſcated the eſtates of every one, convicted of any tendency to ſchiſm, or of ſhewing the leaſt favour to the reformiſts. Part was appropriated to the crown, the greater portion went into the pocket of the duke of *Alva*, and was aſſigned as a reward for the barbarity of the judges. The towns in vain lamented the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece of the privileges of their order. Their murmurs were muttered only in whiſpers; the terror of the new council ſeemed for a time to have deprived them of the ſpirit of reſentment. Multitudes of people retired out of the province into places of ſecurity; and the ducheſs of *Parma* was at length forced to acquaint the king, that above an hundred thouſand perſons had, in a few days, withdrawn with their effects and money; that the country would be quite depopulated, and that as a governante would then be unneceſſary, ſhe begged leave to reſign before ſhe ſhould have the mortification and diſgrace of being left alone in the *Netherlands*. Her requeſt was readily granted, and the whole power given to the duke of *Alva*, with the ſame titles and badges of authority the princeſs enjoyed.

The ducheſs of Parma *reſigns.*

One of the duke's firſt exertions of the ſupreme authority was the impriſonment of the counts *Egmond* and *Horn*. The prince of *Orange*, his brother, count *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, the counts *Hoogſtrote*, *Bergue*, *Guylemberg*, *Brederode*, and others, were cited to appear in ſix weeks; but they refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the citation, which determined the duke of *Alva* to condemn them as guilty of treaſon. Not contented with theſe proceſſes againſt the nobility, he heightened, if poſſible, his cruelty to the people. Several proteſtants condemned of attending their religious meetings, were dragged by horſes, with their hands tied behind, to the place of execution, where they ended their lives

[z] STRADA, lib. vii. GROT. lib. ii. p. 30. LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 15.

in

in the moſt excruciating tortures. The declarations of the inquiſitor-general of *Spain*, and the king's edicts, confirmed and approved all that had been done by the duke of *Alva*; whence it appears that his barbarity was not entirely the caprice of his own inhumanity, but of the inſtructions of a mercileſs and proud prince, ſet at too great a diſtance from his ſubjects to feel their misforunes. In a word, the king was inflexible in his determinations to root out hereſy, and deprive the provinces of their privileges; *Alva* was the cruel miniſter of his purpoſes. The new army was fierce, brave and inſolent, deſiring nothing ſo much as a civil war, in which they might enrich and diſtinguiſh themſelves; the people were enraged, but overawed and unheaded; all was ſeiſure, confiſcation, impriſonment, torture, blood, horror and deſpair; puniſhments executed, and meditated revenge. *Egmond* and *Horn*, without regard to their quality, to their merit in the ſervices performed to the king and his father, were publickly beheaded at *Bruſſels*, with marks of ignominy more cruel than death. The execution of *Egmond*, and the confiſcation of the prince of *Orange*'s eſtate, the two great favourites of the people, broke all patience. They now called aloud for revenge, invited the prince of *Orange* into their country, and ſeemed to loſe all dread of the veteran troops of *Spain* in the deſire of recovering their liberty [a].

Counts Egmond *and* Horn *put to death.*

In the mean time the prince of *Orange*, and his brother *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, were labouring to form alliances among the proteſtant princes of *Germany*. He made uſe of every argument that could influence the underſtanding or move the paſſions; he obtained promiſes, but could raiſe only a handful of ſoldiers. He publiſhed ſeveral manifeſtos, which appeared ſo ſtrong and unanſwerable to the emperor *Maximilian*, that he voluntarily ſent an ambaſſador to *Spain*, exhorting the king to treat his ſubjects in the *Netherlands* with leſs rigour. The ambaſſy was haughtily received, *Philip* continued his perſecutions, and the prince of *Orange* his preparations to enter into the *Low-Countries*. It was thought adviſeable to divide the *Spaniſh* forces, by making excurſions on every ſide. A detachment of *Germans*, in the ſervice of the prince, attempted to penetrate into *Brabant*, and ſurpriſe *Ruremond*, but they were defeated by a corps detached againſt them by the duke of *Alva*. Another party, chiefly *French*, were preparing to puſh into *Artois*, on the ſide of *Picardy*, when their officers were arreſted by order of *Charles* IX.

A. D. 1568. *The Prince of* Orange *levies an army, and marches to the* Netherlands.

[a] Grot. lib. ii. p. 29.

Lewis of *Naſſau* was at firſt more ſucceſsful in *Friſeland*, of which count *d'Aremberg* was governor. His deſign was to gain poſſeſſion of *Groningen*, but he was oppoſed by the count at the head of a body of *Spaniſh* forces. *Lewis* encamped in an advantageous poſt; but the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, who deſpiſed his raw undiſciplined army, attacked him contrary to the opinion of the count. They were defeated, and *Aremberg*, with above ſix hundred ſoldiers, killed. In this action fell *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, the greateſt loſs which the reformiſts ſuſtained. Count *Megen* was immediately diſpatched to *Groningen*, to collect the ſcattered remains of the *Spaniſh* army; and his vigilance prevented *Lewis* of *Naſſau* from drawing any important conſequences from his victory [b].

The duke of *Alva* was greatly chagrined at this firſt check to his power, and reſolved to march in perſon to revenge the inſult. A general muſter of his army was made in every part, and he appeared ſo formidable, that the counts of *Naſſau* and *Hoogſtrate* were forced to retire to the banks of the river *Ens*, where they poſted themſelves in a ſituation which would have proved impregnable, had not the duke of *Alva*'s expedition prevented their cutting down the dykes, and the ſcarcity of money excited a mutiny in their army. Thus labouring under unſurmountable difficulties, they were attacked and eaſily defeated by the duke, who put to the ſword all who fell into his hands. The whole infantry were cut in pieces, the cavalry was ſaved by the conduct of count *Schauwenberg*, count *Lewis* eſcaped in a ſmall fiſhing-boat, and the baggage and artillery were taken by the enemy, whoſe loſs was very inconſiderable [c].

All this while the prince of *Orange* was moving towards the frontiers of the *Netherlands* with an army of 28,000 men, which he had levied upon his credit. After paſſing the *Rhine* and *Moſelle*, and raiſing contributions in *Aix la Chapelle*, he defeated a party of *Spaniards* at *Noiteim*. From thence he ſent a defiance to the duke of *Alva* at *Maeſtricht*; but the duke ordered the trumpeter to be hanged, and returned no anſwer. The prince's ſuperiority obliged him to act defenſively; the loſs of a battle he was ſenſible would be attended with the loſs of the *Netherlands*, and the ſcarcity of money he knew muſt ſoon diſperſe the prince's army. He contented himſelf with defending the paſſages of the *Meuſe*; but the prince found means to elude all his endeavours. Had he, upon croſſing the river, ſuddenly attacked

[b] Id. ibid. TEMPLE, c. 1. [c] LE CLERC, lib. 1. p. 17.

the

the duke, it is probable he might have ſucceeded; but the ſoldiers being wet and fatigued, he halted a night to refreſh them, gave the enemy time to recollect themſelves, and even ſo to fortify their camp, as rendered an attempt extremely hazardous. It was obvious that the prince intended to penetrate into *Brabant*. The reduction of any towns in this province would have greatly forwarded his affairs, and the duke of *Alva* took all due precautions to obſtruct his progreſs. He fortified *Tillemont*, *Louvain*, and *Bruſſels*, and conſiderably augmented their garriſons, at the ſame time that he cut off all proviſions, and extremely harraſſed the prince's army. He baffled the prince's deſign of ſeizing upon *Tongres*, but could not prevent his receiving ſuccours and refreſhment at *St. Trois*, and gaining the frontiers of *Brabant*. Here ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, but nothing deciſive, paſſed between the armies. While they lay encamped at no great diſtance, the prince, on receiving advice that the prince of *Conde* had ſent him a body of 4000 auxiliary foot and 500 horſe, advanced towards *Judoigne* to effect a junction. In croſſing the *Geate*, his rear was attacked by *Alva*, and after an obſtinate conflict totally defeated and diſperſed. This check, and the death of count *Hoogſtrate*, mortally wounded in the action, damped the ardour of his ſoldiers; they deſerted in crowds, and he was prevented by this and a variety of other croſs accidents, from eſtabliſhing winter-quarters in the *Low-Countries*. In the end, he was forced to diſband his army, and return into *France*, whence he afterwards returned to *Germany* [d].

He diſbands his army.

A. D. 1569.

Now was the duke of *Alva* at full liberty to act at pleaſure. After entering *Bruſſels* in triumph, he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after all who had been aſſiſting to the prince of *Orange*. He deſtroyed the priſoners taken in the laſt campaign by the ſword, the halter, by fire, and by water; his ſucceſs only increaſed his inſolence and cruelty; he now projected nothing leſs than the whole extirpation of the reformed religion, by means the moſt barbarous and inhuman; of enſlaving the provinces, by erecting citadels in all the towns and cities, and of rendering himſelf deſpotic and arbitrary. He began with building a ſtrong citadel in *Amſterdam*. The city in vain repreſented its privileges, and the prejudice which commerce muſt ſuſtain from a military government. But the duke was deaf to all except pecuniary arguments; a large ſum of money was given him, and the project laid aſide. The duke's inſolent vanity irritated

[d] Grot. lib. ii. p. 37.

New Commotions in the Low Countries.

the people more than his cruelty or avarice. He ordered his ſtatue to be erected in the citadel, built at *Antwerp*, to enſlave this populous, rich, and commercial city. Here he was figured treading upon the necks of two ſmaller ſtatues that repreſented the two eſtates of the *Low Countries*. So public an inſult created univerſal diſcontent, and rouſed a ſpirit of revenge in the people, which ſoon received additional fuel. The duke demanded larger ſupplies for the ſupport and reward of his victorious troops than ever had been granted. Aſſembling the ſtates at *Bruſſels*, he required the hundredth part of every man's eſtate ſhould be immediately ſecured to the government, to anſwer the preſent occaſions; and that for the future, a tenth of all the merchandize, and a twentieth part of all immoveables, ſhould be annually levied as a ſtanding revenue. Fear obliged the ſtates, after a feint reſiſtance, to grant the firſt. Whatever inconveniencies might attend the payment of ſo large a ſum, as the hundredth part of the whole wealth of the *Netherlands*, yet it was but temporary; whereas the annual tax on trade and eſtates would be a perpetual intolerable burthen, to which they reſolved never to aſſent. Upon the duke's perſiſting, they petitioned the king by deputies, but obtained no redreſs. The duke employed promiſes and threats to enforce his demands, but the ſtates remained fixed and unalterable. Incenſed at their reſiſtance, he ſent the regiment of *Lombardy*, and ſeveral companies of *Spaniſh* foot, to live at free quarters in the province of *Utrecht*. He altered the names of *tythes* and *twentieths*, for other terms leſs odious; but the people were not to be gulled out of their property by ſo thin a varniſh. The year was drawn out in diſputes, altercations, menaces, promiſes, and ſupplications; but nothing was concluded, the duke was inflexible, and the provinces determined [e].

Multitudes of privateers fitted out by the Reformiſts.

1570.

In this ſituation of affairs, admiral *Coligni* adviſed the prince of *Orange* to fit out a ſquadron of privateers to cruiſe on the *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* merchants, ſeize upon the ſupplies of money ſent to the *Netherlands*, and thereby raiſe a fund for the ſupport and maintenance of an army. The poverty of the reformiſts, who had but few reſources from private contributions, was the greateſt difficulty they had to encounter. In hopes of remedying this evil, the prince approved of the project, and a ſquadron was equipped under *Adrian de Bergues*, *Lancelot de Broderode*, *Albert d' Egmond*, and ſeveral more of the prince's adherents. In a ſhort time

[e] Id. p. 43. Le Clerc, lib. i. Temple, p. 39.

they

they took an infinity of merchant-men, and even defeated ſome of the king's ſquadrons; but as no regular plan for ſaving the profits was concerted, they greatly annoyed the *Spaniſh* commerce, but contributed little to forward the deſigns formed by the prince of *Orange*. This ſhoal of privateers went by the name of *Gueux*, or *ſea-beggars*; their number daily increaſed, and they became the terror of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*. However excuſable the firſt deſign of the prince of *Orange* might have been, certain it is, that an improper uſe was made of the commiſſions he granted. The captains of ſhips paid no regard to flags; their ſole aim was the acquiſition of wealth, in which purſuit friends and enemies were plundered without diſtinction. Commerce was entirely ruined, and their depredations were no leſs pernicious to their country, than the deſpotiſm and cruelty of the duke of *Alva*[f].

To the calamities conſequent on the licentiouſneſs of the *Gueux*, was added another, to which the maritime provinces of the *Netherlands* are perpetually expoſed. Terrible floods broke in, overturned the dykes, and overflowed the lands, ſweeping before them their houſes and cattle. The catholics attributed the misfortune to the vengeance of the ſaints, for the indignity lately put on their images by heretics; and the proteſtants, with juſt as much reaſon, called it a judgment from heaven, on the oppreſſion, the tyranny, and the barbarity of the court of *Spain*, and her infernal miniſters[g].

ALL the laſt year the prince of *Orange* was making preparations for levying an army, to oppoſe the violent meaſures of the duke of *Alva*, and reſcue his country from impending deſtruction. His agents were employed in all the provinces to raiſe ſubſcriptions of money. The ſame methods were ſtill continued in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The latter province was conſiderably over-awed by the ſtrong citadel, and numerous forces; but an infinity of evils, to which the tyranny of the government expoſed it, attached the inclinations of the inhabitants more ſtrongly to the prince of *Orange*[h]. A. D. 1571.

WHILE the country was impoveriſhed and ruined by the late exorbitant tax of a hundredth penny, by the dreadful inundation, by the licentiouſneſs of the privateers, and other misfortunes, the duke of *Alva*, impatient of farther delay, ordered the edict, concerning the tythe on merchandize, and twentieth penny on immoveables, to be publiſhed at *Bruſſels*. *The edict for levying the taxes, publiſhed.*

[f] GROT. lib. ii. p. 36, 37. [g] LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 25.
[h] Id. p. 26.

The people refuſe to pay, the ſoldiers levy by force, tradeſmen ſhut up their ſhops, the peaſants forbear the markets, and the utmoſt ſcarcity prevails in the cities. Terrified with theſe appearances, the ſtates offer to pay a ſubſidy of two millions of florins; but nothing would ſatisfy the enraged duke but the tax, in the manner he propoſed. In *Bruſſels* the drum beat to arms, and orders were iſſued immediately to hang up all who refuſed compliance. The officers and guards were preparing to execute the inhuman mandate, when advice arrived of the ſurrender of the *Briel*, in the iſland of *Voorn*, at the entrance of the *Meuſe*, to the *Gueux*. *Lumey*, who commanded the *Orange* ſquadron, made a deſcent on the iſland with forty ſhips, deſtroyed the churches, broke the images, and executed the prieſts, but offered no violence to the other inhabitants[1]. (A)

[1] Grot. Annal. p. 39.

(A) As the reader may be curious to know the origin of the term *Gueux*, and farther particulars relating to the people called by that name, the following ſhort account may prove entertaining. When *Brederode* delivered his petition againſt the inquiſition to the ducheſs of *Parma*, his attendants, appearing mean in their cloaths and apparel, were called in deriſion by the courtiers *Gueux*, or *beggars*. The name was ſoon after applied to the whole party, and comprehended all who differed from the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. The cruelty of *Alva* and the inquiſition had forced them to retire, in multitudes, out of the provinces. Many of the poorer, and more deſperate, had fled into the woods, lived by rapine and plunder, and upon the prince of *Orange*'s firſt deſcent ſallied from their holds and faſtnings, doing incredible miſchief to the *Spaniards* and the duke's forces. When the ſcheme was ſuggeſted by admiral *Coligni*, of raiſing money by cruizes upon the *Spaniards*, the *Gueux* embarked in the enterprize, compoſed the body of the ſeamen, and were the moſt implacable enemies of the duke of *Alva* and the whole *Spaniſh* nation. Firſt they were commanded by the count *St. Mark*, and maintained tolerable order. They ſheltered, watered, and ſold their prizes in creeks and ſmall harbours of *England*, tho' prohibited by queen *Elizabeth*, then at peace with king *Philip*; ſometimes in the rivers, creeks, and ports of *Friſeland*. In time they confined themſelves not to *Spaniſh* captures only, but ſeized upon the ſhipping of all nations, giving for a reaſon, that they were excluded as enemies from their ports. In their deſcent on the *Briel*, they carried the town by aſſault, openly profeſſed the reformed religion, declared againſt the taxes and tyranny of the *Spaniſh* government, and laid the foundation of the revolt that immediately enſued in

HOWEVER unimportant the conqueſt of ſo inconſiderable a place might appear, it alarmed the duke of *Alva*, and produced the moſt extravagant rejoicings in *Bruſſels*. The duke regarded it as the harbinger of further oppoſition, he dropped his taxes and executions for the preſent, and diligently applied himſelf to ſuppreſs the growing ſpirit of rebellion. He withdrew the garriſon from *Bruſſels*, and detached it, under the command of *Maximilian Hermin Boſſu*, againſt the *Gueux*. This officer, endeavouring to force the *Briel*, was defeated by the *Orange* faction, and forced to retire with loſs to the iſland of *Beyerland*. Trifling as this victory might ſeem, it ſerved to animate the depreſſed ſpirits of the enemies to the government. The prince of *Orange*, ſenſible of the advantage of poſſeſſing this iſland, exhorted the nobility of his party to fortify and garriſon it; his orders were obeyed, by which means he ſoon became maſter of *Delfſhaben*, a town ſituated on the oppoſite banks of the *Meuſe*. It appeared in *Boſſu*'s retreat how unpopular the duke of *Alva* was in every part of the country. *Dordrecht* ſhut its gates againſt him. *Rotterdam* refuſed to admit his troops; but *Boſſu* obtaining permiſſion, that they ſhould paſs through in ſeparate, ſmall diviſions, ſeized the gates, and began a general maſſacre of the inhabitants. Four hundred ſouls periſhed by the ſword, the town was pillaged, the women raviſhed, and every poſſible act of barbarity and inhumanity committed. Retribution was ſoon made by the enemy. *Alva* had detached *Oſſorio d'Angulo*, with a body of forces, to ſecure *Fluſhing*, a conſiderable port in *Zealand*, and to erect a citadel. The inhabitants denied *Oſſorio* admittance, ſhut their gates, and ſeized *Pacaneo*, a famous engineer, who had come to meaſure the ground where the citadel was to be erected. Apprehending that attempts would be made to force them to ſubmiſſion, they petitioned *Lumey*, admiral of the *Gueux*, for aſſiſtance; and he furniſhed them with two hundred men, under the command of captain *Treſlong*. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the *Spaniſh* engineer was hanged, and an unſucceſsful attempt made to ſurpriſe *Middleburgh*, the capital of the iſland of *Walcheren*. Not diſpirited by this diſappointment, the *Zealanders* aſſiduouſly proſecuted their cruizes upon

A. D. 1572.

The duke of Alva *is oppoſed.*

ſeveral towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Friſeland*, where the *Spaniſh* garriſons were expelled, the oaths of fidelity to *Philip* revoked, and allegiance was ſworn to the prince of *Orange* (1).

(1) *Grot. lib.* 2. *p.* 38. *Le Clerc*, 2. *Temple*, 6.

the *Spaniards*, and obtained ſo much wealth as purchaſed large ſtore of arms and ammunition at *Antwerp*. Joined by great numbers of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* adventurers, they ventured to attack the duke of *Medina Cœli*, ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to ſucceed the duke of *Alva* in the government of the *Netherlands*[k]. Such was the fury and impetuoſity of their onſet, that the duke was completely defeated, a great number of his ſhips were taken, and a booty, amounting to near a million of livres, carried off by the *Zealanders*.

North Holland and Mons reduced by the Orange faction.

NEGLECTING the marine was not the leaſt of the errors committed during the duke of *Alva*'s adminiſtration. This he now endeavoured to repair, ordering a ſquadron of ſhips to be equipped at *Amſterdam*, to bridle the inſolence of *Lumey* and the *Zealanders*, while he buſied himſelf in raiſing an army to oppoſe the prince of *Orange* and *Lewis de Naſſau*, who were making great preparations in *Germany* and *France*. To augment the army in the field, he had draughted moſt of the garriſons. By this means the prince's friends gained poſſeſſion of *North Holland*; and *Lewis de Naſſau* was projecting a ſcheme to ſurpriſe *Mons*, with the inhabitants of which he held a ſecret correſpondence. The deſign ſucceeded, which emboldened moſt of the cities and towns in *Holland* to declare againſt the government. The count *de Bergues* gained over ſeveral cities in *Overyſſel*, *Guelderland*, and *Friſeland*. In a word, the revolt became ſo general, that the duke of *Alva* ſoon found he could not long reſiſt the torrent. He now, when too late, publiſhed an edict to appeaſe the people, ſetting forth, that he would conſent to remit the moſt oppreſſive taxes, if the ſtates could ſuggeſt any other means of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies. He convoked the ſtates-general to meet at the *Hague*, but his orders were now diſregarded, and the ſtates, in contempt of his authority, aſſembled at *Dordrecht*, and invited deputies from the prince of *Orange*, the nobility, and the towns that had declared againſt the governor. Here money was raiſed to enable the prince of *Orange* to begin his march. His forces amounted to fifteen thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. He had promiſed to advance three months pay, and was enabled to perform his engagements, by the liberality and public ſpirit of the ſtates-general and the cities. Several regulations, reſpecting the future ſupport and government of the army, were made on this occaſion, and their proportions of the public expence aſſigned to the ſeveral provinces and cities. It was farther reſolved, that nothing of importance ſhould be tranſ-

The ſtates-general declare againſt the duke of Alva.

[k] Id. p. 41. LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 28.

acted

acted without the privity and conſent of the prince of *Orange*; and that the prince, on his part, ſhould not negociate a peace with the king or his lieutenants, contrary to the ſentiments of the ſtates. In a word, the prince ſhewed the addreſs with which he could manage and direct the people. Without the name of ſovereign of the provinces under his government, he poſſeſſed the authority. He preſided at all military operations, by ſea and land; made and diſpoſed of offices at pleaſure; aſſembled the ſtates; and publiſhed all ordonances and regulations, relative to the preſent ſtate of affairs, without controul. However, he conducted matters with the utmoſt delicacy, and uſed his power with great moderation, to avoid giving offence to the free ſpirit of the *Hollanders*. The popiſh religion was baniſhed the churches, and perſons of that perſuaſion were, with great caution, admitted into public employments. Not only the king's revenue and church-tythes were appropriated to the public ſervice, but the eſtates of thoſe who remained firm in their loyalty. In ſhort, the moſt vigorous meaſures were taken for reſiſting the tyranny of *Spain*, and thoſe perſons who had refuſed the tythes to the government, voluntarily ſubſcribed their all to ſupport a party formed in defence of liberty [l].

The prince of Orange's ſucceſſes.

WHILE the ſtates-general were employed in ways and means to maintain an army, the prince of *Orange* advanced to *Ruremonde*, which he took by aſſault, on the refuſal of the city to ſupply him with neceſſaries. From thence he marched to *Brabant*, and raiſed heavy contributions. He took *Mechlin*, *Oudenarde*, and *Dendermonde*, and could not reſtrain the exceſſes of the ſoldiers, who pillaged the churches, maſſacred the prieſts, and committed other ſhocking barbarities. Next he approached to *Mons*, beſieged by the duke of *Alva*, with deſign, if poſſible, to engage him to give battle. The duke baffled all his endeavours to force him, and carried *Mons* by capitulation; but ſuch was the popularity of the cauſe, and the prince of *Orange*, that the whole *Spaniſh* dominion, lately ſo inſolent and exulting, was ready to expire in the *Netherlands*, had it not been revived by the maſſacre of the proteſtants in *Paris* [m].

WHILE the fate of *Mons* was depending, the ſtates of *Holland* met at *Haarlem*, to deliberate on the defence of the province and the proſecution of the war. *Amſterdam* was in the enemies hands, which greatly obſtructed all their meaſures. It was therefore determined to beſiege it, and the enterprize was committed to *Lumey*, chief of the *Gueux*. After

[l] TEMPLE, ibid. [m] LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 34.

putting

putting the ſtates to conſiderable expence, the project miſcarried, through *Lumey*'s miſconduct. Water was his element, but his vanity led him to diſplay his abilities as a land-officer. He made regular approaches, and was foiled in every attempt [n].

A change in his affairs obliges him to retire to Holland.

THE reduction of *Mons*, and the depreſſion of ſpirits conſequent on the maſſacre at *Paris*, obliged the prince of *Orange* to retire to *Hollana*; and encouraged *Alva* to inveſt *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, and *Mechlin*. The latter, being in no condition to reſiſt, opened its gates; but the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers choſe to ſcale the walls, to give an air of aſſault to the enterpriſe, and countenance to the horrid barbarities intended. Proteſtants and catholics were maſſacred without diſtinction, the prieſts were not ſacred, virginity was deflowered, and infants violated before the eyes of their bleeding parents. The town was pillaged, and the booty eſtimated at four hundred thouſand florins. All the other towns were evacuated by the garriſons, and loaded with heavy impoſitions by *Alva*. As to the prince, he had now removed the ſeat of war into the province of *Holland*; only this province and *Zealand* remained firm to their engagements; the reſt, overwhelmed with conſternation, capitulated on the beſt terms they could procure from the government. However, the country being ſtrong by its nature, and ſituation among the waters, and more ſo by a fierce, rough, and ſturdy people, proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the *Roman* ſtory, of being the obſtinate defenders of liberty, unemaſculated by trade and luxury, and the moſt implacable enemies of *Spaniſh* tyranny, it was determined to make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance. *Frederic de Toledo* was diſpatched by *Alva* to begin the operations in *Holland*. He had already reduced *Zutphen* and *Guelderland*, and, flushed with ſucceſs, appeared before *Waerden*, which he ſummoned to admit a garriſon. The burghers replied, that they were intruſted by the king with the defence of the place, and could not receive a military force without violence to their privileges and engagements. They ſoon had reaſon to repent their firmneſs; the town was taken by ſurpriſe, and all the burghers, aſſembled in the great church, to take the oaths of fidelity to the king, wantonly butchered. Infants, old men, women, and the ſick, were all put to the ſword without pity or remorſe; and of all the barbarities hitherto committed, this was the moſt terrible. It was imagined that the terror inſpired by ſuch inſtances of ſeverity, would reduce the people to obedience, and ſhake the obſti-

Waerden taken.

[n] Id. ibid.

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nacy of the other towns. The contrary effects were produced; rage and deſpair took poſſeſſion of every breaſt, and all determined to ſuffer the laſt extremities, rather than ſubmit to ſo cruel a tyranny.

HAVING finiſhed this tragedy, *Frederic* went to *Amſterdam*, to deliberate with the officers of the army about the ſiege of *Haarlem*. Here it was determined, before they proceeded to extremities, that the city of *Amſterdam* ſhould write to the magiſtrates, exhorting them, in the moſt pathetic terms, to ſubmit, rather than incur the puniſhment inflicted on *Waerden*. The council of *Haarlem* met to take this letter into conſideration. Some were for ſoliciting an immediate reinforcement from the prince of *Orange*; and others, who apprehended the prince was too weak to afford the neceſſary relief, were for making the beſt terms poſſible with the king. Thoſe of the latter opinion were the magiſtrates. Accordingly, without conſulting the burghers, deputies were diſpatched to *Frederic* to ſtipulate conditions. In their abſence, *Ripperda*, a gentleman of *Friſeland*, ſtrongly attached to the prince of *Orange* and the cauſe of liberty, aſſembled the chief burghers, and ſo animated them againſt the *Spaniards*, that they reſolved to ſtand a ſiege, and ſuffer all the horrors of war, rather than ſubmit. They ſent to the prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with their determination, and to implore aſſiſtance. Four companies of *Germans* were detached to reinforce the garriſon of *Haarlem*; and the deputies, on their return, were ſeized as traitors to their country, ſent to the prince of *Orange*, and by his order beheaded. *Frederic* was prepared to compel the burghers to ſubmiſſion. On the 9th of *December* he inveſted the town, after carrying *Sparendem* fort by aſſault, with great loſs and ſlaughter of his ſoldiers. A variety of errors were committed in the attack, in the defence, and manner of ſuccouring *Haarlem*. The aſſailants and defendants had equally ſhewn themſelves ignorant of the art of war, and implacable in their reſentment. Obſtinacy ſupplied the place of military knowledge; every difficulty was ſurmounted by dint of perſeverance; and both ſides ſuſtained, with unparalelled conſtancy, the moſt extreme hardſhips. Hunger and fatigue harraſſed the beſieged; cold and ſickneſs pinched and deſtroyed the beſiegers. Not the rigours of the ſevereſt winter could oblige them to relinquiſh the enterprize; *Alva* determined to puniſh the burghers of *Haarlem* at the expence of half his army. The prince of *Orange* uſed every expedient to relieve the town, but all his attempts were fruſtrated by untoward accidents,

Haarlem *inveſted*,

dents, and the vigilance of the *Spaniards* [o]. At laſt, quite ſpent with fatigue, deſpairing of relief, weakened with loſſes, and totally exhauſted of proviſions and ammunition, the *and taken.* burghers of *Haarlem* ſurrendered upon more favourable terms than they could well expect. A few only of the moſt obſtinate were executed, the reſt were pardoned, on taking an oath of fidelity, and paying an acknowledgment of fifteen thouſand florins (B).

Several victories gained by the Zealand fleet. DURING the ſiege of *Haarlem*, the *Zealanders* were performing glorious atchievements by ſea, and gaining victories over the *Spaniſh* naval armaments. All the efforts of the governor of *Antwerp* could not prevent their carrying off a great number of ſhips out of the river; but to revenge the inſult, and relieve *Middleburg* and *Rammekins*, blocked up by the *Zealanders*, he equipped a ſquadron, gave battle to *Wertz*, the *Zealand* admiral, and was defeated. After repairing and augmenting his fleet, he again ſet ſail with ſixty large veſſels, encountered a ſquadron of *Zealanders* much inferior in ſtrength, and met with his former fortune. Moſt of his ſhips were ſunk or taken; but he found means to puſh into *Middleburg*, with the broken remains of his ſquadron, to the great joy of the garriſon, now reduced by the ſcarcity of proviſions to the laſt extremity. *D'Avila*'s diſgrace did not end here; for, on his return to *Antwerp*, he was a third time attacked and defeated, with conſiderable loſs, by *Wertz*, who thus repaired the diſappointment of an unſucceſsful attempt made on *Tolen* [p].

SOON after the reduction of *Haarlem*, *Alva*, perceiving that his ſeverity anſwered no other purpoſe than irritating the people more againſt the *Spaniſh* government, publiſhed a proclamation, couched in terms ſo ſoothing as afforded room for ſuſpecting their ſincerity; inviting the *Hollanders* to accept of his majeſty's gracious pardon, to lay down their arms, rely on the king's generoſity, and ſubmit to his mercy.

[o] GROT. Ann. p. 2. LE CLERC, p. 35. [p] GROT. & LE CLERC, ubi ſupra.

(B) Sir *William Temple* affirms, that four hundred burghers were put to death in cold blood, in contempt of the capitulation (1); but it appears from other writers (2), that the articles were honourably enough obſerved, and fewer perſons executed than might be expected from the reſentment of an inſolent and cruel conqueror.

(1) *Temple, chap.* 1. *p.* 4. (2) *Grot. lib.* 2. *p.* 38. *Le Clerc, lib.* 2. *p.* 35.

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He gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the utmoſt lenity would be ſhewn to thoſe who did not obſtinately perſiſt in their rebellion; but the people were not diſpoſed to confide in promiſes ſo often violated, nor to throw themſelves on the clemency of a prince and governor, who had ſhewn themſelves inflexible, implacable, perfidious, and inhuman. They now were reduced to deſpair, they expected the worſt that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. The *Spaniards* were preparing to inveſt *Alcmar*, and the *Hollanders* put every means in practice to reſiſt them. Eight months pay was due to the garriſon, who began to mutiny; but contributions were raiſed, which ſilenced their clamours. *Frederic* of *Toledo*, with ſixteen thouſand men, ſat down before a town fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burghers, and eight hundred ſoldiers, in extreme want of proviſions, and without the proſpect of relief. *Somi*, the governor, deſpairing of being able to ſuſtain a ſiege, wrote to the prince of *Orange*, that a place deſtitute of troops, proviſions, ammunition, money, and every neceſſary, ought to be evacuated, and the few ſoldiers in garriſon, and the burghers, ſaved from falling into the hands of the enemy. But the prince of *Orange* ſo animated them by a letter, penned in his perſuaſive and irreſiſtible manner; that, to a man, the townſmen, governor, and ſoldiers, determined to ſacrifice their lives, and ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in the breach. Perſeverance had made the *Zealanders* maſters of *Rammekins*, contrary to all hope and probability; the ſame virtue, the prince obſerved, might ſave *Alcmar*, a town of the utmoſt conſequence to the cauſe of liberty. What particularly inſpired the defendants with courage, was the prince's good fortune in ſurpriſing *Gertrudenburg*. *Frederic* puſhed the ſiege with great vigour. He ordered the inhabitants of *Haarlem* to work in the trenches, and ſuſtain the firſt fire of their friends and countrymen. On the 18th of *September*, a battery of twenty pieces of heavy cannon began to play with unremitting fury, a breach was ſoon effected, the aſſault given, and repulſed, with vigour, though ſuſtained by the bulk of the *Spaniſh* army. From a *Spaniſh* officer taken, the garriſon were informed, that *Alva* had given orders to retire, in caſe he failed in the third aſſault; but if he ſucceeded, to put all to the ſword. Their courage was whetted by this account, and preparations were chearfully made for withſtanding the utmoſt efforts. *Frederic* was foiled in every attempt; the aſſailants were driven from the breach with prodigious ſlaughter; the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers refuſed to mount the walls; the rainy ſeaſon came on, and rendered the roads impracti-

Alcmar *beſieged.*

cable;

The ſiege of Alcmar *raiſed.*

cable; in a word, the ſiege was raiſed, and the town relieved, contrary to expectation, but to the exceeding joy of the prince of *Orange*, and great mortification of *Alva*[q].

The Spaniſh *fleet defeated.*

THIS advantage was attended with another of leſs importance, but which equally ſerved to inſpirit the *Hollanders*. The duke of *Alva*'s grand fleet, equipped with great labour and expence, was defeated by the *Zealanders*. Though the action did not prove deciſive, it greatly chagrined the duke, as *Boſſu*, one of his beſt officers, was taken priſoner, and his fleet afterwards afraid to look the enemy in the face. The year, and the government of *Alva*, concluded with a meeting of the ſtates of thoſe provinces ſubject to *Spain*. Here they deliberated on the means of continuing the war, read, and diſregarded, a remonſtrance ſent by the prince of *Orange*, complaining of the violence of the duke, demanding the free exerciſe of their religion for his party, reſtitution of the rights and privileges of the provinces, and that the foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn. On the ſecond of *December*, the duke of *Alva* quitted the *Low Countries*, with his ſon, *Frederic* of *Toledo*; and don *Lewis de Requeſnes*, appointed to ſucceed him, began his government with pulling down the inſulting ſtatue of his predeceſſor, erected at *Antwerp*; a popular act that would have produced happy conſequences, had not the court of *Spain* been infatuated with notions of deſpotiſm and blind ſuperſtition[r].

Alva *reſigns.*

SECT. IV.

Containing the government of Requeſnes; *the ſiege of* Leyden; *the other various operations of the war*; *the confederacy of the* Provinces, *and other particulars until the aſſaſſination of the prince of* Orange, *in* 1684, *under the government of the duke of* Parma.

A. D. 1574. Requeſnes *ſucceeds to the government.*

THE popularity of the new governor did not long continue. His inſtructions were to puſh the war with vigour; and the mutual animoſity of the combatants could not but render it bloody and cruel. The firſt advantage appeared on the ſide of the prince of *Orange*. *Middleburg*, after a tedious ſiege and blockade, ſurrendered. An infinity of expedients were practiſed in vain for its relief. The obſtinacy of the *Zealanders* was invincible; they became maſters of this capital, and with it of the iſland of *Walcheren*.

[q] MEURS. lib. iv. p. 259. [r] GROT. Ann. lib. ii. p. 40.

LEWIS

LEWIS of *Naſſau* was now arrived with a conſiderable body of forces, to aſſiſt his brother the prince of *Orange*. To prevent their junction *Requeſnes* oppoſed the flower of his army. He paſſed the *Meuſe*, ſurpriſed *Lewis* near a village called *Noeck*, defeated his army, and left the three princes, *Lewis*, *Henry*, and *Chriſtopher*, dead on the field of battle, but deduced no other conſequence from ſo ſignal a victory, than fruſtrating the propoſed junction of the brothers. Writers differ widely in their relations of this tranſaction. Some attribute the calamity to the indolence and ſecurity of *Lewis*, while others impute it wholly to the mutinous ſpirit of his troops, who loudly demanded their arrears, at the very time they were attacked by the enemy [a]. In this particular, the *Spaniſh* general was not much more fortunate. Scarce had the *Spaniards* obtained the victory, when the ſoldiers formed a mutiny on the moſt regular and well-concerted plan, depoſing all their officers, appointing others, eſtabliſhing a ſort of community, and veſting one of their number with the chief authority. *D'Avila*, who then commanded the army, uſed every means to appeaſe the ſoldiers, but they were inflexible; complaining that their officers had all the honour and emoluments of the war, while their portion was only the fatigue and danger. The mutineers paſſed the *Meuſe*, proceeded to *Antwerp*, were received and joined by the *Spaniſh* garriſon in the citadel, and at length pacified by a gratuity of four hundred thouſand livres, raiſed by the city, to prevent being pillaged. The anxiety and dread occaſioned by this tumult, was augmented by another victory obtained by the *Zealanders* over a *Spaniſh* ſquadron of forty ſhips, under the conduct of *Adolfus Hemſtede*, moſt of which were taken or deſtroyed.

Lewis *of* Naſſau *defeated and ſlain.*

A mutiny in the Spaniſh *army.*

IT was now found that the reduction of the provinces would be a work of time, expence, and hazard; *Philip* therefore at laſt condeſcended to leſs arbitrary meaſures: by his orders a proclamation was iſſued at *Bruſſels*, granting a free pardon to thoſe who had aſſiſted at the proteſtant religious aſſemblies, taken up arms, and otherwiſe violated the laws; but with an exemption of the prince of *Orange*, and proviſo, that all admitted into the king's favour, and partaking of his clemency, ſhould produce an atteſtation of their having ſolemnly renounced hereſy. So limited an act of grace could produce no effect: it was unanimouſly rejected by the *Hollanders*, and preparations were made for obtaining

Requeſnes *publiſhes a proclamation.*

[a] METEREN. lib. v. p. 101. RHEDAN. lib. i. p. 16. GROT. lib. ii. p. 43. BENTIVOG. lib. viii. p. 167.

better conditions, or wholly recovering their liberty.[c] In vindication of their conduct they publiſhed a counter proclamation, ſhewing the intention of the former to be inſidious, and declaring their own views to be no other than to obtain the common rights of mankind, defend the liberties of the provinces, and aboliſh tyranny and cruel oppreſſion. They ſent remonſtrances to all the powers in *Europe*, particularly bewailing their ſituation, and craving that aid and aſſiſtance due by humanity; but their chief applications were made to *England*, *France*, and the proteſtant ſtates of the empire. *Requeſnes* perceiving that nothing could be expected from the king's proclamation, reſolved upon the moſt memorable event of the year, the ſiege of *Leyden*. The prince of *Orange* had given repeated orders for providing the garriſon with all the neceſſaries of a ſiege; imagining the governor would bend his chief efforts againſt the town; but they were by a ſtrange fatality neglected, and the inhabitants forced to live under the preſſure of a thouſand wants and inconveniencies, during the moſt obſtinate, bloody, and cruel ſiege the *Netherlands* had yet beheld. *Valdes*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* army, offered the moſt advantageous conditions; but the burghers and little garriſon were deaf to all terms, except thoſe of freedom and independency: they relied on their courage, the juſtice of their cauſe, and their perſeverence in the paths of liberty, for their defence; and indeed their efforts were prodigious, the reſult of neceſſity and deſpair. The whole ſurrounding country was laid under water by opening the ſluices, and *Leyden* almoſt overwhelmed in the inundation neceſſary to its defence. Cut off from all ſuccour, except what they received by boats forcing their way through the enemy, they combated every difficulty, and reſiſted famine, diſeaſe, and a powerful enemy, with incredible conſtancy. It would indeed be impoſſible to deſcribe the miſeries they ſuſtained, reduced at laſt to live upon the dead carcaſſes of their fellow citizens: all their efforts would however have been vain, had not providence viſibly interpoſed: a violent ſouth-weſt wind drove the inundation with ſuch fury againſt the works of the beſiegers, that fearing his army would be ſwallowed up in the waves, *Valdes* relinquiſhed the enterpriſe, drew off his army, and expoſed himſelf to a furious ſally of the beſieged, by which five hundred of his men periſhed.[d] Thus was *Leyden* moſt unexpectedly relieved, and the *Spaniards* foiled after undergoing extreme fa-

Leyden *beſieged.*

The ſiege is raiſed.

[c] Id. ibid. [d] Le Clerc, lib. iii. p. 42.

tigue

tigue and hardſhips, loſing the flower of their army, waſting their treaſure, and thoſe precious moments, which in ſo critical a juncture are irredeemable. This diſappointment drew on *Valdes* the contempt of his troops; they ſuperſeded him, and again proclaimed their old commander: a mutiny enſued, they were clamorous for their pay, anarchy and confuſion reigned through the whole; they marched to *Utrecht*, declaring they would ſerve maſters who would put the juſt value upon their merit; they demanded entrance into the city, but met with a different reception than they had done at *Maeſtricht*. *Barlaimont* commanded, declared them rebels and traitors to their king, gave free liberty to the people to maſſacre them wherever they were found, and took the moſt rigorous meaſures to conquer that mutinous ſpirit which broke out on every occaſion. The rebels attempted to ſet fire to the gates, but they were repulſed, and their leader ſlain; upon which they capitulated, were received into favour, and ſent to winter-quarters in *Brabant*.

A ſecond mutiny of the Spaniſh *ſoldiers.*

Next year commenced with ſome fruitleſs efforts made by the emperor to heal the breach and quiet the diſturbances in the *Low Countries*. Negotiations were for ſeveral weeks carried on, but neither ſide would recede enough to come to any concluſion; and the emperor, tired out with vain hopes that his mediation might accommodate the differences, at laſt renounced the attempt in deſpair. Some perſons indeed imagined, that the ambition of the prince of *Orange* was the chief obſtruction to the ſucceſs of the conferences at *Breda*. Certain it is, that both parties were too violently inflamed to liſten to reaſonable terms: *Philip* demanded too much, and the prince yielded too little; both were in hopes that the iſſue of another campaign would be ſo favourable as to procure better terms, and both were diſappointed, as the proſpect of an accommodation was then rather more diſtant [e].

A. D. 1595. *A Congreſs at* Breda.

Requeſnes commenced hoſtilities with the ſiege of *Baren*, which he took by aſſault, the garriſon retiring to the citadel. *Hierques*, governor of *Holland*, gave the town up to be plundered by the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers. The citadel wanted no neceſſary of defence; but *Vogelſang* the chief officer accepted of conditions, marched out with the honours of war, and was arreſted by order of the ſtates of *Holland*, but ſhortly after diſmiſſed. Next the *Spaniſh* general appeared before *Oudewater*, a place untenable from the circumſtances of its ſituation. The garriſon, however, made an obſti-

Succeſſes of the Spaniards.

[e] Bentivog. p. 1. lib. ix. au commencement.

nate defence, were at laſt ſtormed and put to the ſword. The town was ſet on fire, and all except a few churches and convents laid in aſhes. *Schoonhoven* was the next object of *Hierques'* military ambition. It was ſurrounded only by a ſlight wall, and defended by a few companies of *French* and *German* infantry, placed there rather to retard the enemy than withſtand a ſiege. The Sieur *de la Garde* was ſent by the prince of *Orange* to the relief of the garriſon; and he arrived, after breaking through their works, juſt as the place was on the point of capitulating. So ſlender a reinforcement could only retard the fate of *Schoonhoven*; a breach of three hundred yards wide was made in the walls, and the *Spaniſh* general preparing to give the aſſault, when *la Garde* ſeeing that further reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, capitulated upon honourable conditions. Some other trival ſucceſſes attended the arms of the *Spaniſh* general; after which he inveſted *Woerde*; but finding the ſiege would be attended with difficulties, he converted it into a blockade, and was at laſt obliged to abandon the enterprize, after ſpending ſeveral months before the place, and loſing a great part of his army by a vigorous ſally on the 24th of *June* 1576. In the mean time *Madragon* reduced the iſland of *Finart*, ſtanding eaſt of *Zealand*, and performed ſeveral actions that raiſed the credit of the *Spaniſh* arms [f].

STILL however the prince of *Orange* maintained his ſuperiority at ſea, by which he frequently reduced the enemy to great difficulties. *Philip* was ſenſible that the conqueſt of the provinces could not be effected while the *Zealanders* and *Hollanders* ſailed from port to port with impuni y, relieved the towns beſieged by his army, and blocked up thoſe held by the king's forces. To overthrow this laſt hope of the enemy, he gave orders that the whole force of *Requeſnes* ſhould be applied in reducing the principal ſea-ports in *Zealand*, foreſeeing that the enemy's naval ſtrength muſt of conſequence be ruined. *Hierques* was directed to keep no greater number of forces in *Holland* than was abſolutely neceſſary, and a prodigious number of veſſels were equipped to be aſſiſting in the meditated conqueſt. The *Zealanders* ſaw the deſign, and, determined to fruſtrate it, attacked the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, the greater part of which they deſtroyed on the ſtocks and in the harbours. *Requeſnes* laboured to repair this loſs, and execute the royal mandate. A great number of light veſſels were again got in readineſs. Three thouſand men were tranſported to *Tolen*, with a view of attack-

[f] LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 47.

ing the little iſland of *Schowen*, which would greatly facilitate the attempt on *Walcheren*, and the command of the fleet and five hundred land-forces was given to *d'Avila*. It was concerted to paſs by a ford at low water; the *Zealanders* perceived them approaching, drew up their veſſels in a line, and poured out vollies of great and ſmall ſhot on the enemy, embarraſſed at the ſame time with the depth of the water, the weight of their arms and wet cloaths. A firm footing on the dry land being at length eſtabliſhed, the *Zealanders*, whoſe element was the water, every where gave way, leaving the *Spaniards* to the poſſeſſion of the open country, and liberty to purſue the conqueſts of the towns. *Ziriczee* was blocked, the ſeverity of the winter preventing its being beſieged in form, and *Madragon* took every precaution that it ſhould not be ſuccoured; while the prince of *Orange* uſed every expedient to throw in a reinforcement and proviſions. After ſuſtaining great hardſhips and extreme want, the garriſon at length ſurrendered, and by that means gave promiſing hopes to the *Spaniards* they might ſucceed in the reduction of *Holland* [g].

The Spaniards make an attempt on Zealand.

IT was the loſs of *Ziriczee* that firſt ſuggeſted the deſign of conferring the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* upon ſome proteſtant prince who ſhould be able to protect them againſt the tyranny of *Philip*. This affair was not talked of vaguely, but debated and approved in the ſtates of *Holland*. The offer was certainly made to queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; but ſhe for political reaſons declined it. Neceſſity even obliged the ſtates to negotiate with the *French* court, and liſten to terms offered by the duke of *Anjou*. The treaty came to nothing, but the prince of *Orange* gained by it the advantage of eſtabliſhing a mart at *Calais* for the diſpoſal of the prizes made by the *Gueux* [h].

A. D. 1576.

Deſpair of Holland and Zealand.

ON the other hand, *Philip*, though greatly ſuperior in power, was intolerably diſtreſſed for money; above 40,000,000 of crowns were due to the *Spaniſh* and *Genoeſe* merchants, and the intereſt ſtill unpaid now amounted to as much as the capital. The war had beſides coſt a greater ſum ſent in ſpecie from *Spain* and the *Indies*, which, with the immenſe loſſes occaſioned by the ſtagnation of trade in the *Netherlands*, had quite exhauſted the treaſury. Large arrears were due to the troops, they were every day mutinying, and ſome broke out into actual rebellion, doing incredible miſchief in the open country, and laying the weaker towns under contribution. To remedy theſe evils, *Requeſnes* demanded a ſupply of the provinces, and they an-

Situation of Philip.

[g] Id. p. 48. [h] CAMDEN, p. 284. REIDAN. fol. 114.

ſwered him, by requiring reſtitution of their priviſeges, and diſmiſſion of the *Spaniſh* troops. *Flanders* in particular paid the deſired ſubſidy, by ballancing it againſt half the damages the province ſuſtained from the miſconduct of the governors, and the wars wantonly and unneceſſarily excited. While this affair was in agitation, *Requeſnes* died of an ardent fever; the council of ſtate took upon them the adminiſtration, and the prince of *Orange* took the opportunity of the confuſion that enſued to lay the firſt foundation of the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which his affairs were conſiderably retrieved, and the greateſt blow given to the court of *Spain* ſhe had yet ſuſtained. All now was anarchy in the *Low Countries*. The garriſon of *Ziriczee* mutinied for want of pay, and to appeaſe them the council of ſtate ſent a hundred thouſand livres, upon which the *Walloon* regiments under *Madragon* ſeized, after expelling the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, wounding and murdering their officers. This did not unite the *Spaniſh* mutineers among themſelves; they turned out the few remaining officers, made new appointments, and being joined by the garriſon of *Lillo*, marched to the number of 2000 men towards the capital, committed horrible outrages, overwhelmed the inhabitants of *Bruſſels* with conſternation; and on the 26th of *July* ſeized upon *Aloſt*, confined the principal burghers, and hanged up a king's officer. The moſt favourable conditions were offered by the council of ſtate, in order to appeaſe the tumult, and proviſions were ſent to the mutineers. This created ſuſpicion in the inhabitants of *Bruſſels*, that the meeting was excited by the connivance of the council, with a view of ruining the provinces without incurring the reſentment and odium conſequent on any appearance of legal oppreſſion. They arreſted the council, declared the *Spaniards* rebels, and took meaſures in concert with the other cities and provinces for expelling foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. A confederacy to this purpoſe was formed between the provinces of *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, to which all the reſt except *Luxemburgh* acceded; and don *John* of *Auſtria*, who had entered the *Low Countries* in quality of governor and ſucceſſor to *Requeſnes*, was obliged to keep aloof, and live in obſcurity in *Luxemburgh*, until the ſtorm ſhould ſubſide [1].

The mutiny among his troops, the revolt of the provinces.

The deſtruction of Antwerp,

The prince of *Orange* was all this while profiting by theſe commotions. He had long laboured to have the ſtates-general convoked, and he now ſaw them not only aſſembled,

[1] Le Clerc, p. 52, 53, 54. Meteren. p. 125.

2 but

but preparing to make head againſt the *Spaniards*, by a ſtrange viciſſitude of fortune, ariſing from accidents which all his penetration and ſagacity could not foreſee. United in councils againſt the common enemy, every meaſure was taken for reducing the citadels of *Ghent*, *Antwerp* and *Maeſtricht*, the chief places in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and what muſt chiefly contribute to their expulſion. *Ghent* citadel was taken on the 27th of *November*, by the aſſiſtance of a ſtrong reinforcement of troops and artillery ſent by the prince of *Orange*. At *Antwerp* the ſtates of *Brabant* were leſs ſucceſsful. The citadel was vigorouſly attacked; but the mutineers at *Aloſt*, entering the citadel to aſſiſt their countrymen, a ſally was made, the beſiegers were driven from their trenches, great part of the town was conſumed by fire, and the reſt pillaged for three days with every kind of inſolence and brutality, at a time when *Antwerp* was the moſt flouriſhing and populous city in the *Netherlands*, and indeed among the moſt wealthy in *Europe*[k]. It is affirmed that the treaſure carried off amounted to four millions, beſides an infinity of rich merchandiſe. This terrible calamity united papiſts and proteſtants without diſtinction in a confederacy, and co-operated with the meaſures of the prince of *Orange* to form the pacification of *Ghent*, which was a confederacy of all the provinces to expel foreign ſoldiers, to reſtore the antient form of government, to refer matters of religion to the ſeveral ſtates of the provinces, for ever to unite the other fifteen provinces in the ſame common intereſt with *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the prince of *Orange*, to renew the commerce and amity between them, to aſſemble the ſtates in the manner practiſed under the houſe of *Burgundy* and *Charles* V. to ſuſpend all the rigorous edicts of the duke of *Alva* on the ſubject of religion, until the ſtates general ſhould take the matter into conſideration, to releaſe all the natives made priſoners mutually without ranſom, and to reſtore all things upon the ſame footing as before the war, and the tyrannical government of the duke of *Alva*[l].

and the pacification of Ghent.

The ſtates general began with ſoliciting aid from the queen of *England*. Their ambaſſador had a gracious reception, and *Elizabeth* advanced them 20,000 *l.* ſterling, on condition the *French* ſhould not be invited into the *Netherlands*, that they would accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation if offered, and that the loan ſhould be repaid the enſuing year. *Bentivoglio*[m] alledges, that the queen ſti-

[k] Vide Pref. [l] Le Clerc, p. 55. [m] P. 1. lib. x. p. 2. 1.

pulated, that they ſhould make no innovations in religion without the conſent of *Philip*, and ſeveral other articles not very conſiſtent with her future conduct, and the character of a proteſtant ſovereign of a proteſtant kingdom. Next a ceſſation of hoſtilities was agreed upon with don *John*, upon his aſſurances that every reaſonable requeſt of the provinces ſhould be granted. On the 27th of *December*, deputies were ſent with propoſals to don *John* to diſband the foreign troops; but he deſired to know what ſecurity the ſtates would give for their allegiance after the departure of the *Spaniſh* forces, and remonſtrated againſt the unreaſonableneſs of diſarming the king, while his rebellious ſubjects were in arms, and ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of deſerting their obedience. He likewiſe demanded ſecurity with reſpect to religion; and inſiſted ſo warmly on this head, that it was obvious he had no inclination to part with the *Spaniſh* army before the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* embraced the catholic religion. After much altercation, neceſſity at length obliged don *John* to grant all that was required to confirm the pacification of *Ghent*, and diſmiſs the *Spaniſh* army. He had the king's authority for his proceedings, the treaty was proclaimed at *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp* on the 17th of *February*, and don *John* immediately acknowledged governor and the king's lieutenant of the *Netherlands*. Peace and concord were reſtored, induſtry renewed, and religious diſputes ſilenced; in a word, the *Low Countries* would again have become the moſt flouriſhing and important of the *Spaniſh* dominions, had not the ambition of don *John*, the falſe policy and deſpotiſm of *Philip*, or ſome ſuch cauſe, a third time lighted up the torch of diſcord, and excited a civil war, never to be appeaſed but by the total extinction of the *Spaniſh* ſovereignty over the ſeven provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Groningen*, *Guelderland*, *Friſeland* and *Overyſſel*[o].

A. D. 1587.

The perpetual edict.

After the departure of the foreign troops, when liberty began to draw breath, while commerce was again lifting its head, and the arts of peace diſtributing their bleſſings, don *John* gave umbrage by the great number of *Spaniards* retained in his court, the confidence he repoſed in his *Spaniſh* ſervants, the intimacy he chiefly contracted with thoſe perſons who appeared diſſatisfied with all the meaſures concerted ſince the death of *Requeſnes*, by demanding the ſame honours paid to princes of the blood veſted with his authority, the ſame guard and reſpect, by aſſuming a power

Don John *admitted to the government.*

[o] Bentiv. lib. x. ibid.

over the officers of the army, and claiming the title and power of captain-general, by interfering in the civil promotions dependent on the ſtates; and by inſiſting, that if the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* did not immediately agree to every particular of the late treaty, called the *perpetual edict*, all communication with them ſhould be broken off, and they forced into reaſon by dint of arms. It muſt be obſerved, that when the edict was communicated to the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they made the following objections by the advice of the prince of *Orange*. That the ſtates general had not eſtabliſhed the right of aſſembling this ſovereign tribunal in the perſons originally inveſted with that power by the conſtitution; that they had authorized an infraction of their privileges, by not procuring the releaſe of count *Bare*, who had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country; that the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed only under ſuch limitations as ſubjected it to what conſtructions and interpretations the king thought proper; that the *Spaniſh* troops were ſuffered to carry off the immenſe wealth they acquired by the ruin and deſtruction of the *Netherlands*, and the city of *Antwerp* in particular; that no ſtipulation was made in favour of thoſe diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates; that no mention was made of demoliſhing the forts, and that they had ſhewn but little complaiſance to the queen of *England*, and the court of *France*, notwithſtanding they had in many inſtances teſtified their regard for the *Netherlands*. They added, that it were to be wiſhed they had ſeen all theſe articles performed before don *John* was admitted into his government, and that every man had previouſly been put in poſſeſſion of his eſtate and effects, as well in the *Low Countries*, as in the duchy of *Burgundy*; an article that in particular reſpected the prince of *Orange*, diſpoſſeſſed ſince the firſt diſturbances of large poſſeſſions in *Burgundy* and *Brabant*. For theſe reaſons the ſtates and the prince refuſed to ſign the edict, though they conſented to all the articles that did not contradict thoſe ſpecified. Don *John* was ſtrenuous in urging that violent meaſures might be uſed to force them to ſubmiſſion. He wrote to the king in cypher, preſſing him to this method as the only expedient. The letter fell into the hands of *Henry* IV. who tranſmitted it to the prince of *Orange*. His ſecretary *Eſcovedo* was next ſent to *Spain*, under pretence of ſoliciting money for the payment of the *German* forces; but in reality to repreſent the neceſſity of violent meaſures, and communicate the plan projected by don *John*. Impatient for the return of *Eſcovedo*, he meditated quitting the coun-

He gives umbrage to the States.

try, and actually conſulted his friends *Barlaimont* and *Manſvelt* upon the ſubject. At laſt, under pretence of complimenting *Margaret* queen of *Navarre* on her journey to the *Spaw*, he left *Bruſſels*, and ſeized upon the citadel of *Namur*; a conduct which he endeavoured to juſtify by the neceſſity he was under of retiring to a place of ſecurity, while he ſaw all around him in commotion, and the flames of war and rebellion ready to break out. He ſent his apology to the ſtates, deſiring they would diſarm the governor and burghers of *Bruſſels* cloſely attached to the prince of *Orange*. The ſtates invited him to return, promiſing they would puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all convicted of any deſigns againſt his perſon; but he not only refuſed, but endeavoured to corrupt the *German* forces, and by their means to gain poſſeſſion of *Antwerp*. In a word, from intercepted letters, from the ſeizing of *Namur* the attempts on *Antwerp*, the tampering with the *German* ſoldiers, the ſubſequent altercation with the ſtates general, and the march of the *Spaniſh* army towards the *Netherlands*, it inconteſtibly appears that don *John* was the aggreſſor, that he was encouraged by *Philip*; and that though the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand* refuſed to ſign the perpetual edict, yet they and the prince of *Orange* were deſirous of preſerving the public tranquillity even upon the terms of the edict [p].

and ſeizes Namur.

The prince of Orange *in high eſtimation.*

When it was known that the *Spaniſh* forces were aſſembling in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*, the ſtates invited the prince of *Orange* to *Breda*, where he was joyfully received, and accompanied to *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels* by ſtrong guards, who voluntarily offered themſelves for his protection. Here he was choſen governor of *Brabant*, which had no particular governor of the province, being under the immediate direction of don *John*, in quality of the king's lieutenant. At the ſame time a council of ſtate was formed, which ſhould have the general government of the provinces, and to this the prince was appointed preſident. He was indeed eſteemed not only the principal perſonage in the confederacy, but the defender of liberty, and the parent of the *Netherlands*. His high reputation incurred the jealouſy of the other nobility, particularly of the duke *d'Archot*, the head of an ancient family, the governor of *Flanders*, and a nobleman of great property and influence. He became the leader of a faction oppoſed to the prince of *Orange*, agreed however with him in the deteſtation of tyranny and defence of freedom, but differed not only in point of religion and ſentiments

[p] Grot. lib. ii. p. 50.

with

with reſpect to the court of *Spain*, but of perſonal intereſt. In ſhort, he was the prince's rival; finding his weight inferior, he was determined to invite the archduke *Mathias*, brother to the emperor, to the government of the *Low Countries*. A meſſage was privately ſent to that prince, who, diſſatisfied with the little conſequence he had at the imperial court, accepted the propoſal, quitted *Prague* in the night, and ſuddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, to the great aſtoniſhment of the ſtates. Contrary to expectation, the prince of *Orange* eſpouſed the archduke's intereſt in oppoſition to the duke of *Anjou*, and perſuaded ſeveral cities to beſtow upon him the government, but on condition that he himſelf ſhould be appointed his lieutenant. *Bentivoglio*, with the true caſuiſtry of an *Italian* prelate, aſſigns a variety of ſubtle cauſes for the prince's conduct, which probably never had exiſtence but in that writer's own imagination. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that they are ſpecious and refined, perfectly conſiſtent with the character of the prince; but perhaps too ſpeculative for practice, and too far-fetched for ſo preſſing a conjuncture[q].

The duke *d'Archot* now changed his battery: he laboured to diſſuade the provinces from coming into the meaſures of the prince of *Orange*; affirming, that ambition, and not the love of liberty, made him oppoſe the *Spaniſh* government; he made his public entry into *Ghent*, eſcorted by a great number of horſe and foot; he gained great numbers of the nobility, obtained from the council of ſtate very extenſive powers, with reſpect to the government of *Flanders*; and after taking upon him the authority of governor, gained the affections of the people, by declaring that he was come to reſtore their privileges, and demoliſh the citadel of *Ghent*, which had long given umbrage. However, in the midſt of all this popularity, he was arreſted in *Ghent* by one *Rhihove*, who raiſed a ſedition among the populace, but releaſed ſix days after at the interceſſion of the prince of *Orange*. A conduct that refuted all the calumnies propagated againſt the prince, and proved that the public good was the guiding ſtar that directed him to ſo many great and glorious actions, amidſt the utmoſt perils to his preſent reputation[r]. *Archot* was prevailed on by the ſtates of *Flanders* to publiſh a declaration, promiſing he would entirely forget and forgive the injury his honour ſuſtained by his impriſonment. To this declaration, his pride made him give the air of a pardon. His expreſſion gave offence, and that air of au-

Factions formed againſt him.

[q] Le Clerc, lib. iii. p. 63. [r] Grot. & Le Clerc, ibid.

thority

thority he assumed was a proof of his ambition. All his influence however could not prevent the release of the other prisoners made in *Ghent*, particularly of *Champigni*, who was accused of having drawn up an incendiary paper, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the provinces, and levelled in particular at the prince of *Orange*, whom they wanted to supersede, by substituting *Archot* in his employments. It would be impossible to recite the views, designs, and opinions of parties and individuals, who contributed to the public confusion; they were infinitely contradictory, and frequently absurd. Sufficient it is, that the prince of *Orange* and duke *d'Archot* were rivals, who should raise the archduke *Mathias* to the dignity of governor-general, in order to hold the power in their own hands: both were enemies to tyranny, but the latter better disposed to the *Spanish* government, and a strenuous supporter of the popish religion.[s]

IT was judged necessary by the states and the prince of *Orange*, that the archduke should be maintained agreeable to his quality, until he could be installed in his authority; accordingly the prince, attended by the burghers in arms, went to meet him at *Antwerp*. Immediately after the states general published a proclamation, declaring don *John* an enemy to the country he was bound to protect; and all his adherents were ordered to quit him, under pain of being declared rebels. A closer union was formed between the catholic and protestant provinces, by which the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed, and the parties engaged mutually to support their privileges. Next an ambassy was sent to queen *Elizabeth*, to solicit the assistance of the *English* nation, and engage the queen in an alliance. On the 17th of *December* the states resolved to install the archduke in the dignity of governor-general of the provinces, and a deputation was sent to him with the articles that were to regulate his authority and administration. As the governor was a stranger, supposed uninformed of the laws and privileges of the country, the prince of *Orange* was appointed his lieutenant, whose integrity and ability was acknowledged.[t]

Don John *deposed.*

THOUGH the archduke was fettered and confined by tighter bonds than any preceding governor, he accepted the charge, and signed the conditions, set out for *Brussels* on the 18th of *January*, and was every where received in the quality he assumed. Don *John* sent bitter reproaches to the states, but his letters were neglected, and laid aside without

A. D. 1578.

[s] LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 64. [t] Id. ibid. p. 65.

a reply

a reply; they wrote however to the king, apologizing for their conduct, and attributing it to the neceſſity of the times, and the maladminſtration of don *John*: the ſame excuſes were made to the emperor, without whoſe permiſſion the archduke had accepted the government, but in vain; for neither of the princes could be perſuaded that the ſtates ought to confer or the duke to accept without the leave or direct appointment of *Philip* and the emperor. In *Spain* councils were daily held upon the affairs of the *Low Countries*; it was at length determined to act vigorouſly, as the only means of ſaving thoſe provinces either from claiming their independency, or throwing themſelves into the arms of ſome foreign prince. The troops were ordered to be aſſembled in *Naples* and *Milan*, levies were made in *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, and a reſolution taken of ſupporting don *John* with the whole power of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. To oppoſe the vaſt preparations, the ſtates concluded a treaty with the queen of *England*, whereby that princeſs ſtipulated to advance them 100,000 l. ſterling, to aſſiſt the provinces with 5000 foot, and 1000 horſe; on condition that the loan was repaid with intereſt in eight months, that certain towns were ceded to her in ſecurity, that the ſtates ſhould defray the expence of tranſporting the troops, and take them into their pay while they acted in their ſervice. It is ſaid, that the ambaſſadors would have preferred an equivalent in money to the *Engliſh* troops; that they hinted the matter to the queen, and found ſhe was offended. The treaty however was afterwards broke by the queen, under pretence that the *French* would harbour ſuſpicions of her having deſigns upon the *Netherlands*, and would for that reaſon unite their forces with *Spain* to oppoſe her attempts. Inſtead of the *Engliſh* troops, the queen propoſed ſending *John Caſſimir* count palatine with 3000 foot and 3000 horſe, refuſing to pay the money ſtipulated until the ſtates conſented. This ſcheme had before been ſuggeſted in the ſtates general, but oppoſed, as it would render the reformiſts too powerful; which indeed was the great objection to the *Engliſh* forces.

Preparations for war.

Treaty with queen Elizabeth.

BEFORE this treaty was concluded, don *John* was joined by the expected army under the conduct of *Alexander Farneſe*, duke of *Parma*, the moſt intrepid, vigorous, expert, and renowned officer in the ſervice of *Philip*. The troops conſiſted of 16,000 foot, and 2000 horſe, all choſen veterans; many of whom had often triumphed under the duke of *Alva*. Don *John* declared war on the 25th of *January*; and though the winter was ſevere, determined to commence hoſtilities, and puſh the advantages he obtained from a greatly ſuperior army. The

ſtates

[illegible] preparations; *William* [illegible] the most urgent remonstrances, and [illegible] the necessity of an offensive war; but so tedious
Excess of Don John. [illegible] of the disbursements of so many months a body, clogged with [illegible] embarrassments, that nothing was executed. A body [illegible] foot and 5000 horse was [illegible] in the neighbourhood of *Namur*; but all the chief [illegible] were at [illegible] and [illegible] the sieur *de Coigny* [illegible] *Barlaimont*, a *Scotchman*, with the troops [illegible] attacking; *Coigny* and *Barlaimont* [illegible] prepared for a retreat; the cavalry [illegible] over the infantry in their march, and [illegible] they were in motion, hastened to occupy [illegible] passes. He fell upon the army of [illegible], in great confusion, and forced them to [illegible] manner under the cannon of [illegible] the town was [illegible], and it submitted at discretion; while [illegible] army was dispersed in parties [illegible]. *Limbourg* surrendered to *Gonzaga*, and *Berlaer* was reduced by *Mansfeld*. *Sichem* made an obstinate resistance, but was at length stormed and taken by the prince of *Parma*, all the garrison being put to the sword, except the governor, who valiantly defended himself in an [illegible] castle for [illegible], on his submission, he was [illegible] and [illegible]. *Diest*, *Archot*, *Tillemont*, and *Léau*, [illegible] without exchanging a shot; but *Nivelle* [illegible] a long siege, and at last obtained honourable [illegible]. *Don John* would have invested *Brussels*, where the archduke and prince of *Orange* resided; but dreading the difficulty of the enterprise, he contented himself with [illegible] and the empire, by the reduction of *Limbourg* and *Philippeville*.

Amsterdam comes to favour the States. While *Don John* was pursuing his conquests with rapidity, the States made an acquisition, that more than compensated all their losses; it was the city of *Amsterdam*, which [illegible] for several months by sea and land, at last concluded a treaty with the friends of the house of *Orange*, whereby it was stipulated that the protestants should hold their religious meetings without the walls, and be permitted a cemetery or burying-ground within; that the garrison should be disbanded, and 600 men, commanded by the burgheers, levied for the defence of the city; that all persons banished on the score of religion should be recalled; that *Amsterdam*

[illegible] CAMDEN, A. D. 1577. RHYM. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 784. BENTIVOGLIO, lib. ii. p. 26.

should

ſhould enjoy all its ancient privileges; and that all vacancies in public employments ſhould be filled without diſtinction by thoſe who either did or did not incur the penalty of baniſhment on account of party-conexions. This capitulation was ſoon broken, the catholic magiſtrates were driven out of the city, attended by the prieſts and popiſh clergy of every denomination; the images and idols of ſuperſtition were pulled down, and only the reformed clergy ſuffered to preach publickly.[w]

THESE tranſactions were ſucceeded by the arrival of baron *de Selle*, with letters and inſtructions from king *Philip*. His firſt propoſal was to reinſtate don *John*; but finding the ſpirits of the people too violently enflamed to admit of ſuch conditions, the baron artfully changed his battery, deſired that the duke of *Parma* might be accepted in quality of governor, without troops, or any other ſecurity than the promiſes of the ſtates, and the perſon of the prince of *Orange*, who was required as a hoſtage; but this propoſition was entirely rejected. Don *John* or the prince of *Parma* would not be received upon any conditions; and the ſtates poſitively inſiſted as a preliminary to any treaty, that he government ſhould be left in the hands of the archuke, aſſiſted by the prince of *Orange*. The emperor ſent mbaſſadors with inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe; but he et with no better ſucceſs.[x] *Propoſals made by king* Philip.

NEGOTIATIONS proving abortive, both ſides prepared o enſure their pretenſions by the ſword. The ſtates, enible that the misfortunes and loſſes in the winter aroſe om the irreſolution and tedious deliberations of the proincial ſtates, veſted the archduke, the council of ſtate, nd the prince of *Orange*, with a power of levying what umber of troops they ſhould think neceſſary, and diſpoſing em in the manner moſt advantageous to the public, without referring to the ſtates in every particular: they only recommended that they would proportion the expences to the evenue, which at that time amounted only to 600,000 vres. About this time a revolution, greatly beneficial to he common cauſe, was effected in *Guelderland*; *John* of *Naſſau*, brother to the prince of *Orange*, was appointed governor of this province; upon entering on the adminiſtration, count *John* perceived that the whole conduct of affairs was in the hands of perſons ſtrongly affected to king *Philip* and the catholic religion. Moſt of the cities profeſſed popery; and the count, who had ſwore to the pacification *Revolutions in* Guelderland *and* Groningen.

[w] GROT. lib. iii. p. 54. [x] BENT. lib. x. p. 242.

of

of *Ghent*, was reſtrained from attempting any change in religion. The face of affairs however took a ſudden turn; *John* acquired great popularity, and ſoon diſcovered that foreigners were the leading perſons. His artifice and policy ſtimulated the people againſt them; they were deprived of their ſeats in the provincial ſtates, and turned out of their offices in the government of the cities. Thus *Naſſau* obtained the chief direction, and was able to co-operate with the meaſures planned by his brother. Another revolution happened in *Groningen*, of which *Jaſper de Rollis ſieur de Billy* was governor. *Billy* was by birth a *Portugueſe*, by religion a catholic, and conſequently a dependent on the court of *Spain:* he refuſed to accede to the union of the provinces, and the ſtates general found it neceſſary to ſend to him *Francis Martin Stella*, with propoſals for ſigning the pacification of *Ghent*. *Billy* ſuſpecting that the deputy's real deſign was to excite a revolt in the province, put him to the torture to extort confeſſion; after having firſt wounded him with his own hand. The deputy bid defiance to pain; he bore the moſt excruciating tortures with firmneſs, and having a ſurgeon to dreſs his wound to enable him to undergo a ſecond trial, he communicated ſomething in the *Greek* language, which the ſurgeon ſoon made public: in conſequence the mob aſſembled, reſcued *Stella*, declared for the pacification of *Ghent*, and obliged *Billy* to quit his government. The change of councils in theſe two provinces was of the utmoſt ſervice to the confederacy, and would have enabled the province to have encountered the whole power of *Spain*, had not diſſenſion broke their ſtrength, divided their councils, and diſtracted their affairs.[x]

Jealouſies among the provinces.

THE great number of proteſtants invited into the *Netherlands*, in conſequence of the advice of the queen of *England*, gave umbrage to the catholics: this was a circumſtance on which they had not beſtowed ſufficient reflection; but the prince of *Orange* foreſaw the effects, and oppoſed the reſolution ſo warmly, that *Elizabeth* took offence. He even became ſuſpected by ſeveral zealous proteſtants, who did not advert that the deſire of preſerving unanimity among the province was the ſole principle of *William*'s conduct. The *Walloon* provinces, violently attached to the church of *Rome*, had in fact entertained ſuſpicions, that a project was concerted between the queen of *England*, the prince of *Orange*, and prince *Caſſimir*, for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion; ſince the inhabitants of *Ghent* and the proteſtant provinces

[x] LE CLERC, lib. iii.

taxed

taxed *William* with diſcovering a biaſs for popery. Thus his conduct was taxed by both parties, and that moderation that breathed nothing but true patriotiſm, became obnoxious to thoſe who had equally at heart the good of their country. *France* had long made overtures from the duke of *Anjou*, which the *Walloons* now inſiſted ſhould be taken into conſideration. The ſtate, upon the aſſurances of *Henry* III. that nothing contrary to the privileges of the province was intended, gratified the requeſt of the *Walloons*, after conſulting whether it would be agreeable. In truth, the appearance of the duke of *Anjou*, who was ſent to the *Netherlands* merely to be removed from the court, was no way formidable; on the contrary, his army conſiſted of ſtarved undiſciplined wretches, intent only upon plunder and rapine: the duke approached to *Mons*, and on the 13th of *Auguſt* a treaty was concluded between him and the ſtates general, ſtipulating, that he ſhould advance with 10,000 foot and 2000 horſe, to be maintained for three months at the expence of the ſtates; that if the war ſhould not within that time be finiſhed, he ſhould continue 5000 foot and 500 horſe in his own pay, in conſideration of which he ſhould be declared *defender of the liberties of the Netherlands*; that he ſhould enter into an alliance with the queen of *England*, duke *Caſſimir*, and the other friends and ſupporters of the provinces; that his forces ſhould be joined to thoſe of the ſtates, and himſelf commander in chief, or in his abſence the lieutenant of the ſtates; that *Inſpruc*, *Bauvais*, and *Landreci*, ſhould be given him as cautionary towns; and that his troops ſhould have liberty to make conqueſts in *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, provided they did not thereby neglect or retard the common cauſe. Upon the whole, by this treaty the duke got nothing but the empty title of defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*; all that was ſolid depended on the ſucceſs of the war, and the pleaſure of the ſtates.[7]

The duke of Anjou *comes into the* Netherlands.

WHILE the confederates were forming alliances, healing their diviſions, and making preparations, don *John* of *Auſtria* reſolved to attack their camp, entrenched at *Rimenant*, a village between *Mechlin* and *Archot*. This *Dutch* army conſiſted of 8000 foot, 2000 horſe, and ſome companies of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* auxiliaries. The duke of *Parma*, lieutenant general of the *Spaniards*, propoſed drawing this body out of the intrenchments by ſkirmiſhes, and then atacking them in the open plain. Baffled in this de-

Don John *attacks the ſtates army.*

[7] REIDAN. lib. ii. p. 30. METEREN. lib. x..

ſign,

ſign, he attacked a poſt defended by the *Britiſh* auxiliaries, but was warmly received, and obliged to retreat with the loſs of 800 men. Count *Boſſu*, general of the *Flemings*, filed off towards *Namur*, determined to act on the defenſive until he ſhould be joined by prince *Caſſimir* or the duke of *Anjou*. A ſolemn ambaſſy was ſent to the latter, requeſting he would with all expedition march to the aſſiſtance of the *Flemings*. *Anjou* began his rout; but inſtead of purſuing it, he halted to ſecure a retreat, inveſted *Binch*, took it by aſſault, and uſed the garriſon with ſo much humanity as induced *Maubege* to ſurrender without exchanging blows. *Quesnoi* and *Landrecy* however refuſing to receive the *French* troops, propoſed the duke ſhould have *Mechlin* and ſome other towns, as an equivalent. *Anjou* was preparing to join the *Flemiſh* army, when he received advice, that *Caſſimir*, inſtead of proceeding to attack don *John*, had turned off to *Ghent*, there to receive the pay due to his army. Upon this he halted, and ſent to know of the council of ſtate, whether *Caſſimir* acted by their inſtructions. His army murmured, deſerted, and complained grievouſly of the inhoſpitality of the *Flemings*; diſputes in ſhort roſe ſo high, that it was plain the duke of *Anjou* was rather the rival of *Caſſimir* than the protector of the *Low Countries*. The ſtates laboured to reconcile the princes, and perſuade them to act with unanimity for the common cauſe. In the mean time don *John* died, ſome imagine of chagrin, others affirm of poiſon, and the whole power came into the hands of a more able ſoldier and ſtateſman, the duke of *Parma*.[z]

Don John's *death.*

No advantage was deduced from the death of the *Spaniſh* governor; the vigour, the prudence, the uncommon diligence of *Parma* kept all quiet in his army; while the confederates, greatly ſuperior in ſtrength, including the forces of *Caſſimir*, the duke of *Anjou*, and the *Flemings*, were prevented from action, by diſputes, contentions, and rivalſhip. *Caſſimir* entered the provinces with 7000 horſe and 8000 foot, a force greatly ſuperior to what had been ſtipulated. Suſpicion ſeized the minds of the zealous catholics, and even the prince of *Orange* and the ſtates remonſtrated againſt this proceeding. The one was ſenſible it would deſtroy the neceſſary harmony, and the others thought it indicated ambition and deſign. *Caſſimir* made his excuſes, and was proceeding to *Ghent*, the burghers of which had promiſed to pay his army if he would aſſiſt them againſt the *Walloons*, their declared enemies. The council of ſtate and

Prince Caſſimir *enters the* Netherlands.

[z] Id. ibid.

William

William of *Orange* had already denied them all aid, as having openly violated the pacification of *Ghent*; but *Caſſimir*, in great want of money, was ballancing whether he ſhould not accept the propoſal. From this he was prevented by the neceſſity of going to the court of *London*, to concert matters with *Elizabeth*. In his abſence all was mutiny and diſorder in his army; they diſbanded in parties round the country, the cavalry were ſurrounded by the duke of *Parma*, and would have been all cut in pieces or made priſoners, had they not conſented to return home, on his granting paſſports. *Anjou*'s army was much in the ſame condition, and equally uſeleſs to the confederates. *William* of *Orange* perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in mercenary allies, and leſs in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by ambition, political maxims, and private intereſt, formed the ſcheme of more cloſely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with thoſe more contiguous, in which the proteſtant intereſt prevailed. Such an alliance was ſubject to infinitely fewer difficulties than attended the more general one of uniting all the provinces; it was in fact the only meaſure that could be propoſed with ſafety, and it was proſecuted with that alacrity and addreſs for which *William* was deſervedly celebrated.[a]

ON the 23d of *January* deputies from the provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friſeland*, *Groningen*, *Overyſſel*, and *Guelderland*, met at *Utrecht*, and ſigned the alliance ever ſince known by the name of the *Union of Utrecht*, the baſis of that commonwealth ſo renowned by the appellation of the *United Provinces*. This treaty of alliance was founded upon the infraction of the pacification of *Ghent*, ſolemnly acceded to by *Philip*, and the late invaſion of certain towns in *Guelderland*. It was not hereby intended to divide the ſeven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of *Ghent*; its object was to preſerve the liberty ſtipulated in that pacification, by more rigorous operations, and united councils. The chief articles of this union are the following. A. D. 1579. *The union of* Utrecht.

THE ſeven provinces ſhall unite themſelves in intereſt as one province, never to be ſeparated or divided by teſtament, donation, exchange, ſale, or agreement; reſerving to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes. In all diſputes ariſing between either of

[a] Ibid.

the provinces, the reſt ſhall interpoſe only as mediators. They ſhall aſſiſt each other with life and fortune againſt every foreign attempt upon any particular province, whether to eſtabliſh ſovereignty, the catholic religion, arbitrary meaſures, or whatever elſe may appear inconſiſtent with the liberties of the provinces, and the intention of the alliance. All frontier towns belonging to the *United Provinces* ſhall, if old, be fortified at the expence of the provinces; if new, at the joint expence of the union. The public impoſts and duties ſhall be farmed for three months to the higheſt bidder, and employed with the king's taxes in the public ſervice. No province, city, or member of the union ſhall contract an alliance with any foreign prince or power, without the concurrence of all the other members. Foreign powers ſhall be admitted into the alliance, only by conſent of all the contracting parties. As to religion, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* ſhall act in that particular as they think adviſeable; the reſt ſhall adhere to the purport of the edict publiſhed by the archduke *Mathias*, which preſcribed that no man ſhould be oppreſſed on the account of conſcience. All the inhabitants, from the age of eighteen to ſixty, ſhall be trained and diſciplined to war. Peace and war ſhall be declared by the unanimous voice of all the provinces; other matters that concern the internal policy ſhall be regulated by a majority. The ſtates ſhall be held in the uſual conſtitutional manner, and coinage ſhall be deferred to future determination. Finally, the parties agree, that the interpretation of theſe articles ſhall remain in the ſtates general; but in caſe of their failing to decide, in the ſtadtholder.[b]

In this grand alliance, ſketched out by the prince of *Orange*, may eaſily be diſcerned the judicious ſteady hand of the maſter and true patriot. It was ſo univerſally approved, that in a ſhort time the cities of *Ghent*, *Nimeguen*, *Arnheim*, *Leewarden*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, *Bruges*, with ſeveral other towns, noblemen, and perſons of diſtinction, embraced and ſigned the union. Thus the foundation of a commonwealth was laid, but in a fluctuating and uncertain ſtate of affairs, when men were actuated by different paſſions, views, and intereſts; intimidated by the great ſtrength of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and ſupported chiefly by a zealous adherence to liberty, and firm reſolution to periſh in defence of freedom. The firſt coin

[b] Temp. chap. i. [c] Meterenn. lib. x. fol. 190.

ſtruck

ſtruck after this alliance is expreſſive of the ſituation of the infant republic. (A)

The Walloons form a treaty with the duke of Parma.

It was expected, that the important object of this alliance would have attracted the attention of the *Walloons*, and indeed of all the catholic inhabitants of the *Netherlands:* it in fact did ſo, but in a different manner from what was imagined. The *Walloons* not only refuſed to accede to the union, but they made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to the ſtates general upon the danger, impropriety, and illegality of ſuch a confederacy. It appears from *Strada* and *Bentivoglio*, that the duke of *Parma* was at the bottom of their intrigues. He ſtimulated and prompted their meaſures, inſpiring them with a jealouſy of the proteſtant deſigns on the catholic religion. In the end, he contracted an alliance with them, and thereby confirmed by his own example the legality and neceſſity of the union of *Utrecht*. Immediately they began levying an army, but ſtill kept up appearances with the confederated *Provinces*, though it was obvious that hoſtilities muſt ſoon commence. To prevent the effuſion of blood, the emperor, as mediator, ſet on foot another negotiation; but *Philip*, depending on his own ſtrength, would allow no reaſonable terms of accommodation, and give no ſecurity for liberty and religion. Inſtead of granting equitable conditions, he laboured to detach the prince of *Orange* from the union, made him extraordinary offers, offered to reſtore him to all his eſtates, indemnify his loſſes, raiſe him to the height of power, and give him the firſt place in his eſteem and favour. But *William* was too wiſe to rely on the promiſes of a king, who had ſhewn himſelf perfidious; too firm to be moved by danger; and too public-ſpirited to relinquiſh the intereſts of his country for his own private emolument [d]. He determined to ſhare the fate of the *United Provinces*, to fulfil his engagements, and the hope conceived of his conduct.

Diſturbances in Ghent, and other towns.

In the mean time great diſorders aroſe in *Ghent*. The inhabitants, finding that the *Walloons* refuſed all propoſals of agreement, began afreſh their violences againſt the catholics. Their example was followed at *Oudenarde* and *Dendermonde*, and to ſuch exceſs did they puſh their zeal, that the preſence of the prince of *Orange* was neceſſary to reſtore the tranquillity of *Ghent* in particular. On the prince's arrival he found

[d] Le Clerc, p. 86.

(A) Here was repreſented a ſhip labouring amidſt the waves, aſſiſted by ſails or oars, with this motto, *Incertum quo fata ferant*. Vide *Le Clerc*, tom. ii. Sir *William Temple*, chap. i. p. 54.

every thing in confuſion, the convents and churches pillaged by the ſoldiers, the houſes and effects of the catholic prieſts ſold at public markets; and *Imbiſe*, who arrogated to himſelf a kind of deſpotiſm, laying an undue reſtraint on the election of magiſtrates, impriſoning all thoſe who oppoſed his uſurpation. The prince ſoon put a ſtop to thoſe arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings; *Imbiſe* was forced to abſcond, the magiſtrates were choſen according to the laws, and the catholics reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of their eſtates; an inſtance of juſtice which, however, could not procure *William* the confidence of the catholic faction, who eſteemed the man, while they deteſted the heretic [e]. An attempt was made by the *Walloons* to ſurpriſe the city; but it was fruſtrated by the prince's vigilance and prudence.

Several towns taken by the duke of Parma.

WHILE the prince of *Orange* was buſied in conciliating factions, forming alliances, and ſtrengthening the union, the duke of *Parma* was taking meaſures to diſconcert his projects, and reduce the provinces to the king's obedience. He diſpatched *Gonzaga* and *Mondragon* with eight thouſand men, to lay ſiege to *Marſien*. The town was taken by aſſault, the governor hanged, and forty-five of the chief inhabitants tortured to death, for having valiantly defended themſelves, and faithfully diſcharged their duty. It is ſaid the duke of *Parma* diſavowed this bloody proceeding, ſo inconſiſtent indeed with the character of a hero. After ſome farther inconſiderable advantages obtained in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, the king's army inſulted *Antwerp*, where the archduke and the prince of *Orange* then reſided. The ſtates infantry was intrenched near *Borgerhont*, a poſt attacked without ſucceſs by the duke of *Parma*, after a briſk ſkirmiſhing of two hours between the armies. *La Noue*, however, the general of the ſtates army, not chuſing to expoſe himſelf to continual alarms from the enemies cavalry, retired under the cannon of *Antwerp* [f].

ON *La Noue*'s retreat, the duke of *Parma* inveſted *Maeſtricht*. The ſiege began on the 8th of *March*, and continued, without remiſſion, to the 29th of *June*. This defence was deemed very extraordinary, as the fortifications were in bad order, the garriſon ſlender, and the place but poorly provided with the neceſſaries of a ſiege. To one *Sebaſtian Tappin* the whole glory was due. He was a native of *Lorrain*, an engineer by profeſſion, a proteſtant, a brave and alert ſoldier, whoſe indefatigable vigilance raiſed continual obſtructions to the duke's approaches. The garriſon had ſuſtained frequent aſ-

[e] Id. ibid. [f] STRADA, lib. iii.

faults,

ſaults, and made divers bloody ſallies, by which they were ſo much weakened, fatigued, and exhauſted, that during a parley the town was ſurpriſed, and a great many ſoldiers put to the ſword; but *Tappin* was ſaved by favour of the duke of *Parma*, who gave ſtrict orders that he ſhould have quarter. For three days *Maeſtricht* was a ſcene of the utmoſt deſolation and horror, the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers committing every exceſs and enormity, in deſpite of all the endeavours of the general to reſtrain their licentiouſneſs, and maintain diſcipline: tired with pillage and ſlaughter, they ſat down loaded with booty, but not ſatiated with blood. With ſuch diligence did the duke apply himſelf to this ſiege, that, unable to ſupport the fatigue, he was ſeized with a fever, which had near proved fatal. His ſituation inſpired the enemy with freſh courage. They ventured to appear in the field; they reduced *Aloſt*, and ſome other places of little conſequence, but could not prevent the loſs of *Menin*, taken by aſſault; though it was ſoon after retaken by the prince of *Orange*. In *Brabant* the ſtates likewiſe obtained ſome advantages, though of too unimportant a nature to merit attention. The truth is, all the *United Provinces* were in a deplorable ſituation, and their trifling ſucceſſes were owing entirely to accident, or the duke of *Parma*'s illneſs. Several provinces contributed nothing to the common cauſe; others furniſhed but a ſmall proportion of the taxes agreed upon at the union. The army had large arrears due, and lived at diſcretion, in a manner more oppreſſive to the people than taxes to the amount of their regular pay. The people clamoured againſt the ſtates, they threw the blame on the officers for relaxing in point of diſcipline; and the officers recriminated, alledging, that the fault was in the ſtates, who failed in performing their engagements to the army. All was in confuſion; but as no perſon would acknowledge his error, there appeared little hopes of amendment. In a word, nothing beſides the ſame diſtreſs in the *Spaniſh* army could have prevented the duke of *Parma* from reducing the revolted provinces to accept any terms he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. He was equally in want of money, and his late treaty with the *Walloons* required that he ſhould diſmiſs all his foreign troops in the ſpace of ſix weeks after the publication of the treaty. His ſituation indeed was ſo deplorable, that he requeſted leave to reſign his command, and retire with the foreign ſoldiers to *Italy*; but the court of *Spain* had too much confidence in his ability to entruſt ſo important a charge to another. In this ſtate of affairs the animoſity of the parties remained, without the power of ſhewing their reſentment. The ſtates were reſolute,

The ſituation of both parties.

lute, but unable to defend their liberties. *Philip* was determined, but too weak, to be deſpotic. They mutually publiſhed bitter remonſtrances, but their ſtrength would ſeem to have evaporated in revilings [h].

AT laſt the prince of *Orange* renewed the treaty with the duke of *Anjou*. It was hoped that a brother of the king of *France* would introduce an alteration in their circumſtances, more favourable than could be expected from the government of the archduke, unſupported by the emperor and the empire. The queen of *England* was again offered the ſovereignty, but ſhe declined it for political reaſons. The duke of *Anjou* was, however, oppoſed by a great number of the reformed, who could never reconcile themſelves to the ſon of *Catherine de Medicis*; an ambitious, intriguing woman, doomed to indelible infamy, by the ſhare ſhe bore in the horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants at *Paris*. All arguments to remove their prejudices were vain. *Anjou* was a Roman catholic, and that alone was ſufficient to render him deteſtable. The prince of *Orange* urged the neceſſity of receiving the prince. Theologians and civilians allowed that it was lawful to have recourſe in extremity to a papiſt, but the people continued obſtinate. This determined the prince of *Orange* to have recourſe to the ſtates general, to whom he ſent a long remonſtrance, pointing out the cauſes why the confederacy did not produce the intended effect, and exhorting them to re-conſider the affair reſpecting the duke of *Anjou*. He laid before them a ſcheme for the operations of the future campaign, the forces requiſite to puſh their projects with ſucceſs, and the means of ſupporting the troops. He propoſed that the oath adminiſtered to the troops ſhould be changed, alledging, as the cauſe of their licentiouſneſs, that having only ſworn fidelity to the king, they thought themſelves at liberty to oppreſs his ſubjects in open war againſt *Philip*. In conſequence, the ſtates general referred the prince's remonſtrances to the provincial ſtates and cities; and, after long deliberations, and warm debates, it was at length determined to call in the duke of *Anjou*, as the only reſource in ſo great a calamity. The influence of the prince of *Orange*, the confidence the people repoſed in his ability and integrity, and the weight of his arguments, contributed chiefly to this reſolution. Accordingly the year began with a ſolemn treaty, whereby the *United Provinces* renounced their allegiance to *Philip*, and acknowledged *Francis Hercules de Valois*, duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*, for their ſovereign. The

A. D. 1580. *The duke of* Anjou *elected ſovereign of the* Netherlands.

[h] BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. i. p. 19. GROT. lib. iii.

treaty

treaty conſiſted of twenty ſeven articles, of which this we have mentioned was the chief. Deputies were ſent to the duke of *Anjou*, to explain the articles, and congratulate him on his acceſſion. As to the archduke *Mathias*, finding himſelf unſupported by the emperor, the empire, and the numerous friends whom he expected would have joined him on his elevation, he expreſſed no reſentment at the conduct of the provinces, which with great moderation he attributed to neceſſity. He only demanded to know their intention with reſpect to his own perſon; and the ſtates made their apology, by repreſenting the ſituation of their affairs, aſſuring him of their eſteem, permitting him to reſide in the *Netherlands* as long as he thought convenient, and highly applauding the prudence and equity of his conduct during his adminiſtration. (A)

The Prince of Orange *proſcribed.*

When the king of *Spain* was informed of this open defection of the provinces, he attributed the whole to the prince of *Orange*, and proceeded directly to proſcribe him; he confiſcated his eſtate, upbraided him with ingratitude, and ſtained his character with ignominy. He even promiſed a reward of 25,000 crowns to whoever ſhould bring him the prince of *Orange* dead or alive, the ſame to his heirs in caſe the attempter periſhed in the enterpriſe; and he declared all thoſe proſcribed, their eſtates confiſcated, their honours and dignities aboliſhed, who adhered to *William* a month after the publication of this edict [a].

A. D. 1581.

Deſigns of the duke of Parma *defeated.*

The prince of *Orange* did not ſilently paſs over this proſcription; he employed one *Villiers*, a *Frenchman*, to refute the edict: his anſwer was well received, and is recorded by hiſtorians as a proof of the ſpirit, the equity, the prudence, and the moderation of the prince. However, when it was propoſed to the ſtates for their opinion, with a requeſt they would publiſh it in their own name, they declined it, aſſigning for a reaſon, that it contained ſome facts too little

[a] METEREN, lib. x.

(A) As to the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they were left wholly in the hands of the prince of *Orange*, whoſe power as ſtadtholder was in no reſpect limited by the duke's ſovereignty. After all, *Grotius* affirms, that the duke's authority was merely nominal, that the real power devolved on the prince of *Orange*, whoſe name, however, was uſed in all public acts only in a ſubaltern capacity. It was apparent indeed to the *French*, that *William* concealed ambitious views under the cloak of patriotiſm, but it was not convenient to diſcover their ſentiments. *Grotius Annal.* lib. iv. p. 74.

known to be credited, and perhaps too much acrimony and reſentment againſt a prince whoſe power they ſtill dreaded. With theſe recriminations ended the tranſactions of the year.

A. D. 1581. THE following year was uſhered in with great commotions at *Bruſſels*, excited by one *Ruyſkenvelt* a monk, who was ſtrongly attached to king *Philip*. This man by preaching, declaiming, and haranguing, endeavoured to enflame the minds of the people againſt the late meaſures, and to ſtir them up to revolt againſt the new adminiſtration. Mobs aſſembled in the ſtreets with a view of admitting the *Spaniſh* troops, but they were diſperſed by the governor and garriſon. Finding that the monks in general were concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the magiſtrates, the governor ordered their churches to be ſhut up, their moſt valuable images and religious ornaments to be ſold, and themſelves baniſhed the city. Soon after theſe commotions were ſettled, the duke of *Parma* projected an enterprize againſt *Fluſhing*. Certain *Zealanders* were corrupted to betray their country; but they took the duke's money, and apprized the prince of *Orange* of the deſign, by which means it was defeated. In *Brabant* the ſtates contented themſelves with maintaining their ground, without aſpiring at new acquiſitions. The garriſon of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Villevorde*, and *Willebrocke*, mutinied for their arrears, but they were appeaſed by the payment of a part of their demands. As to the duke of *Parma*, though he was in great want of money, and therefore unable to undertake any conſiderable enterprize, yet he had this advantage over the ſtates, that he could ſuffer the ſoldiers of the garriſon to live at free quarters upon the burghers; a liberty on which the others did not preſume, from an apprehenſion of irritating thoſe ſpirits to be gained only by ſoothing, cajoling and moderation. Count *Manſvelt* was detached by the duke with a body of forces to attack *Nivelle*, an enterprize in which he ſucceeded with little difficulty; while *Conde* was recovered with equal facility by the duke of *Parma* in perſon. On the other hand, *Harſpenne* ſurprized the citadel of *Breda*, defended only by a very ſlender garriſon, and ſoon reduced the city. This officer's next attempt was on *Gertruydenberg*, but it failed [k].

Deſigns of the duke of Parma *defeated.*

The States renounce the allegiance to Philip.

DURING theſe petty hoſtilities, the ſtates, after long deliberations at the *Hague*, publiſhed an edict, excluding king *Philip* from any ſovereignty, right, or authority over the *Netherlands*. This writing appeared on the 26th of *July*,

[k] LE CLERC. 3. GROT. lib. 4.

under

under the title of "The abdication of *Philip* king of *Spain*." It was extremely well drawn up, ſtated in the ſtrongeſt manner the mutual privileges of the king and people, proved that the allegiance of the latter was void by the breach of contract on the ſide of the former, enumerated the oppreſſive and tyrannical acts of his government, ſet aſide his authority for the moſt cogent reaſons, forbid money to be coined in his name, and took every other ſtep towards independency. It was in vain for *Philip* to remonſtrate, he knew the ſtates were to be convinced only by the ſword; to this therefore he appealed. The duke of *Parma* blocked up *Cambray* ſo cloſely, that the garriſon was reduced to the extremity of living upon horſes, dogs, and cats, though they ſtill refuſed to capitulate, in hopes of being ſuccoured. At length the duke of *Anjou* aſſembled a body of 10,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, and approached *Cambray*. The viſcount *de Turenne* and count *Voulandois* undertook to force themſelves, with a body of men, but they were ſurrounded and taken priſoners by the *Spaniards*. This diſappointment did not diſcourage the duke of *Anjou*: he ſtill preſſed forward with intention to attack the *Spaniſh* lines; but the duke of *Parma*, not caring to hazard a battle, deſerted his works, and retired to *Bouchain*. As ſoon as the duke of *Anjou* entered the city, he took an oath to govern it agreeable to its ancient laws, and to preſerve the citizens in the full poſſeſſion of all their liberties. He was now preſſed by the ſtates and the prince of *Orange* to march directly into *Flanders*; he endeavoured to comply, but his army compoſed chiefly of volunteers, was ſo weakened by deſertion, that the deſign was laid aſide [1].

The duke of Anjou *relieves* Cambray.

It was about this time that the duke of *Anjou* reſumed the notion of addreſſing *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and propoſing marriage to a princeſs too fond of independency to be ſhackled with the authority of a huſband. The prince not deterred by the ill ſucceſs of his former negotiation, determined upon a voyage to *England*; an excurſion which proved equally unſucceſsful to himſelf and unfortunate to the *United Provinces*. He was magnificently entertained, led into a perſuaſion that all would ſucceed according to his wiſh, and at length tired out with tedious expectation. In his abſence, St. *Guilan* was reduced by the prince of *Eſpinoi*. This general directed his march towards *Dunkirk*, with intention to join the *French* forces. The duke of *Parma*, who had notice of his motion, repaired to ſeize the opportunity

He ſets ſail for England.

[1] Reidan, lib. ii. c. 38.

of

of inveſting *Tournay*. He begun his approaches, and was vigorouſly received by that garriſon, inſpirited by the courage of the princeſs *Maria d'Eſpinoi*, niece of count *Horn*, ſo cruelly beheaded by the duke *d'Alva*. The town was ſtormed in breach by the duke of *Parma*, who ſupported the aſſailants in perſon, received a wound, and had the mortification to ſee his *Spaniards* thrown headlong from the walls. The duke of *Anjou* repeatedly promiſed ſuccours, but either forgot or could not perform his engagements; the latter indeed is the moſt probable, as he was certainly a dupe to the ſuperior policy of *Elizabeth*, who had not yet declared openly in favour of the ſtates. In the end, deſpairing of relief, harraſſed with perpetual watching, and weakened by loſſes, the garriſon capitulated on the 29th of *November*. The conditions were honourable, and the princeſs *d'Eſpinoi* in particular was received with particular marks of diſtinction by the duke of *Parma*, who highly eſteemed the heroic qualities of this amazon. This advantage was ſucceeded by another obtained by the *Spaniſh* general *Verdugo*, over the confederate army in *Friſeland*, commanded by general *Norris*, and *William Lewis* of *Naſſau*, a young prince of great expectation. It appears from the *Spaniſh* account, that *Norris* was attacked in a defile, where he could not draw out his troops in battalia, that he was put in confuſion, and defeated with great loſs. On the other hand, the *Dutch* writers alledge, that he attacked the enemy, but being inferior in cavalry, retreated in good order, with ſcarce any loſs [m].

Tournay taken.

A. D. 1582. *The duke of* Anjou *is inveſted in the government of the Provinces.*

THE next year began with a ſpectacle very unuſual in the *Netherlands*, the public entry of a ſovereign elected by the people. The duke of *Anjou* ſetting ſail from *England* on the 8th day of *February*, arrived on the 10th at *Fluſhing*, where he was received by the princes of *Orange* and *d'Eſpinoi*. Next day they ſet out for *Antwerp* with a magnificent retinue, and went up the *Scheld* attended by fifty barges. His reception at *Antwerp* was ſplendid, beyond any thing ever ſeen in the provinces; they even exceeded the preparations made for *Philip* himſelf on his being appointed to the government in the *Netherlands* by *Charles* V. his father. A theatre was erected before the walls of the citadel, in which was placed a chair of ſtate, covered with cloth of gold. There the duke was ſeated, and the conditions read to him, upon which he was received as duke of *Brabant*.

[m] CAMDEN in hoc An. LE CLERC, ibid.

When

When he had ſworn to obſerve the articles, he was cloathed with the ducal robe, and his head adorned with the ducal coronet by the prince of *Orange*, who ſaid, "I will pin it in ſuch a manner that it will not be eaſily ſhaken;" an expreſſion which at that time was taken for a happy omen, though it ſoon proved fallacious [n].

WHILE the ſtates of *Brabant* were employed in feſtivity and mirth, an action that would have proved fatal to the provinces was on the point of execution at *Antwerp*. A *Biſcayan* merchant named *Gaſper Anaſtro* had contrived a project to redeem his ſhattered fortune by the death of the prince of *Orange*. He corrupted one of his domeſtics by the promiſe of half the reward, to ſtrike the blow. The aſſaſſin entered the citadel, and as the prince was paſſing after dinner into another room, diſcharged a piſtol, and dangerouſly wounded him behind the ear. The prince was ſtunned with the force of the ball, and before he recovered the aſſaſſin was killed by his attendants, which prevented for a time the abſolute diſcovery of the plot, though it afterwards appeared from circumſtances. It was traced that he had confeſſed the ſecret to a *Dominican* named *Antonio Tunnermon*, receiving from the wicked prieſt abſolution, and a promiſe of eternal reward. *Tunnermon* was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his limbs being fixed up on the walls of the citadel at *Antwerp*. Nothing could more fully prove the importance of *William*'s life, than the rejoicings of the *Spaniards*, in a falſe report of his death, and of the confederates as ſoon as it was fully confirmed that his life was in no danger. It was, perhaps, not very prudent in the prince of *Parma* to write circulatory letters to the cities on the preſumption that the prince of *Orange* was no more; ſince it afforded ſuſpicion that he was not ignorant of the conſpiracy. Finding the report groundleſs of the prince's death, *Parma* determined to begin hoſtilities. *Oudenarde* was inveſted and cloſely beſieged from the 8th of *April* to the 23d of *July*. The brave defence made by the garriſon, gave the duke of *Anjou* ſufficient time to come to the relief of the town, had his army been ſufficiently ſtrong for the enterprize; but he had not yet received the expected reinforcement from *France*, and was under the neceſſity of contenting himſelf with the ſurpriſal of *Aloſt*, by way of retaliation [o]. His infantry was encamped, and under the command of count *de Roche-*

An attempt made on the life of the prince of Orange.

Oudenarde *is taken by the duke of* Parma.

[n] Le Clerc, lib. iii. p. 96. [o] Grot. Ann. lib. iv. p. 75. Bentivog. p. 42.

fort, before the walls of *Ghent*. Here the count was attacked by the duke of *Parma*, who after an obſtinate conflict was forced to retire, without being able to bring on a general engagement.

A conſpiracy againſt the duke of Anjou, *&c.*

ON the firſt of *July* a conſpiracy againſt the duke of *Anjou*, the prince of *Orange*, and *d'Eſpinoi*, was happily diſcovered at *Bruges*. The accomplices of the plot were ſeized and tortured, upon which they declared that they were expreſly employed by the duke of *Parma*. It is probable that the duke muſt have received poſitive orders to this effect from the court of *Spain*; for ſo baſe and little a revenge was totally inconſiſtent with the generous and heroic qualities of that warrior. For the remainder of the campaign, the chief operations conſiſted in the ſurpriſing of inconſiderable places: both ſides were unable to take the field with dignity or advantage for want of troops and money. The duke of *Parma* had a great number of forces in the *Netherlands*; but they were neceſſarily employed in garriſoning thoſe towns the inhabitants of which were ſuſpected; and the ſtates were prevented from augmenting their army, becauſe no ſettled proviſion was made for their maintenance. The king's chief army in the field did not exceed 4000 men, and yet it was ſuperior to the confederate forces. It was now the great aim of the duke of *Parma* to obtain the conſent of the *Walloons*, that the *Spaniſh* forces might return into the *Netherlands*; he gained ſo much upon the affections of the people that they readily came into his ſentiments; but the nobility ſtill oppoſed him, from the apprehenſion that their own ſervices would then be of leſs conſequence. The nobility, however, were forced to yield to the clamours of the people and the king's command, who gave orders that 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians* ſhould immediately begin their march for *Flanders*. Such an acceſſion to the enemies ſtrength required the utmoſt vigilance and activity on the ſide of the confederates, who immediately engaged in their ſervice 4000 *Swiſs* infantry, and a body of *French* cavalry, under the conduct of prince *Dauſin*, and *Armaud de Biron*. But as the auxiliaries of neither party arrived before it was late in the ſeaſon, they were put into winter-quarters, in order to commence operations with vigour in the ſpring.[p]

Spaniſh troops again admitted into the Netherlands.

A. D. 1583.

Situation and deſign of the duke of Anjou.

THE taking of *Endove* by ſurpriſe, and ſome other ſpirited actions, prepoſſeſſed the people ſtrongly in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and inſpired them with hopes, that, with his brother's aſſiſtance, he would ſoon oblige the *Spaniards* to

[p] METEREN, lib. xi. fol. 219.

evacuate the *Netherlands*. But theſe expectations were fruſtrated by the apparent coldneſs with which *Henry* III. promoted the duke's intereſt. Both princes were indeed of two indolent and eaſy a diſpoſition to employ much attention on public affairs, which they left entirely to the management of their favourites and minions. It was owing equally to jealouſy and inactivity, that *Henry* feebly aſſiſted his brother; if the duke ſucceeded in his enterprize, the king foreſaw he would become independent; if he failed, he muſt fall back an incumbrance on the crown. This determined *Henry* to ſteer a middle courſe, to feed him with hopes, and ſupply him with ſuccours, juſt ſufficient to prevent his ſinking, but very inadequate to what was neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. It would indeed be an unpopular meaſure entirely to abandon the duke of *Anjou*, who would probably gain a ſtrong party in the kingdom from the cruelty of the uſage, and the puſillanimity of *Henry*. On the other hand, the duke, who had figured to himſelf on his arrival in the *Netherlands*, all the power and pomp of deſpotiſm, finding that he was now deſtitute of money, forces and councils, abandoned himſelf to the direction and admonitions of the young people about him, whoſe views in coming to *Flanders* was to enrich themſelves at the expence of the *Flemings*. They were perpetually throwing out complaints of the ingratitude of the ſtates, which ſerved only to irritate the people and alienate their affections from the new government. In a ſhort time, he entirely loſt the confidence of the people, by means of his pernicious counſellors, who adviſed him to ſeize with the *French* forces on *Newport*, *Dixmuyde*, *Oſtend*, *Bruges*, *Dendermond*, *Aloſt*, *Vilvorde*, *Antwerp*, and the ſeveral towns and cities round which the *French* and *Flemiſh* troops were quartered. By gaining the entire poſſeſſion of theſe places, it was weakly imagined, he might render himſelf arbitrary, and fix the ſtates in dependence upon the *French* intereſt. The project was executed with ſucceſs at *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*, but it failed at *Antwerp*, and other places. The duke took it upon himſelf to gain poſſeſſion of *Antwerp*; but the vigilance of the prince of *Orange*, and the courage of the burghers, defeated the attempt, and obliged the *French* to retire, with the loſs of 1500 men killed and taken priſoners [q]. He afterwards endeavoured to apologize for his conduct, which he attributed to accident; and the ſtates, not daring to exaſperate a prince in poſſeſſion of ſo many of their towns,

[q] THUAN. lib. 77. p. 612.

ſeemed

ſeemed to give credit to his excuſes, while they determined narrowly to watch his conduct.

As ſoon as theſe tranſactions were known in *France* and *England*, *Henry* and *Elizabeth* offered their mediation to appeaſe the difference, and reconcile the duke to the ſtates. *Elizabeth* adviſed him to diſmiſs the counſellors of this meaſure, as well as the officers employed in the execution, as the only ſtep that could poſſibly regain the affections and confidence of the people. The ſtates would do nothing without conſulting their great leader the prince of *Orange*, whoſe ſentiments upon this ſubject they demanded. *William*'s anſwer was ſuch as might increaſe the high opinion of his foreſight, prudence, and penetration, though ſome have ſuppoſed that it was dictated by ambition. In the preſent circumſtances of affairs, only one of theſe methods can be choſen; either to make peace with the king of *Spain*, to reconcile themſelves with the duke of *Anjou*, or to defend their liberties with the native forces, without having recourſe to foreign powers. As to the firſt it was impracticable without renouncing all the advantages propoſed by the war, and receiving worſe conditions than had been propoſed by the duke *d'Alva*. It was, he ſaid, no difficult matter to heal the breach between the ſtates and the duke of *Anjou*; but in doing this, they were again expoſed to the ſame danger from which they lately had been ſo providentially delivered. With reſpect to the remaining alternative, that of defending their liberties by national troops, it would, he ſaid, be much the moſt deſirable, were it poſſible; but he feared, that neither the chiefs were unanimous, the provinces rich, and the people numerous enough to rely upon their endeavours. Upon the whole, however, he recommended this laſt courſe, provided any degree of harmony of counſels could be eſtabliſhed, and that all the provinces would reſolve to act up to their engagements. But he ſubmitted his ſentiments to the judgment of the ſtates, declaring, that he would be wholly governed by their opinion. Many perſons imagined that he ſought to increaſe the public diſtraction in the ſtrong manner in which he ſtated the difficulties conſequent on every poſſible meaſure. It is not improbable, that the ſtates were likewiſe of this opinion, from the reſolution they formed of being reconciled to the duke of *Anjou*[1].

Prince of Orange's remonſtrance to the States.

The States are recon-

AFTER the prince's anſwer was fully examined, and the remonſtrances of *Bellievre* the *French* ambaſſador, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, heard, the ſtates nominated deputies

[1] LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 102.

to

to confer with the duke. They had no expectation of aſ- *ciled to the*
ſiſtance from *Germany*, the queen of *England* was ſparing of *duke of*
her promiſes, money, and forces; but *Henry* III. not only Anjou.
engaged to aſſiſt them liberally if they would accommodate matters with his brother, but threatened in caſe of refuſal to throw himſelf in the oppoſite ſcale. Theſe menaces, and the deſire that the duke would attempt the relief of *Endove*, now beſieged near three months, haſtened the negociation. It was agreed that the *French* priſoners at *Antwerp* ſhould be releaſed, that the effects of the *Flemiſh* merchants ſeized in *France*, and the towns of *Vilvorde*, *Dendermond*, and *Vinox* ſhould be reſtored; that the duke's army ſhould take the field, and every thing be placed on the ſame footing as before the attempt on the liberty of the provinces; *Endove* in the mean time ſurrendered for want of proviſions, and the mareſchal *Biron*, at the head of the *French* army, retaliated upon the *Spaniards*, by ſurpriſing the caſtles of *Vierſel* and *Woud*, the latter of which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon. *Vierſel* however was ſoon after retaken by the *The* count *Manſveldt*. To ſtop the progreſs of *Biron*, the duke French of *Parma* marched againſt him with all his forces, attacked *army de-* him near *Bergen-op-zoom*, and defeated him, with the loſs of *feated.* 500 men. In this action *Biron* was wounded; but hiſtorians differ widely in particulars. After this advantage the *Spaniſh* general laid ſiege to *Hirentals*, but relinquiſhed it on advice that the duke of *Anjou*, diſguſted at the late defeat, and the tedious deliberations of the ſtates, had retired into *France*, leaving the ſieur *de Chamois* with a ſlender garriſon in *Dunkirk*. As this town was an object of more importance than *Hirentals*, he reſolved to inveſt it with all his forces: Dunkirk his operations were ſo vigorouſly puſhed, that *Chamois*, after *taken.* ſeveral briſk ſallies, was obliged to ſurrender. He was no ſooner in the poſſeſſion of this port, than he equipped a great number of armed veſſels to cruize upon the *Zealanders*, reſtrain their enormities, and make repriſals. To the reduction of *Dunkirk* ſucceeded the ſubmiſſion of *Furnes* and *Newport*; then of St. *Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin*.[s]

THE rapidity of the prince of *Parma*'s conqueſts rendered more apparent the effects of the diſſenſions in the ſtates, the *The duke* want of unanimity, and of a head to direct their councils. *of* Anjou Of all men the prince of *Orange*, who was perfectly acquain- *returns to* ted with the humour of the people, and the ſtate of affairs, was France. the fitteſt to preſide, but jealouſy obſtructed his promotion. That prince had now by a fourth marriage formed a ſtrong

[s] METEREN. lib. xi. p. 230.

intereſt

intereſt with the proteſtants of *France*, having eſpouſed *Louiſa de Coligni*, daughter to the famous admiral *Coligni*. His life was every day in danger, upon account of the ſervices he had done the provinces; he was firmly attached to liberty; but his ambition, which however he reſtrained, and artfully concealed, was dreaded to ſuch a degree, that though all acknowledged his ſuperior capacity, few ever thought of raiſing him to the ſupreme government.[t]

A. D. 1584. *Commotions in* Ghent.

THE duke of *Anjou*'s retreat was of the utmoſt ſervice to the duke of *Parma*, who artfully fomented the diviſion in the provinces, and every day ſtrengthened his army by deſertions from the enemy, not of individuals but of whole cities and garriſons. On the 5th of *March* he received deputies from *Ghent*. The ſeditious and tumultuous ſpirit of the inhabitants had forced the prince of *Orange* to quit the city, and abandon that rebellious people to their fate; upon which they deſired to be reſtored to the favour of king *Philip*, promiſing him the utmoſt loyalty and fidelity, provided their privileges were ſecured. Theſe however were only the ſentiments of a party: the greater part of the citizens remained attached to the ſtates, and being ſeaſonably ſupported by a body of troops from *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp*, ſuppreſſed the *Spaniſh* faction, juſt as it was upon the point of delivering up the city to the duke of *Parma*.

The prince of Orange *aſſaſſinated at* Delph.

AMIDST theſe confuſions the duke *d'Anjou* died in *France*, and ſoon after the prince of *Orange* was aſſaſſinated at *Delph*, by one *Balthazar Gerrard* or *Guion*, a perſon who had before ſerved his highneſs with fidelity and zeal. He was at that very time employed by the prince to carry letters into *France*, and had received money to bear his expences, with which he purchaſed piſtols to murder his benefactor. At the criminal's examination, it appeared that he had long meditated this bloody action, and was confirmed in his reſolution by the jeſuits and catholic prieſts; he even affirmed on the rack that the duke of *Parma* was privy to the deſign, who promiſed he ſhould have the reward: upon the whole, *Gerrard* ſeems to have been an enthuſiaſt, and his crime the reſult rather of inſanity, than any concerted ſcheme, malicious or intereſted intention. His puniſhment however regarded only the action; it was cruel beyond meaſure, ſhocking to humanity, and a ſtriking inſtance of the vehement party-ſpirit of the times; not of the juſtice of the judges, or the attachment of the people to the prince of *Orange*.[u]

[t] Id. ibid. [u] GROT. An. lib. iv. p. 85, 86. METEREN. lib. xii.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Containing an account of the ſtate of affairs conſequent on the death of the Prince of Orange, *the ſtadtholderſhip of Prince* Maurice, *and the government of the Earl of* Leiceſter, *with other particulars.*

THE *United Provinces* were now deprived of their chief hope; *William* was the ſoul of the union, though he found it frequently impoſſible to govern the paſſions of the multitude; his vigilance, addreſs, penetration, eloquence, liberality, and prudence, had hitherto preſerved their liberty; but his ambition, boldneſs, cunning, and intrigue, had involved them in a maze of politicks, out of which it required his ſuperior capacity to extricate the *Netherlands*. A general gloom and deſpondency appeared in every face; confuſion and anarchy now reigned in the councils of the confederates. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* alone endeavoured to repair the loſs, and ſhew their gratitude to *William*, by electing his ſon *Maurice* their ſtadtholder and captain general by ſea and land. *Maurice* was at that time eighteen years of age, but ſuch rays of genius ſhone forth in his character, as approved him worthy of the honours conferred. Such was the youth oppoſed to the duke of *Parma*, the moſt renowned general of the age. It was imagined in *Spain*, that the death of *William* would deprive the confederates, not only of counſel, but of courage, longer to reſiſt the power of *Philip*; but as ſoon as the firſt emotions of terror and grief were ſubſided, it produced very contrary effects. Revenge took place of deſpair, and the horror of the aſſaſſination, univerſally attributed to the intrigues of *Philip*, ſo irritated the people, that they determined to proſecute the war with ſuch vigour and conſtancy, as required the exertion of all the duke of *Parma*'s abilities. For a time indeed their efforts were feeble, becauſe they were ill directed; but *Zealand* and *Holland* having led the way, *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyſſel* followed the example; chuſing governors ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of liberty, and to the memory of the prince of *Orange*. Now they united themſelves more cloſely; they came to a reſolution, that if any article of the treaty of *Utrecht* had been broken or neglected, henceforward ſtrictly to obſerve it, to remove difficulties, duly to furniſh their ſeveral quotas, to permit only the publick exerciſe of the evangelical religion, and to exert their utmoſt efforts to reſiſt the tyranny

Prince Maurice *elected ſtadtholder of* Holland.

A renewal of the treaty of Utrecht.

of *Philip*, and revenge the aſſaſſination of their great deliverer the prince of *Orange*.[a]

The duke of Parma's *ſucceſſes.*

WHILE the provinces were taking the moſt vigorous meaſures for their mutual defence, the *Spaniſh* general was preparing to puſh the advantage he expected from the diſorder conſequent on the death of *William* of *Orange*. *Antwerp*, notwithſtanding its loſſes in the beginning of the troubles, was ſtill the moſt wealthy city of the *Netherlands*; this city had long been the object of the duke of *Parma*'s deſigns, but the enterpriſe was attended with ſuch difficulties as obliged him until now to defer it. He once propoſed laying ſiege to *Antwerp*, immediately after the reduction of *Maeſtricht*, and he now reſumed the project, in hopes that the confuſion in the provinces would prevent their ſending the required ſuccours; to ſucceed, it was neceſſary to cut off the communication of the city with *Holland*, with *Ghent*, and all the places above and below *Antwerp* on the river *Scheld*. With this view he laid ſiege to *Lifkenſhouk* and *Tillo*, places of the utmoſt conſequence to the commerce and ſecurity of the city: both were obſtinately defended, and the ſiege of the latter raiſed after it had been carried on for three months with incredible fatigue, induſtry, and expence; however, the duke of *Parma* gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral other poſts on the river, where he built forts, and greatly annoyed the ſhipping and trade of *Antwerp*. He next laid ſiege to *Dendermonde*, in order to cut off the communication between *Ghent* and *Antwerp*; in which he ſucceeded by the reduction of the town. His next attempt was on *Vilvorde*; this place he took by aſſault, and thereby put a ſtop to the intercourſe between *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels*. Finding this method of hemming in the city tedious and uneffectual, while an opening to the mouth of the river remained, he propoſed in council, that a fortified bridge ſhould be built acroſs the *Scheld*, and defended by ſtrong forts and outworks at both extremities. At firſt this propoſition was received as whimſical and idle by the members of the council, but on the duke's explaining his deſign, with applauſe: while he was procuring the proper materials for his deſign, the inhabitants of *Ghent*, terrified with the preparations, and aſſured that his next attempt would be directed againſt their city, reſolved to deprecate his wrath by their ſubmiſſion. Deputies were accordingly ſent to the duke of *Parma*; and it was agreed on the 17th of *September*,

[a] Idem ibid.

that *Ghent* ſhould receive a *Spaniſh* garriſon, on condition the city ſhould be preſerved in all its privileges.[b]

Ghent *ſubmits to king* Philip.

AFTER this acquiſition the duke returned to his main object, the reduction of *Antwerp*; he began with collecting great quantities of wood at *Callo* and fort St. *Philip*, where he intended the bridge ſhould be erected; but his project was for a time retarded by the *Antwerpers*, who broke down the dykes, overflowed the whole country, and ſwept off with the inundation all the duke's magazines. Not diſcouraged by this accident, he applied himſelf diligently to repair the loſs, and by way of carrying off the waters cut a canal from *Steken* to *Callo*, a work of prodigious labour and expence. It was purſued with the utmoſt diligence, and executed with expedition ſcarce credible. Next he ſet to work upon the bridge, and finiſhed, without interruption from the *Zealanders* or *Antwerpers*, in ſeven months, that ſtupendous monument of his genius, which was to determine the fate of *Antwerp*. Private intereſt, even when all was at ſtake, prevented the *Antwerpers* from executing a ſcheme which would have infallibly baffled all the duke's endeavours, and effectually have deſtroyed the fruits of his labour. *Aldegonde* the governor propoſed building a fort on *Couvenſtein* dyke, to ſecure that important poſt, and breaking down the dyke, after the duke of *Parma*'s bridge ſhould be near finiſhed; but his ſentiments were violently oppoſed by certain citizens, who apprehended their lands and villas would be deſtroyed by the inundation: this unſeaſonable oppoſition, with the unexcuſable negligence of the magiſtrates, who, depending upon a free intercourſe by means of the river, deferred laying in corn, becauſe the markets happened to be high, occaſioned the loſs of the city, and was a flagrant proof that *William* of *Orange* no longer directed their councils. However, in deſpite of all the duke of *Parma*'s precautions, the *Zealanders* found means to throw in a convoy of corn; but the citizens knowing they would not run the hazard of carrying it back, ſo cheapened the price that thoſe bold traders refuſed ever again bringing their goods to ſo bad a market. Thus, through avarice, indolence, and inſenſibility, did the *Antwerpers* ſee their ruin daily approaching, without ſeeming to obſerve it. They did not apprehend the conſequence of quietly permitting the duke to finiſh the bridge, until it was too late to repair the error, and they began to ſuffer by famine; then they preſſed the *Zealanders* to attempt their

Siege of Antwerp.

[b] LE CLERC, lib. iv. p. 112.

relief by attacking the bridge; but the reception thoſe mariners had laſt met with, was no inducement to run freſh hazards: however, by order of the ſtates, *Treſlong* the admiral of *Zealand* was preparing to make the attempt. A ſquadron was appointed; but he deferred the enterpriſe under ſo many pretences, that he was ſuperſeded, and the command given to *Hohenlo* and *Juſtin Naſſau*, who immediately attacked *Liffſkenſhouk*, with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, that it ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. They next fell upon *St. Antonio* fort, which, together with ſeveral other poſts, they took; but they neglected building a fort on a poſt they ſeized near *Callo*. The duke of *Parma* perceived their overſight; he forced the poſt, and then had it fortified.

BUT as all the endeavours of the *Zealand* fleet could procure no relief to *Antwerp*, the governor and magiſtrates began to deliberate by what means they could now deſtroy the bridge, which they might have prevented the duke from ever compleating. Seaſonably *Ginebelli*, a *Mantuan* engineer, offered his ſervices, undertaking at a certain expence to blow the whole work into the air: the expence was the main objection entertained by thoſe penurious merchants, but this obſtacle was at laſt ſurmounted by neceſſity; *Ginebelli* was provided with two large veſſels, a number of ſmall boats, the powder, combuſtibles, and all the other materials he required; he formed the two large veſſels into fireſhips, ſet them adrift with the ſtream, and deceived the enemy by means of falſe fires lighted up in the fleet of ſmall boats. The train of one of the fire-ſhips was conſumed before the time expected, and ſhe blew up with a terrible exploſion, but little damage to the bridge; the other was more ſucceſsful, carrying off all the outworks, ſetting fire to the whole bridge, and burying above 500 ſoldiers in the ruins it made, among whom were the marquis *de Roblais*, the ſieur *Billy*, and ſeveral *Spaniſh* officers of diſtinction: however, the terror which this dreadful ſtratagem of war occaſioned, exceeded the damage; the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, and the bridge again repaired by the diligence of the duke: avarice deterred the *Antwerpers* from repeating the experiment; they continued nevertheleſs in conjunction with the *Zealanders* to attack and harraſs the enemy; but finding themſelves baffled in every attempt, and reduced to the greateſt extremities, they ſeriouſly thought of making their peace with *Spain*.[c] Depu-

Antwerp *ſubmits to king* Philip.

[c] METEREN, lib. xii. p. 247. BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. iii. p. 74. LE CLERC, lib. iv. p. 120.

ties

ties were accordingly ſent to the duke of *Parma*, a treaty was concluded, and king *Philip*'s ſovereignty again acknowledged in *Antwerp*. It is affirmed that the city of *Amſterdam* had obſtructed every meaſure propoſed for the relief of this commercial city, hoping to profit by the fate of her flouriſhing rival. It was not doubted but the proteſtants would forſake it as ſoon as it fell into the hands of an arbitrary catholic prince. The conjecture was fulfilled, whole families retiring with their effects to *Amſterdam*. A. D. 1585.

WHILE *Antwerp* was beſieged, it was univerſally believed, that the fate of the provinces depended on the fortune of that city; yet ſuch was the confuſion among the confederates, that only feeble attempts were made for its relief. Now the terror inſpired by the duke's conqueſts determined the ſtates general to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the queen of *England*, offering her the ſovereignty of the provinces upon certain conditions. This *Elizabeth* refuſed; but ſhe concluded a treaty with the ſtates, whereby ſhe engaged powerfully to aſſiſt them with men and money, upon having the towns of *Briel*, *Fluſhing*, and *Ramekins*, put into her hands in ſecurity of future payment. All this time *Elizabeth* and king *Philip* preſerved little more than the appearance of peace; the latter was fomenting the inſurrection in *Ireland*, while the former lent a hand to the foundation of a new commonwealth forming in the *Netherlands*. The addition of the kingdom of *Portugal* to his vaſt monarchy, rendered *Philip* more haughty and uncontroulable, without much enlarging his power; he now thought himſelf a match for all *Europe*, though he had not yet ſubdued his rebellious ſubjects in the *Low Countries*; and accordingly he embroiled himſelf with the crowns of *France* and *England*, by protecting the league, and receiving the inveſtiture of *Ireland* from the apoſtolic ſee. *Elizabeth* engaged by treaty to ſuccour the provinces with 5000 foot and 1300 horſe, under the command of an *Engliſh* general; to pay thoſe troops during the war, on condition of being reimburſed when peace ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed; and to accept of the three towns mentioned in ſecurity of payment. The treaty farther imported, that the *Engliſh* governors of the cautionary towns ſhould have no authority over the inhabitants; that the towns ſhould be reſtored to the ſtates on the repayment of the money; that the *Engliſh* general and two other perſons nominated by the queen of *England* ſhould have ſeats in the ſtates general; that neither peace nor war ſhould be made without the mutual conſent of the contracting parties; that in caſe of her equipping a fleet for the ſervices of the

A treaty with the queen of England.

provinces, the ſtates ſhould back it with an equal force, the whole to be commanded by the *Engliſh* admiral; finally, that the ports and harbours of both countries ſhould be open to the ſubjects of each nation. The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than the *Brille* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Thomas Cecil*; Sir *Philip Sidney* took poſſeſſion of *Fluſhing* and *Ramekins* in quality of governor; and the earl of *Leiceſter* was appointed general of the *Engliſh* auxiliaries. Immediately ſucceeded a manifeſto in vindication of the queen's conduct, ſhewing her reaſons for aſſiſting the oppreſſed inhabitants of the *Low Countries*; here ſhe alledged, that the alliance between *England* and the *Netherlands* related to the mutual welfare of both countries, rather than to any perſonal animoſity between the ſovereigns; her majeſty therefore thought herſelf at liberty to ſuccour the injured ſubjects, without declaring war againſt the king. She complained of the conduct of the *Spaniſh* miniſter *Mendoza*, who had endeavoured to excite factions, and ſtir up rebellion among her popiſh ſubjects: ſhe enumerated the many proffers ſhe had made of mediating a peace between the king and her good allies in the *Netherlands*; ſhe taxed *Philip* with a deſign of invading *England*, and with having ſent powerful ſupplies of money to the rebels in *Ireland*; and laſtly, to anticipate the king's vengeance, ſhe equipped a ſquadron of twenty ſhips, detached under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, to infeſt the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in the *Weſt Indies*.[d]

A. D. 1586. Leiceſter *made governor-general.*

On the earl of *Leiceſter*'s arrival in *Holland*, he was received with the utmoſt reſpect and veneration; the confederates had conceived great hopes of his abilities, they conſtituted him governor-general of the provinces, and before he had exhibited any proof of his valour or conduct, veſted him with a power almoſt dictatorial, which he ſoon abuſed by an adminiſtration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppreſſive. His authority was in a manner unlimited, not only in reſpect to the conduct of the war, but in civil affairs and the finances. The confederates laviſhed honours upon the favourite chiefly to engage *Elizabeth* in their intereſt; and the queen penetrating their deſign, was by no means pleaſed with their extraordinary indulgence to her minion. Some attribute her reſentment to jealouſy, others with more probability to policy, which required that ſhe ſhould not too deeply involve herſelf in the quarrel between *Philip* and his ſubjects. It was ſoon perceived, that the confidence of

[d] Camden Vit. *Eliz.* Ann. 1586. Meteren. lib. xiii. p. 256.

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the ſtates was miſplaced. *Leiceſter* not only ſhewed his incapacity to direct military operations, by permitting the duke of *Parma* to proceed in a rapid courſe of conqueſts; but he aſſumed the air of a ſovereign prince, ſwayed arbitrarily in the *Netherlands*, and expreſſed a contempt of the queen of *England*'s authority; a princeſs whoſe ill-judged favour had raiſed him to the height of ambition. They had ſuffered him to nominate a counſellor of ſtate for each province, to change the great ſeal, and quarter his own arms with thoſe of the ſtates; but all this was inſufficient to gratify the earl's ambition. Actuated by a kind of fatality, and intoxicated with his elevation, he refuſed the inſtructions of the ſtates, filled up all vacant places, coined baſe *nobles* to paſs for double their intrinſic value, erected a new court of exchequer, filled the colleges of the admiralty with his unqualified favourites, oppoſed the levying *German* auxiliaries, excited the people to riſe againſt the magiſtrates, introduced diſorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confuſion.

BEFORE *Leiceſter* had betrayed his incapacity, *Elizabeth* remonſtrated to the ſtates on his extraordinary elevation, without her knowledge or conſent, notwithſtanding ſhe had publickly declared her intention was only to aſſiſt her oppreſſed neighbours, not to ſeize upon the ſovereignty of the provinces: ſhe now required that they would revoke thoſe honours conferred ſo wantonly, not that ſhe meant to deſert their intereſt, but to maintain her own honour. The ſtates ſubmiſſively appologized for their conduct, and declared it was the fartheſt from their intention to offend her majeſty; but finding that a governor general was neceſſary to preſerve unanimity, they had preferred a ſubject of *England* to any other. They had put the word *abſolute* in the act only to diſtinguiſh him from ſome temporary governors, and to give weight to his dignity. They concluded with requeſting her majeſty, that ſhe would not inſiſt upon a revocation, which they apprehended would be attended with confuſion, and the moſt fatal conſequences. This letter was accompanied with another from the earl, filled with the moſt humble ſubmiſſions and feigned contrition, with which however *Elizabeth* reſted ſatisfied.[e]

Leiceſter began his government with reſtoring military diſcipline, for regulating which he publiſhed ſome good ordonances. Had he kept to this plan, his adminiſtration would have been happy, and his perſon beloved; but he Leiceſter's *miſconduct.*

[e] METEREN. lib. xiii.

immediately proceeded to paſs certain decrees relative to commerce, that were juſtly deemed very arbitrary, oppreſſive, and injurious to the country. He prohibited all kinds of warlike ſtores, proviſions, or other merchandiſe, to be ſold not only to the enemies of the ſtate and their allies, but to neutral powers; by which means trade ſuſtained conſiderable damage: he even prohibited all intercouſe either by exchange or otherwiſe with *Spain*, *France*, and the northern powers, under penalty of the confiſcation of their ſhips and goods. The adviſer of this meaſure was *James Reginault*, a perſon before odious to the people; and to enforce it, *Reginault*, in contempt of the council of ſtate, procured an extraordinary commiſſion to proceed with rigour againſt thoſe who ſhould be guilty of a treſpaſs upon the decree: by this commiſſion he was empowered to examine the books and papers of merchants, contrary to the ancient rights and privileges of the commercial inhabitants of the *Netherlands*. *Leiceſter* likewiſe demanded, that all foreign traders ſhould have paſſports from him, by which he pretended he could greatly augment the revenue: certain it is, that he levied great ſums by thoſe oppreſſive meaſures; but no part was applied to the public ſervice.[f]

Grave, and other towns ſurrender to the duke of Parma.

WHILE the earl was buſied in rendering his government odious, and deſtructive to the people who had juſt promoted him to the pinnacle of human grandeur, the duke of *Parma* was puſhing the operations of the campaign. Count *Manſveldt* was ordered to block up the town of *Grave* on the *Maeſe*, and to throw a bridge croſs the river, to prevent the entrance of ſupplies. He built four forts upon the river, which he ſtrongly garriſoned, and compleated the bridge in the manner directed; though the garriſon of *Grave* uſed every expedient to obſtruct his operations. *Leiceſter* ſent orders to *Hohenlo* and *Norris*, the general of the *Engliſh* infantry, to attempt the relief of the town; they immediately ſeized on the fort and town of *Botemburgh*, but were driven from that poſt by *Manſveldt*, while they were preparing to entrench themſelves; being afterwards reinforced, they attacked the *Spaniards* with ſuch vigour as obliged them to retreat; however the duke of *Parma*'s arrival prevented their ſuccouring *Grave*: he now turned the blockade into a ſiege, and carried on his approaches ſo rapidly, that the governor ſurrendered before a breach was made, or the garriſon in the leaſt ſtinted for proviſions. Purſuing his ſucceſſes, the duke of *Parma* led his army a-

[f] LE CLERC, lib. iv.

gainſt

gainſt *Venlo*, higher up the *Maeſe*, inveſted the town, and obliged the garriſon in two days to capitulate, at the intreaty of the biſhop of *Cologn*; he attacked *Wuys*, the garriſon of which place had pillaged the country, and obſtructed all convoys of proviſion; and by the impetuoſity of the aſſault, forced the governor to ſubmiſſion. Next he reduced *Meurs*, *Alphen*, and the caſtle of *Crulno*; after which he inveſted *Birk*, but was forced to relinquiſh the enterpriſe; *Morgan* an *Engliſh* officer having thrown himſelf with 1000 men into the place.[g]

To ſtop the duke of *Parma*'s progreſs, *Leiceſter* detached prince *Maurice* and Sir *Philip Sidney* with 2000 men into *Flanders*; they ſurpriſed the little town of *Axel* on the 17th of *July*; but failed in an enterpriſe formed againſt *Graveline*: at laſt, *Leiceſter* determined to take the field in perſon; he ordered the army to move to *Guelderland*, and accompanied by the princes of the houſe of *Naſſau*, and all the general officers, *Engliſh*, *German*, and *Flemiſh*, he arrived at *Arnheim* on the 6th of *September*; finding his ſtrength inferior to the enemy's, he contented himſelf with reducing *Doeſburgh* upon the *Rhine*, and blocking up *Zutphen*, into which the duke of *Parma* threw ſupplies at pleaſure. It was in attacking one of theſe convoys that the brave, generous, gallant, and amiable Sir *Philip Sidney* loſt his life. After taking all the outworks, and building little forts round the town to reſtrain the excurſions of the garriſon, who levied heavy contributions on the neighbouring country, *Leiceſter* cantoned his army in winter-quarters, without effecting any thing worthy of the public expectation.[h] Leiceſter *makes a campaign.*

DURING this receſs from hoſtilities, the earl of *Leiceſter* would ſeem to have made it his whole ſtudy to render himſelf odious. He put into all vacant offices perſons the moſt obnoxious to the people; and, among others, one *York*, an *Engliſhman*, who had deſerted from the confederates to the duke of *Parma*, ſerved for two years in the *Spaniſh* army, and now deſerted it to obtain preferment from the *Engliſh* general. The ſtates remonſtrated againſt the promotion of a perſon, who had ſo often betrayed his truſt; but *Leiceſter*, without regarding them, poured down his favours upon a man whoſe ſole talent conſiſted in a ſervile adulation and compliance with the humour of his patron. The government of *Deventer* became another cauſe of altercation between the governor and the ſtates. That truſt was conferred upon an- *Loud complaints againſt* Leiceſter.

[g] REIDAN. Ann. lib. vi. GROT. lib. iv. [h] Id. ibid.

other

other *Engliſhman*, whoſe character was equally liable to cenſure. Beſides, the right of appointing belonged to the earl of *Meurs*, as governor of *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyſſel*; but *Leiceſter*, without attending to his prerogative, or to the murmurs of the people, vindicated his own conduct, and refuſed to relinquiſh the intereſt of his dependent. Happily for the provinces, he was called to attend the *Engliſh* parliament. On his departure, the ſtates exhorted him to uſe his influence with the queen to accept of the ſovereignty of the *Netherlands*; he promiſed to exert his utmoſt endeavours, but at the ſame time was too much enamoured of power to have any intention to perform his engagements. While he reſided at *Fluſhing*, waiting for a fair wind, he ſeduced the garriſon of *Vere*, a place belonging to prince *Maurice*, perſuading the ſoldiers that they owed no allegiance but to the queen of *England* and her governor. The ſame attempt was made on ſeveral other garriſons, in all which it is impoſſible to conceive *Leiceſter* could have any other object in view, than to render himſelf deteſtable to the very people whoſe affections he ought by every means to conciliate[1]. On his arrival in *England*, he wrote to the ſtates, demanding payment of 480,000 livres, due in arrears to the army. Their anſwer was, that the ſupplies raiſed, if managed with œconomy, were more than ſufficient to anſwer every purpoſe of the government. Some altercation aroſe, which was followed by a long catalogue of grievances, tranſmitted from the ſtates to queen *Elizabeth*. This produced mutual recriminations, which enflamed both ſides to a degree of animoſity.

He ſets ſail for England.

A. D. 1587.

Now was the ſeaſon for the duke of *Parma* to reap the advantage of theſe contentions. He made ſeveral motions, in order to perplex the confederates, and cover his deſigns. At laſt it appeared that he meditated the conqueſt of *Flanders*, by firſt reducing *Oſtend* and *Sluys*. The former was ſaved by a ſeaſonable reinforcement of ſeven hundred *Engliſh*; but *Sluys* was inveſted in deſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of prince *Maurice* and *Hohenlo*, who tried every expedient to divert the duke from this enterprize. As the place was but badly provided, the governor ſent repeatedly to *Fluſhing* for ſupplies; but the *Spaniards* had ſo cloſely blocked up all the avenues that it was impoſſible to throw in a convoy. The garriſon, however, determined to make a vigorous defence. They withſtood ſeveral aſſaults, and always diſplayed the moſt obſtinate courage.

Sluys *beſieged.*

[1] Le Clerc, lib. iv. Grot. ibid.

Sluys

Sluys had been now ſix weeks beſieged, when the earl of *Leiceſter*, by the queen's mediation, returned to his government. On his arrival at *Fluſhing*, it was determined in council of war to ſuccour the place by ſea. A detachment of five thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe were ordered to make a diverſion in favour of the fleet; but the project was fruſtrated by the narrowneſs of the channel, which would not admit the ſhipping. *Leiceſter* was blamed for not attacking the duke of *Parma*'s trenches, and to his want of courage the public voice aſcribed the loſs of *Sluys*, which, after ſuſtaining numberleſs hardſhips during a brave defence of two months, at laſt ſurrendered, when the garriſon had expended all their proviſion and ammunition. The duke of *Parma* entertained ſo high an opinion of the conduct of the governor, *Arnaud de Groenveldt*, and of the courage of the garriſon, that he voluntarily granted them all military honours, their baggage, arms, and lighted matches. His conqueſt indeed was dearly purchaſed; he loſt in the ſiege ſeven general officers, and near four thouſand ſoldiers[k].

Leiceſter *returns to* Holland.

THE reduction of *Sluys* renewed the clamour againſt the earl of *Leiceſter*'s adminiſtration. Out of compliment to the queen, he was again received by the provinces, but the reconciliation was not cordial. Had he however acted with proper ſpirit and prudence, he might have regained the eſteem and affections of the people. He determined otherwiſe, and proceeded upon his old plan of introducing diſcord, confuſion, and anarchy. He renewed his complaints againſt the ſtates, prince *Maurice*, and *Hohenlo*. They anſwered; he replied in terms full of paſſion and reſentment, in which he loſt all regard to decorum. *Hohenlo* was, in particular, the object of his deteſtation, merely becauſe he ſtrenuouſly vindicated the privileges of his country, and diſcharged the duty of an able, bold, and faithful officer. He had this year performed conſiderable ſervices in *Brabant*; but he was accuſed by *Leiceſter* of diſobedience, becauſe he had not joined the main army with his detachment, at a time when it was not poſſible, without ſacrificing the public intereſt. *Hohenlo* publiſhed a very ſpirited and ſenſible anſwer, in which he fully vindicated his own conduct, and obliquely hinted at the weakneſs and abſurdity of *Leiceſter*'s meaſures. A long paper altercation paſſed likewiſe between the ſtates of *Holland* and the governor-general. Nothing can be more maſterly than all the remonſtrances publiſhed on this occaſion by the ſtates; they fully explain the privileges of the provinces, and

Diſputes between Leiceſter *and* Hohenlo.

[k] METEREN. lib. xiv.

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the prerogative of the governor-general; vindicate their own conduct, without throwing blame on the queen of *England*; and artfully diſtinguiſh between the miſconduct of the queen's lieutenant, and her majeſty's own intentions. In a word, though *Leiceſter* was foiled at every weapon, ſuch was the unſteadineſs of the people, and addreſs of his faction, that even the provincial ſtates were divided in opinion; ſome blaming, while others highly applauded his conduct. The magiſtrates of *Utrecht*, and the clergy of *Holland* and *Zealand*, ſtrongly eſpouſed his intereſts, and bitterly reflected on the ſtates of *Holland*, whoſe oppoſition aroſe, they ſaid, from a jealous, capricious, and turbulent humour. Even the magiſtrates of ſeveral towns in *Holland* blamed the ſtates, eſpecially thoſe of *Dordrecht*, who appeared to have ſolely enliſted themſelves in the earl's faction. In the midſt of theſe contentions *Leiceſter* imprudently gave colour to the accuſations of his enemies, by forming a project to ſeize upon *Leyden*. The plan was concerted with one *Coſmo de Paſcarengis*, an *Italian* banker; it was diſcovered by accident, and fully detected by the confeſſion of the banker and his accomplices, on the rack. *Killegrew*, who was of the council of ſtate for *Elizabeth*, interceded for the criminals, and boldly affirmed, in their vindication, that they had acted by orders from the governor-general [1]. This alone was ſufficient teſtimony againſt *Leiceſter*, but the ſtates not chuſing to irritate and inflame the public diſſenſions, wiſely ſuppreſſed their ſentiments.

Leiceſter *recalled.*

WHEN the winter approached, lord *Leiceſter* was recalled, either for the defence of *England*, threatened with a *Spaniſh* invaſion, or to prevent his falling into further errors in the *Netherlands*. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that the queen was ſo well ſatisfied of his miſconduct, pride, and ambition, that ſhe dreaded the conſequences to her favourite, of ſuffering him longer to hold the reins of government, which he had hitherto directed with ſo little prudence and ability. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he ſent an apology to the ſtates of *Holland*, for not bidding them a perſonal farewel; he exaggerated the ſervices he had done the provinces, gently reproached the ſtates for having traverſed all his meaſures, to which he attributed the failure of every enterpriſe, admoniſhed them to a different behaviour, and promiſed upon theſe conditions to uſe his utmoſt influence with the queen in their behalf. On his arrival in *England*, though he was well received by *Elizabeth*, and appointed to the command of an

[1] METEREN. lib. xiv.

army encamped at *Tilbury*, yet he was diveſted of his government. *Leiceſter* apprehending he ſhould be arraigned before the council, had the addreſs by his ſubmiſſion to procure the queen's pardon, and a ſtop to all proceedings touching his conduct in the *Low Countries*. However, his enemies were ſo powerful, and the remonſtrances ſent over by the ſtates ſo evincive and undeniable, that nothing but the vaſt preparations in *Spain* to invade *England*, which turned the whole attention of the miniſtry to the ſecurity of the nation, could ſcreen him from a public trial. Among other articles of accuſation tranſmitted by the ſtates, it appeared that the earl had formed a deſign to apprehend, and put to death, *John Olden Barneveldt*, and thirteen other ſtrenuous oppoſers of his arbitrary meaſures; to ſeize *Dort*, *Enckhuiſen*, *Leyden*, and other places; in a word, to render himſelf deſpotic, and eſtabliſh a kind of military government in the *United Provinces* [m].

A. D. 1588. England *invaded by* Philip.

By orders from the court of *Spain*, the duke of *Parma*, ſince the reduction of *Sluys*, was forced to drop all thoughts of purſuing his advantages in the *Netherlands*, in order to aſſiſt with his whole power the enterpriſe concerted againſt *England*. Here was a fair opportunity for the confederates to redeem their loſſes, had they not been divided by factions, and poorly ſupplied with money, ammunition, and proviſion, from *England*. The penurious diſpoſition of *Elizabeth* would ſeem in this inſtance to have ſuppreſſed the dictates of prudence and ſound policy. *Spain* had great confidence in the duke of *Parma*'s aſſiſtance in carrying on the grand expedition. That general had aſſembled thirty thouſand men to be tranſported into *England*, in four hundred flat-bottom boats, under the convoy of a ſquadron of twenty ſhips of war; yet did *Elizabeth* uſe no expedient to divert his intention, by enabling the confederated provinces to engage him at home. All hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides until the miſcarriage of the moſt formidable ſcheme ever planned for the conqueſt of *England*. It is not within our province to relate the circumſtances which contributed to the defeat of the *Spaniſh* armada; ſufficient it is, that providence ſeemed to co-operate with the intrepidity of lord *Effingham*, the *Engliſh* admiral, to baffle the deſigns, and mortify the pride of *Philip*. His fleet was firſt diſperſed in a hard gale, afterwards roughly handled by the *Engliſh*, and at laſt ſhattered, deſtroyed, and wholly ruined, in a terrible ſtorm, off the coaſt of *Scotland*. Seventeen ſhips, having five thouſand land-forces on board, were

[m] Le Clerc, lib. iv.

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caſt away on the *Hebrides* and coaſt of *Ireland*; ſome were wrecked on the rocks of *Norway*, and many periſhed by fire, or were ſwallowed up by the ocean. In a word, of one-hundred-and-thirty great ſhips, which ſet ſail from the ports of *Spain*, manned with twenty thouſand ſoldiers and nine thouſand ſeamen, and mounting two thouſand three hundred and ſixty pieces of fine cannon, only fifty-three ever returned, and theſe in a miſerable, ſhattered condition[n].

Negotiations in the Netherlands.

WHILE *Philip* and *Elizabeth* were making the utmoſt preparations, the one for attacking, the other for defending *England*, they both endeavoured to gain time, by amuſing each other with a negotiation. It was the buſineſs of *Philip* to procraſtinate matters until he ſhould be able to ſtrike, and of *Elizabeth*, until her affairs ſhould be in a poſture to ward off the blow. The king ſent the duke of *Parma* a commiſſion to treat with the *Engliſh* envoys; he accordingly repaired to *Oſtend*, and the conferences were opened at *Bourbourg*, notwithſtanding the eſtates of the *Netherlands* had refuſed to conſent to the treaty. It was propoſed by the *Engliſh*, that liberty of conſcience ſhould be granted for two years to the reformed; but neither the duke of *Parma*, nor the eſtates, would hearken to this propoſition. A truce was in the next place demanded by the commiſſaries, and rejected by the duke. Then they required that the ancient alliance between *England* and the houſe of *Burgundy* ſhould be renewed; that all foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn from the *Low Countries*; that the people ſhould be ſecured in their liberties; and that the money lent the eſtates by queen *Elizabeth* ſhould be repaid by the king of *Spain*[o]. A variety of debates aroſe upon theſe articles, and it was obvious that the whole deſign of the conference was to retard meaſures until the armada ſhould enter the channel. It no ſooner appeared than the negotiations were broke off, and the *Engliſh* commiſſioners diſmiſſed with a ſafe conduct to *Calais*.

The duke of Parma *takes the field.*

As ſoon as the defeat of the grand expedition was known in the *Netherlands*, the duke of *Parma* turned his attention to the affairs of his government. He now determined to repair the loſs ſuſtained from his late inactivity, by proſecuting the moſt vigorous meaſures. The marquis *de Rentpes* and *Charles Manſveldt*, were ſent with a ſtrong detachment to reduce the Iſle of *Tolen*, ſeparated by a canal from *Brabant*. By this he meant to facilitate his approaches againſt *Bergen-op-Zoom*. The bravery of colonel count *Solmes* fruſtrated the attempt on the iſland. He repulſed the *Spaniards* in two vi-

[n] CAMDEN, p. 555. [o] Id. ſub Ann.

gorous

gorous attacks, but could not prevent the duke from forming the ſiege. *Bergen-op-Zoom* was inveſted on the 24th of *September*. It was defended by lord *Willoughby*, general of the *Engliſh* forces, and an *Engliſh* garriſon, with ſo much ſpirit and intrepidity, that after divers efforts and ſtratagems of war, the duke was forced to relinquiſh the enterpriſe. Chagrin and diſappointment having impaired the duke of *Parma*'s health, and the ſeaſon becoming rigorous, he put his army into winter-quarters.

On the 14th of *September* died the earl of *Leiceſter*, to the great joy of the ſtates of *Holland*, who now at length conceived hopes that they might be able to cruſh his faction, and introduce harmony among thoſe provinces ſo long torn by civil diſſenſions, while they were maintaining a war againſt the moſt powerful potentate of *Europe*. Immediately the towns which, in conſequence of his protection, had withdrawn their allegiance from the ſtates, returned to their duty. The garriſon of *Gertruydenberg* alone ſtood out; they firſt mutinied, then revolted againſt the ſtates, and at laſt threw themſelves into the arms of the duke of *Parma*, after committing ſhocking outrages, under pretence that they had ſworn only to obey the queen and *Leiceſter*. *Willoughby* and the *Engliſh* are blamed by *Dutch* hiſtorians for their conduct in this tranſaction. The year concluded with the ſiege of *Wachtendock*, an enterpriſe formed by count *Peter Erneſt Manſfeldt*, contrary to the opinion of *Verdugo*, and the moſt experienced generals in the *Spaniſh* army, and indeed of the duke of *Parma* himſelf. The place was ſtrong and well provided; the ſeaſon was rigorous, and the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers reluctant, and averſe to the undertaking; but *Manſfeldt*'s ſucceſs was a full vindication of his conduct [p]. The garriſon ſurrendered on the 20th of *December*, after the town had almoſt been laid wholly in aſhes by a ruinous bombardment. Some writers alledge that *Manſfeldt* uſed only ignited bullets, with which he ſet fire to the place, and terrified the garriſon into ſubmiſſion [q].

In the beginning of the year this general paſſed into the iſle of *Bommel*, where he reduced ſeveral forts, but failed in his principal aim, that of ſeizing the capital by ſurprize. While he was thus employed, prince *Maurice*, count *Solmes*, and *Hohenlo*, uniting their forces, attacked and retook *Heuſden* in ſight of the *Spaniſh* army. From this time we may date the decline of *Philip*'s affairs. His beſt officer the duke

State of the Spaniſh *affairs in the* Netherlands.

[p] Redan. p. 171. Grot. lib. v. [q] Strada, ſub. Ann. p. 601.

of

of *Parma* was in a bad ſtate of health, his ſoldiers became mutinous for their pay, and his finances were exhauſted by the immenſe expences of the armada, and the deſtruction of his commerce and rich plate fleet. Jealouſies likewiſe aroſe between the duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniards*, who even had the preſumption to tax that great general with the miſcarriage of the grand expedition, and of the ſiege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*. One *John Mora* a *Spaniard*, wrote letters of complaint to the king, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt the duke; theſe letters were intercepted by prince *Maurice*, decyphered, and ſent to the duke of *Parma*. In conſequence *Ricardot* was diſpatched to *Madrid*, to vindicate the duke, and *Mora* being invited to dinner was poiſoned: an action, that leaves an indelible ſtain on the character of the duke of *Parma*[r].

WHILE the duke was drinking the waters of the *Spaw*, the marquis of *Waremben*, the *Spaniſh* governor in *Guelderland*, projected a ſcheme for reducing the whole province, and began the execution with ſurprizing the caſtle of *Bliembeck*. He then reſolved to lay ſiege to *Rhimberg*, but was anticipated by a ſtrong reinforcement thrown in by general *Schenk*. Beſides reinforcing *Rhimberg*, this active officer cut off a regiment of *Spaniards* in *Friſeland*, but unfortunately periſhed in an unſucceſsful attempt on *Nimeguen*. *Waremben*, after *Schenk*'s death, renewed his deſign on *Rhimberg*, but conſtant ſupplies were thrown in by lord *Falkenſtein* and Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded a body of 2000 *Engliſh* infantry. The marquis reſolved to attack the *Engliſh*. He ſent a ſtrong detachment to that purpoſe; but the *Spaniards* met with ſo warm a reception, that they retired in diſorder, with the loſs of 300 men and ten ſtandards. Notwithſtanding this advantage, the ſtates ſuffered *Rhimberg* to fall into the hands of the enemy, becauſe they found it expenſive and hazardous to cover with an army a place ſo diſtant from their frontiers. The loſs of *Rhimberg* however was balanced by divers ſucceſſes in *Groningen*, where prince *Maurice* foiled the *Spaniſh* general *Verdugo* in every attempt. Notwithſtanding he had not an army ſufficient to perform any ſignal exploit, or conſiderable enterprize, the *Batavian* prince exhibited ſufficient proofs of his ſuperior military talents and towering genius. One very important blow was given to the power of *Spain* in the *Netherlands* by the reduction of *Breda*. This city and *Gertruydenberg* were the keys of *Brabant*; and the loſs of the latter had wholly excluded the confederates from that province. A project

Breda taken by the Confederates.

[r] METEREN, lib. xv. GROT. Hiſt. lib. i. p. 318.

was

was laid for ſurpriſing *Breda*, and it ſucceeded. The maſter of a trading veſſel who was permitted to ſupply the *Spaniſh* general with neceſſaries, took on board about ſixty *Dutch* ſoldiers, and concealed them ſo artfully under planks and boards, that his veſſel was viſited in the uſual manner by the officers on guard, without diſcovery. In the night, the concealed party ſeized upon the city-gates, and being oppoſed by *Hohenlo*, who lay with a body of troops at a little diſtance from the town, gained poſſeſſion without hardly ſtriking a blow. By order of the duke of *Parma*, the commanding *Spaniſh* officer was put to death for neglect of duty, cowardice, and remiſſneſs. He afterwards took every poſſible method to recover *Breda*. *Manſveldt* was detached with a ſelect body of troops to attack *Nortdam*, a fort on the canal, by which the city was ſupplied with neceſſaries; but he was ſo warmly received by *Mathias Hall*, a *Fleming*, who commanded, that he retired precipitately, leaving 600 dead before the fort. All he could effect was to build a fort oppoſite to *Nortdam*, to reſtrain the garriſon; after which he inveſted *Breda*. Prince *Maurice* immediately took the field to protect a town of ſuch conſequence. He marched ſtraight to *Nimeguen*, and by his operations perſuaded the duke of *Parma* that he intended beſieging the town; upon which *Manſveldt* was ordered to relinquiſh *Breda*, and ſuccour *Nimeguen*, a town of ſtill infinitely greater moment. In deſpite of *Manſveldt*'s endeavours, prince *Maurice* erected the fortreſs of *Knoiſembourg*, to cut off the trade of *Nimeguen*, and facilitate any future attempts to reduce the city [a].

A. D. 1590.

THOUGH the naval power of the ſtates was greatly augmented, and their commerce carried to a high degree, they could not reſtrain the pernicious prizes of the *Dunkirk* privateers, which ſwarmed in all the neighbouring ſeas, to the immediate damage of traffic. The *Zealanders* equipped ſeveral ſquadrons of ſmall veſſels; but theſe being found inſufficient to reſtrain the pirates, grown bold by ſucceſs, it neceſſarily became a national concern. The different colleges of the admiralty ſtationed a number of ſhips in ſuch a manner as to block up the port of *Dunkirk*, by which means numbers of privateers loaded with booty fell into their hands before they could enter the harbour, and others were prevented from putting to ſea. We have, in a former volume, largely expatiated on the origin and progreſs of the *Dutch* commerce, which took its riſe from their profitable voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the ruin of *Antwerp*; it will

Naval affairs.

[a] Id. ibid.

therefore be unneceſſary to dwell upon it in this p
Sufficient it is, that the provinces were now enabl
furniſh their contingences towards the public expenc
act offenſively, and maintain greater armies, than the
ever before ſent into the field. They even ſent ſuppl
men and money, to ſupport *Henry* IV. againſt the l
and the king of *Spain*, whence they deduced the adva
of making a powerful diverſion from the *Netherlands*[t].

The duke of Parma *is ſent with an army to aſſiſt the league in* France.

ABOUT this time, the duke of *Parma* received orde
haſten to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Mayence*, def
by *Henry* IV. with the greater part of the *Spaniſh* arm
the *Low Countries*. The duke immediately perceived
the loſs of the *Netherlands* would be the conſequence
his orders being abſolute, he directed his march with 12
foot, and 3000 horſe, to the frontiers of *France*, le
count *Manſveldt* to conduct the war againſt the *United*
vinces. This general was too weak to keep the fiel
to prevent prince *Maurice* from raſing and deſtroyin
the *Spaniſh* forts on the frontiers of the provinces.
confederates reſolving to make the moſt of the opportu
attacked and reduced the fort of *Blamemberg*. This e
priſe was conducted by *Norris*, governor of *Oſtend*, fo
queen of *England*. The garriſon retreating to another
in the *Dunes*, he vigorouſly aſſaulted this fortreſs, to
and put the garriſon to the ſword. On the 2d of *Apr*
A. D. 1591. garriſon of *Breda* ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Turnhout*, o
the largeſt villages of *Brabant*; and on the 9th of *May*
gained poſſeſſion of *Weſterloo*, a place extremely conve
for keeping the province under contribution. As ſo
the ſeaſon was ſufficiently advanced to afford forage fo
cavalry, the ſtates ſent an army of 10,000 foot, and
horſe, into the field, under the conduct of prince *Ma*

Succeſſes of prince Maurice.

lately made governor of *Guelderland*, and by thus dire
the affairs of three of the moſt conſiderable provinces c
union, raiſed to great influence and authority. By
time the duke of *Parma* was returned, after having ac
ed laurels in a defenſive war againſt *Henry* IV. by reli
Paris. *Maurice* made ſome movements which raiſe
prehenſions in the duke for *Gertruydenberg*, imagining hi
ſign was upon that city; but the prince turned ſuddenl
wards the territory of *Velaw*, and preſented himſelf b
Zutphen; after having the good fortune to ſeize by a ſt
gem upon ſome of the outworks, he then regularly inv
the place, and purſued his operations with ſo much

[t] LE CLERC, 4.

dity, that the garriſon capitulated on condition that they ſhould have a ſafe conduct to *Deventer*. The *Spaniſh* garriſon no ſooner entered this laſt place, than *Maurice* was cloſe at their heels, laid ſiege to *Deventer*, and took it after a ſhort reſiſtance. It was defended by *Herman de Hxram*, being the prince's own couſin-german, who had ſerved *Philip* with great fidelity, and would now have conſiderably retarded the progreſs of the confederate army, had he not received a wound in the face, by which he was confined. From *Deventer* the prince directed his rout to *Groningen*, with deſign to inveſt that city; but on receiving advice that the garriſon was ſtrongly reinforced and well ſupplied, he ſteered off towards *Delfziel*, which together with ſome neighbouring forts he reduced, and thereby extremely incommoded the city of *Groningen* [u].

As the duke of *Parma*'s army did not exceed 5000 foot, and 2000 horſe, he dreaded the extenſion of *Maurice*'s conqueſts, and that *Nimeguen* would be the next object of his operations. To prevent this he determined to attack *Knotſemberg*, and thereby to throw unſurmountable obſtructions in the way of the confederates. After ſeizing ſome poſts in the higher *Guelderland*, he made a feint as if he intended to fall upon fort *Schenk*, and then ſuddenly paſſing the *Vaal*, inveſted *Knotſemberg* on the 13th of *July*. The artillery of this fort totally deſtroyed the works on the oppoſite ſide of *Nimeguen*, and the garriſon had more the command of the river than the city itſelf. It was of great importance to *Maurice* to maintain this advantage; he was therefore watchful of the motions of the *Spaniſh* army, and ſuſpected the duke's deſign which he had ſo artfully concealed. Before the duke of *Parma* approached, he had directed count *Solmes* powerfully to reinforce the garriſon, and ſupply the fort with every neceſſary. He then followed with his army nearly equal to that of the enemy, and encamped at a ſhort diſtance from the duke of *Parma*'s trenches. The *Spaniards* carried on the ſiege with vigour, but every inch of ground they gained loſt a multitude of lives. Frequent ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the two armies, in one of which *Nicelli*, captain of the horſe-guards, and 400 troopers, were made priſoners. Very ſeaſonably for the duke of *Parma*'s reputation, he received an order to repair with all expedition to *France*, leaving only troops ſufficient for a defenſive war in the *Netherlands*. He immediately complied with the royal mandate, and accordingly raiſed the ſiege, and covered

[u] GROT. p. 146.

his retreat with ſo much addreſs, that he croſſed the *Vaal* without furniſhing the enemy with an opportunity of falling upon his rear. This was his laſt campaign in the *Netherlands*, where his long ſervices had deſervedly acquired him the reputation of an able, vigilant, and faithful general, though numberleſs attempts were made by envious *Spaniards* to blaſt his character. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he endeavoured to perſuade the inhabitants of *Nimeguen* to admit a reinforcement of *Spaniſh* ſoldiers; but the magiſtrates not chuſing to be ſaddled with foreign penſioners, took upon themſelves the defence of the city [x].

Prince *Maurice*, ſatisfied with ſeeing *Knotſemberg* relieved, and the *Spaniſh* army weakened by the detachments ſent off to *France*, paſſed to *Guelderland*, without however relinquiſhing his deſigns on *Nimeguen*. In the middle of *September*, he marched with 4000 foot, and 600 horſe, into the territory of *Was*, and laid ſiege to *Hulſt*. On the 19th the place was inveſted; the batteries began to play on the 23d, and by the 25th the garriſon capitulated. The ſame terms were granted as to the other conquered places; that is, the inhabitants were permitted their own religion, but the magiſtrates were proteſtants. Count *Solmes* was appointed governor of the town and adjacent territory. As ſoon as tranſports could be provided, *Maurice* embarked a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, alarmed the whole coaſt of *Flanders*, ſpread a report that he propoſed beſieging *Dunkirk* or *Newport*, then debarked his troops, and appeared unexpectedly before *Nimeguen*. He began with forming a bridge of boats acroſs the river, to prevent the towns being ſupplied, then erected batteries, and all at once battered the walls with ſixty five pieces of heavy cannon. Firſt, however, he ſummoned the magiſtrates; but they anſwered, "that as the prince was a young man, he ought to conſider *Nimeguen* as a coy virgin, whoſe favours were only "to be gained by gallantry and aſſiduity." They ſoon, however, changed their tone, beat a parley, and deſired to capitulate. The effects of the red hot balls poured into the city, terrified them into ſubmiſſion. All the conditions impoſed by *Maurice* were accepted, only they refuſed to embrace the reformed religion, but conſented to a liberty of conſcience; and that the magiſtrates ſhould be appointed by the prince, a right which he preſerved during the courſe of the war. Six companies of foot and two troops of horſe

[x] Le Clerc, lib. iv. Meteren. lib. 17.

were

were left in garriſon, after which *Maurice* put his army into winter-quarters in *Overyſſel* and *Friſeland*.

So glorious and ſucceſsful a campaign highly elated the ſpirits of the people, and raiſed the young prince to the height of popularity and fame. Since his father's death, the *United Provinces* had experienced nothing but diſappointment and misfortune. They were every where defeated, divided among themſelves, impoveriſhed, diſpirited, and on the point of deſpair. The alliance of *England* contributed only to augment their miſery, it rendered them dependent on the queen, and her inſolent, capricious, and arbitrary lieutenant, whoſe ſole aim was to eſtabliſh deſpotic ſway, by fomenting the civil diſcord of the provinces, and forming a powerful faction. It is true, the *Engliſh* forces performed conſiderable ſervices in the three laſt campaigns; but theſe were more than weighed down by the inconveniencies conſequent on *Leiceſter*'s mal-adminiſtration. Now the *Dutch* ſaw their frontiers extended by prince *Maurice*, and the whole country ſecured by rivers, and covered by fortified towns, with the greateſt probability of driving the *Spaniards* in another campaign out of *Friſeland*[y]. *State of the* United Provinces.

SECT. IV.

Containing the tranſactions in the Low Countries, *during the adminiſtration of the* Spaniſh *governors* Manſveldt, Ernelt, *and* Fuentes, *to the arrival of the archduke* Albert.

THE year 1592 was uſhered in by ſome abortive efforts of the emperor *Rodolph* to eſtabliſh peace. The minds of both parties were ſtill too much heated to admit of equitable propoſitions; and the point of religion, upon which ſo many conferences ſplit, was now an unſurmountable obſtruction. In a word, *Philip*, harraſſed as he was with the war maintained in *France*, required too much, and the *United Provinces*, inſolent with their late ſucceſs, would grant too little. Hoſtilities accordingly commenced, and prince *Maurice* taking the field in the month of *May*, ſat down before *Steinwyck*, a ſtrong town on the frontiers of *Overyſſel*. It was the 13th of *June* before the batteries were opened, when they began to play with unremitting A. D. 1592. *Fruitleſs negociations.*

[y] Bentivog. p. 3. lib. i. p. 5.

fury. The garriſon made a brave defence, and prince *Maurice* received a wound from a muſket-ball, which, however, did not retard the progreſs of the ſiege. Obſerving that his heavy cannon produced no effect, he ſprung a mine on the 3d of *July*, which made a practicable breach. He then prepared to ſtorm the town; but the general not caring to hazard the conſequences of an aſſault, capitulated upon honourable conditions. In this ſiege the prince loſt about 700 ſoldiers, and the garriſon more than half that number. Several deſerters were excepted in the articles, ſurrendered, and immediately hanged. From *Steinwych*, *Maurice* proceeded to *Oknarſch* in the territory of *Twente*, which he reduced before the cloſe of the month. Then he inveſted *Corvoerden*, a ſtrongly fortified town in the diſtrict of *Drente*. Before any progreſs was made in the ſiege, the *Spaniſh* general *Verdugo*, having been ſtrongly reinforced by the duke of *Parma*, marched to *Oldenzeel*, with intention to relieve *Corvoerden*, defended by the ſame *Haremberg* lately mentioned. The prince with 300 men went to reconnoitre the enemy, and had the good fortune to intercept a letter from *Verdugo* to the governor, acquainting him, that he propoſed raiſing the ſiege, by attacking *Hohenlo*'s quarters early next morning, and deſiring him to ſecond his attack by a vigorous ſally. *Maurice* took his meaſures, he was attacked in the manner expected, but received the enemy with ſuch vigour, that they retreated in great confuſion, leaving behind 400 dead, and an equal number of priſoners. Deſpairing of relief, the governor capitulated, and ſurrendered himſelf a ſecond time to his couſin upon honourable conditions. After repairing the fortifications, the prince led his army into *Guelderland*, where, dividing his troops, he cantoned them in winter-quarters. This ſeaſon the duke of *Parma* attended the *Spaw*, but his bad ſtate of health prevented his taking any ſhare in the government; and indeed the unjuſt clamours of the *Spaniards* againſt his conduct, obliged him to write preſſingly to the king to permit him to retire; but *Philip* had reſolved to uſe his ſervices another campaign in *France*[z].

Steinwych *taken.*

A. D. 1597. ***New regulations in the Spaniſh Provinces.***

COUNT *Manſveldt* had for theſe two campaigns the direction of affairs in the *Netherlands*, as deputy to the duke of *Parma*, but circumſtances obliged him to leave the execution to the count *de Fuentes*, don *Eſtavan de Ibarra*, and *Verdugo*. To gain the entire confidence of the *Flemiſh* nobility, *Philip* promoted him to the government of the *Ten*

[z] GROT. Hiſt. lib. iii.

Pro-

Provinces that continued in their allegiance. The duke *d'Archot* was made particular governor of *Flanders*, the prince *de Chimai* of *Hainault*, and the count *d'Haremberg* of *Artois*. The council of war, however, which enjoyed extenſive privileges, rendered the provinces dependent on the general of the army and governor. It was wholly compoſed of *Spaniards*, and the chief authority of the council was veſted in *Fuentes* and *Ibarra*. They were ſtrictly enjoined by the king to be extremely frugal of the public money, and to reform the abuſes of the revenue complained of under the adminiſtration of the duke of *Parma*. However, to give credit to the new government, the army was paid the arrears due, without which it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs thoſe mutinies and tumults which had been the greateſt prejudice to the affairs of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. The count *de Fuentes* immediately propoſed ſeveral alterations, which produced diviſions in the council of war. They were abſolutely neceſſary, but contrary to the intereſt of ſeveral of the members. Others indeed appeared rigid, though they paſſed into an act without oppoſition. On the 5th of *January*, *Manſveldt* publiſhed an edict, prohibiting contributions to be paid to the enemy, or ſafe conducts accepted, under the penalty of death, and military execution. The nobility and clergy ſeeing their lands pillaged without the poſſibility of redreſs, loudly demanded a revocation of this cruel edict. To counteract the effects of *Manſveldt*'s ordonnance, the ſtates of the *United Provinces* publiſhed a declaration on the 17th of *February*, taxing the *Spaniards* with cruelty, exhorting the inhabitants of the *Netherlands* without diſtinction to join with them againſt their cruel oppreſſors, and granting them to the firſt of *April* to change their ſentiments and conduct; after which time they would give no quarter to priſoners, or thoſe who refuſed to pay the ſtipulated contributions. To enforce their declaration, count *Philip* of *Naſſau* was ſent with a ſtrong detachment to levy contributions in the province of *Luxemburgh*. His ſoldiers committed ſhocking ravages, and the count *Barlaimont* retaliated upon the frontiers of the *Seven Provinces*. The ſituation of the people was deplorable, death preſenting itſelf, and all the horrors of war, which ever way they turned, whatſoever reſolution they formed. If they complied with the edict of the ſtates, they were ſubject to legal puniſhment; if they refuſed, to military execution. At the ſame time, the ſoldiers of the *Spaniſh* army mutinied againſt a decree, which intitled them to no quarter after they had diſcharged their duty in the field and garri-

ſon, notwithſtanding their defeat might be the conſequence of the ignorance of their commander [a].

Gertruydenberg *beſieged.*

WHILE matters were in this ſtate of confuſion, prince *Maurice* inveſted *Gertruydenberg*, from which he had cut off all convoys of proviſions and ammunition during the preceding ſeaſon. His approaches were conſiderably retarded by the marſhy ſituation of the place, and by the vigour of the garriſon, which conſiſted of a thouſand veterans well inured to action, hardſhips and fatigue. To prevent the enemies throwing in ſuccours before his works were compleated, the prince drew lines of circumvallation, ſuch as for ſtrength had never before appeared in the *Netherlands*, mounted at proper diſtances with more than an hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, the expence, labour, and genius, beſtowed on theſe lines were wonderful, the camp being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions by the canal, guarded with intrenchments equal to the fortifications of a city, and the induſtrious peaſant purſuing his rural occupations in the midſt of war, with the ſame ſecurity as in the moſt profound peace. From this it appears, that the lines took in a conſiderable compaſs of ground, which *Grotius* eſtimates, by calling the walls three hours walking round. Soon after this prodigious work was finiſhed, a meſſenger, ſent from the governor to ſolicit ſuccours from count *Manſveldt*, was taken. The prince ordered him to be carried round the lines, and then diſmiſſed with the governor's letter, to report what he had ſeen to the count. This would have effectually deterred *Manſveldt* from attempting the relief of *Gertruydenberg* at ſo imminent a riſque; but the council of war imagined it would be ſhameful to ſuffer a barrier ſo important to be loſt without making extraordinary efforts. They were determined to ſtop the draughts ordered for *France*, in order to reinforce the army ſo powerfully, as to put the ſucceſs of a battle beyond doubt. Accordingly the army, amounting to 12,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, was aſſembled at *Turnhout*. With this force, *Manſveldt* approached the lines, which he found were ſtrong and regular beyond expectation. He erected batteries againſt prince *Maurice*'s quarter, as if he had been carrying on a regular ſiege; but finding proviſions failing, he removed to the oppoſite quarter commanded by *Hohenlo*. Here he employed himſelf in filling up the ditches and canals, in battering the lines, and making regular approaches; while *Maurice*, with a handful of men, was repelling his

[a] GROT. ibid. Le CLERC, lib. iv. METEREN, lib. xvii.

efforts,

efforts, advancing his works towards the town, battering in breach, and at the ſame time forming lines of contravallation to ſecure him againſt the ſallies of the garriſon. The art of war, as then known, was exhauſted between the fruitful genius of the prince, and the long experience of *Manſveldt*, grown hoary in military ſervice; when at length the garriſon capitulated, after having loſt their beſt officers. Before a parley was beat, *Manſveldt*, by a letter, acquainted the garriſon, that he intended to decamp, and deſired they would not be diſheartened, for he would attempt their relief by another method. The meſſenger was taken, but prince *Maurice* ſuffered him to enter the town. *Manſveldt*'s reſolution determined the commanding officer to demand terms; he obtained honourable conditions, and the articles were ſigned on the 25th of *June*, after a ſiege of three months [b].

THUS ended the ſiege of *Gertruydenberg*, the moſt remarkable in the war; in which the beſiegers were themſelves beſieged by a greatly ſuperior army, commanded by one of the beſt officers in the *Spaniſh* ſervice. The ſurrender of the town was announced to *Manſveldt* by a general diſcharge of the artillery on the lines and ramparts, upon which he immediately broke up his camp, and retired, greatly chagrined, towards the Iſle of *Bonneval*, with deſign to attack *Crevecœur*. In this he was fruſtrated by the diligence of the garriſon, and activity of *Maurice*; the one had laid the country under water, and the other marched with ſuch expedition, that he was encamped and entrenched on the only acceſſible eminence near the town, before the arrival of the *Spaniſh* army. *Manſveldt*, after expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at the rapidity of the prince's manœuvres, retired, highly diſguſted at having been thus foiled by a boy, ſending ſtrong detachments to *Verdugo* in *Friſeland* [c]. Manſveldt *again foiled by the prince.*

THE prince's next exploit was to break off the communication between *Germany* and *Groningen*, by erecting a fort at the paſſage *Bourtange*. This he effected, in defiance of the utmoſt efforts of *Verdugo*; and leaving five companies of foot for its defence, he retired. *Verdugo*, being powerfully reinforced by *Manſveldt*, attacked *Fort Bourtange*, but was forced by the vigour of the garriſon, and ſcarcity of proviſions, to relinquiſh the enterpriſe for one which, if ſucceſsful, would be more deciſive. This was to ſurpriſe *Maurice* in his camp. He was greatly ſuperior in ſtrength, and marched with ſuch ſilence and diligence, that he did not

[b] GROT. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 176. METEREN. lib. vii. BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. i. p. 16.
[c] Id. ibid.

doubt

doubt of finding the prince unprepared; but on his arrival he perceived the confederate army under arms, an intrenchment began the night before almoſt finiſhed, and every other meaſure taken to baffle his project. Upon this he began to ſkirmiſh with the out-parties, in hopes of drawing *Maurice* out of his intrenchments; but on finding him too cautious, retired under cover of the night, and ſent his troops into winter-quarters. The operations of the year ended with an abortive attempt made by *Maurice* to ſurpriſe *Bruges*, and another of *Manſveldt*'s, equally unſucceſsful, to penetrate into *Zealand*[d].

End of the campaign.

A. D. 1594. *The archduke* Erneſt *made governor of the* Netherlands.

PHILIP had now conferred the government of the *Netherlands* upon the archduke *Erneſt*, in hopes that a *German* would be more acceptable to the *Flemings*, than their *Spaniſh* or *Italian* governors. On the 30th of *January*, *Erneſt* made his public entry into *Bruſſels*, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, and great demonſtrations of joy. The *United Provinces* were terrified that the war would now be renewed with redoubled vigour. It was reported that the new governor had made powerful levies in *Germany*, and was fully determined to ſubdue the whole *Netherlands*, and terminate a war tedious, expenſive, and vexatious to *Philip*. Theſe fears, however, were ſoon quieted by certain advice, that the levies could not even paſs in review for want of pay, and that moſt of them were already defeated. It was likewiſe a favourable circumſtance to the confederates, that *Erneſt* being a foreigner, unacquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of the country, muſt devolve the conduct of affairs upon others; which would probably breed diſſenſion, and excite jealouſy among the enemy. Their conjecture was well-founded. The very firſt meaſure entered upon by the archduke incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Spaniards*. He found means to convey a letter to the ſtates-general, in which, after pathetically enumerating the calamities of war, and the diſtreſſes of the provinces, he earneſtly exhorted them to think of peace, and propoſe ſuch terms of accommodation, as he might reaſonably offer, and preſs upon the king. In this particular he acted with honour and integrity; but it was imprudent in the firſt ſtep of his adminiſtration to give umbrage to the *Spaniards*, whoſe intereſt it was to continue the war. They held all the lucrative places, had the whole management of the revenue, and acquired immenſe fortunes by a war that exhauſted the treaſures of *Spain*, and

[d] Le Clerc, lib. v.

brought

brought the *Netherlands* on the verge of deſtruction. The letter was well received, but anſwered in a manner that ſhewed the ſtates were determined to hazard all rather than ſubmit on any terms to the tyrant who had ſo long endeavoured to ſubvert their liberties. This negociation was ſcarce finiſhed, when a conſpiracy againſt the life of prince *Maurice* was detected. One *Michael de Renichen*, a monk, was ſeduced by the count *Barlaimont*, and other noblemen, to make the attempt, and inſtructed in the manner. He was ſeized, and executed at the *Hague*. Soon after, a ſecond conſpiracy of the ſame nature was diſcovered, and the criminal hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was publickly averred, and confirmed by the teſtimony of the expiring criminal, that the archduke was privy to this attempt, that it was planned by *Ibarra*, and debated in the duke's own cabinet council. This rendered him extremely odious to the confederates, and wiped out all remembrance of the kindneſs formerly intended by his letter. It indeed perſuaded the proteſtants that he was a hypocrite, who concealed the darkeſt deſigns under the cloak of friendſhip. Both parties ſoon came to deſpiſe him, on diſcovering that he was a weak, diſſolute prince, directed by minions, and governed by women [e].

Groningen *beſieged and taken by prince* Maurice.

WHILE the public were forming various conjectures on the character of the new governor, *Verdugo*, in the depth of winter, aſſembled part of his army, and cloſely blocked up *Coevoerden*. But the obſtinacy of the garriſon exhauſted his patience, and obliged him to withdraw the blockade. The garriſon of *Groningen* was likewiſe defeated in an attempt to ſurpriſe fort *Delfziel*. Nor was prince *Maurice* more fortunate in the enterpriſes formed againſt *Bolduc* and *Maeſtricht*; one of which miſcarried by accident, the other through the miſconduct of his officers. But the great object was the reduction of *Groningen*, to effect which the ſtates made numerous levies in *Germany*. Count *Solmes* happily conducted theſe new troops to the prince's camp, amidſt all the ſchemes and ambuſcades laid in their way by *Verdugo*. *Maurice* immediately put his army in motion, and on the 20th of *March* inveſted *Groningen* with ten thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. The garriſon was ſummoned, and they returned a reſolute anſwer; upon which the prince opened his batteries, mounted with ſixty pieces of battering cannon. The attack and defence were equally vigorous. The beſiegers ſet the town on fire with red-hot bullets, but

[e] Id. ibid.

this

this produced no effect on the garriſon. As the former advanced their works, the latter multiplied their ſallies, and fought with deſperate fury. *Maurice* at laſt ſprung a mine, by which he gained the ravelin. This gave the firſt ſhock to the conſtancy of the beſieged, particularly of the burghers, who dreaded an aſſault. The ſoldiers however would have ſtood the conſequence, but the clamours of the townſmen prevailed, a parly was demanded, and articles of capitulation were ſigned the 24th of *July* [f]. *William* of *Naſſau* was appointed governor, with five companies of foot, to ſupport his authority, and maintain the right he aſſumed of chuſing the magiſtrates. Six companies more were quartered in the ſuburbs, the great extent of the city rendering an extraordinary garriſon neceſſary.

Mutiny of the Spaniſh *army.*

WHILE *Maurice* was purſuing his conqueſts, the utmoſt confuſion appeared in the *Spaniſh* army under *Verdugo*, whole regiments refuſing to act, to acknowledge military diſcipline, and even menacing the life of their general, unleſs their pay was advanced. The wretched inhabitants were the chief ſufferers in all thoſe tumults; they were pillaged without remorſe, and their effects ſeized as legal plunder. Two *Spaniſh* regiments of foot revolted in *Picardy*, where they committed the moſt terrible diſorders. Two thouſand foot, and one thouſand *Italian* and *Spaniſh* horſe, ſeized on *Sichem* in *Brabant*, demanded their pay, and acted as if it had been due to them from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. No ſooner was one mutiny appeaſed, than another appeared; the archduke's authority was deſpiſed, and the mutineers at length became ſo formidable, that they threatened the city of *Bruſſels*, and the ſubverſion of the *Spaniſh* government in the *Netherlands*. Apprehending that force might be uſed to reduce them to obedience, they tampered with prince *Maurice*, and demanded to know if he would afford them a retreat, and protection. Indolent as the archduke was, he dreaded the conſequences of this laſt overture, aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops appeaſed by the advance of their pay, and ordered don *Lewis de Velaſco* to march againſt the rebels. They had built ſome forts, which *Velaſco* attacked with ſuch impetuoſity as obliged the beſieged to withdraw, unite themſelves in a body, and take ſhelter in the territory of *Langueſtraat*, in the neighbourhood of *Gertruydenberg*, where they were protected by the confederate army and garriſons. Though the mutineers would not conſent to enter into the ſervice of the ſtates, the prince

[f] METEREN, lib. xvii. p. 357.

found it his intereſt to keep up the diviſion, by which the *Spaniſh* army was weakened. The rebels were no expence to the *United Provinces*, for they ſupported themſelves by excurſions into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in which they were aſſiſted by a body of confederate cavalry. Notwithſtanding this deſertion, the diligence of the council of war aſſembled an army of eleven thouſand men, with which the archduke blocked up *Cambray*, held by *Balagney*, who had hitherto preſerved a ſtrict neutrality. This meaſure produced no other effect than obliging *Balagney* to declare for the confederates. The governor of *Cambray* made incurſions into the *Spaniſh* territories, carrying terror and deſolation to the gates of *Arras* and *Valenciennes*[s]. In return, the archduke laid waſte not only the diſtrict round *Cambray*, but the frontiers of *France*, which produced a letter from *Henry* IV. to the cities of *Hainault* and *Artois*, complaining of the uſage, and threatening retribution, unleſs the *Spaniſh* troops were immediately withdrawn. The letter was ſent to the archduke, who referred the contents to the aſſembly.

The aſſembly convoked.

WHEN the aſſembly met at *Bruſſels*, the *French* monarch's letter made but a ſmall part of their buſineſs. Diſputes and contentions aroſe between the *Flemings* and *Spaniards*. The duke *d'Archot* refuſed appearing at the firſt meeting, becauſe the count *de Fuentes*, a *Spaniard*, was to have a ſuperior ſeat at the board. The archduke opened the congreſs with a long ſpeech, in *Spaniſh*, recommending pacific meaſures; or if that was found impracticable, exhorting the aſſembly to uſe their utmoſt efforts in terminating the war by the ſword. Next day the ſame topics were repeated in *French*, and approved by the clergy, and a great number of moderate perſons. On the contrary, *Archot*, though he had firmly adhered to the king, highly reſented the influence of foreigners. He ſaid that his majeſty's loyal *Flemiſh* ſubjects were a ſufficient defence of his authority; that the provinces had been ruined by the avarice of foreigners, who found their intereſt in fomenting a civil war; and diligently ſupplied with fuel the fire of diſcord, lighted by their miſconduct. He aſked what the *Spaniards* would have done, had *Philip* been hedged round at *Madrid* with *Flemiſh* counſellors, who ſhould exclude natives from the royal perſon, from all places of truſt, influence, and profit? The *Netherlands*, he ſaid, were ſubject to *Philip*, not to *Spain*. *Charles* V. had thought them worthy of the imperial reſidence; he did not convert them into paſtures to fatten ſtarved and emaciated *Spaniards*. He

A. D. 1595.

The Flemings jealous of the Spaniards.

[s] LE CLERC, lib. v. REIDAN. lib. xi. p. 444.

then

then ran into invectives againſt the conduct of *Fuentes*; and concluded with affirming, that peace could never be reſtored to the provinces until foreigners were withdrawn, and the privileges of the people committed to thoſe who were excited to preſerve the country, by nature, duty, and intereſt. *Archot*'s ſpeech highly offended the *Spaniards*, but it was well received by the reſt of the aſſembly. The archduke then propoſed three queſtions: Whether peace was ſo abſolutely neceſſary as to be obtained on conditions contrary to the king's inclination? Whether terms which had before been refuſed to the rebels ſhould be now granted? and, Whether the ſame ends could not be attained by other means? To this all the *Flemings* unanimouſly anſwered, that peace was neceſſary, honourable, and very poſſible; in a word, that it was the beſt and moſt practicable meaſure. *Erneſt* then broke up the aſſembly, with an aſſurance that he would lay their ſentiments before the king, and enforce them ſo ſtrongly, that he had no doubts about the ſucceſs: however, it appeared by his intercepted letter to *Philip*, that he was endeavouring to demonſtrate to that prince the impoſſibility of reſtoring the tranquillity of the provinces, except by the ſword: ſentiments, probably, dictated by the *Spaniſh* council [h].

France declares war againſt Philip. All this time not the ſmalleſt regard was paid to the king of *France*'s letter; it was not even mentioned to the aſſembly. *Henry* IV. therefore publiſhed a declaration of war againſt *Philip*; and the archduke then wrote to the frontier provinces, to prepare for their own defence. There could not be a more glaring inſtance of the abſurdity of the *Spaniſh* councils, than involving the kingdom ſo unneceſſarily in a war with a powerful and ſpirited monarch, forced now by private intereſt into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. Mutual preparations were making; the king of *Spain* publiſhed a counter-declaration at *Bruſſels*; the forces of the ſtates joined the duke of *Bouillon* at *Luxemburgh*, and in the mean time the archduke *Erneſt* yielded up his laſt breath, appointing the count *de Fuentes* to the government of the *Netherlands*. *Fuentes* was approved by the king, and veſted with the ſame authority as count *Manſveldt* enjoyed. Still, however, the government apparently continued in the hands of the council of ſtate, though the count, by commanding the army and finances, poſſeſſed great authority. His promotion was highly diſpleaſing to the natives, and the firſt act of his government heightened their averſion.

The archduke dies.

[h] Grot. lib. iv. Le Clerc, lib. v. p. 156.

Under

Under pretence of quelling a tumult of *German* ſoldiers in *Bruſſels*, he ſaddled the city with a numerous *Spaniſh* garriſon; the burghers complained, the operations in the field ſuffered; but *Fuentes* was headſtrong and immoveable. The late mutinies were not yet appeaſed, and the great ſcarcity of corn excited other tumults. All degrees of men in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* now more ardently than ever wiſhed for peace, but the proſpect was at a great diſtance. Conferences were ſet on foot with prince *Maurice*, and rendered fruitleſs by the intrigues of *Fuentes* and the *Spaniards*. Indeed ſuch terms were demanded by the ſtates, as *Philip* was not yet ſufficiently humbled to grant.

His conduct.

As ſoon as the negociations of peace were broken off, prince *Maurice*, though extremely weakened by the ſtrong reinforcements ſent to the duke of *Bouillon*, took the field, as if he intended to fall upon *Bolduc*; and *Fuentes* oppoſed *Madragon* to him, then about eighty years of age. After various feints, *Maurice* appeared before *Grol*, in the territory of *Zutphen*, in hopes of reducing the place in a few days, on intelligence that the garriſon was ill provided. He was carrying on his approaches, when *Madragon* appeared with 11,000 foot and 1000 horſe, and obliged him to relinquiſh the enterpriſe: ſome conſequent manœuvres produced a ſkirmiſh between the cavalry of both armies, in which *Philip* of *Naſſau* was wounded, and the confederates worſted. *Maurice* next made a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe *Meurs*, after which both armies retired into quarters.[1]

AFTER the affair of *Bruſſels*, *Fuentes* determined ſo to regulate his conduct, that the *Flemings* ſhould be forced to eſteem, if they could not be induced to love his perſon. He now unexpectedly renewed the negociations with prince *Maurice*, poſſibly to amuſe both the *Flemings* and the ſtates, but was new modelling the army, as if he doubted the ſucceſs of the conferences. Though he failed in the deſign of a general peace, he managed matters with ſuch addreſs, that the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* mutineers, protected by the prince, returned to their duty: he had numerous forces in the field. *Vilaſco*, conſtable of *Caſtile*, was at the head of an army in *Burgundy*; *Waramben* commanded another army in *Artois* and *Picardy*, a third was oppoſed under *Madragon* to prince *Maurice*, and a fourth acted in *Luxemburg* under the direction of *Verdugo*. It was not the diligence of *Fuentes* alone the ſtates had to combat; greater difficulties roſe on the ſide of their allies. Queen *Elizabeth* loudly

[1] Id. ibid.

com-

Elizabeth complained of the ſtrict union entered into with *Henry* IV. yet had this monarch compelled them into the alliance by threatening to make peace with *Spain*, and ſuffer *Philip* to employ his whole ſtrength in the *Netherlands*. The policy of the queen directed that the ſtates ſhould not fall under the dominion of *Philip*, and yet ſhe could not bear to ſee them independent. The vaſt commercial ſchemes p'anned about this time in *Holland*, and the ſucceſsful expeditions of certain merchants to the *Eaſt Indies*, excited her jealouſy; the bold and enterpriſing genius of the *French* monarch likewiſe gave her umbrage; ſhe had refuſed that prince four regiments, though the city of *Nevis* engaged to pay the ſubſidy; but ſhe willingly conſented that her troops ſhould garriſon *Dieppe*, *Boulogne*, and *Calais*; an offer of friendſhip which *Henry* was too penetrating to accept.[k] She ſent her ambaſſador *Thomas Bodley*, to complain to the ſtates of their ſending ſuccours to *France*, while they were themſelves ſupported by the *Engliſh* forces. The ſtates pleaded the neceſſity of making a diverſion to keep the whole weight of *Spain* from falling upon the provinces. Not ſatisfied with this anſwer, the ambaſſador demanded repayment of the money lent by the queen to the provinces in their diſtreſs, though the treaty imported that the money ſhould not be reimburſed before the concluſion of the war. *Bodley*, to enforce his demands, added menaces, and hinted that her majeſty would take ſuch meaſures as would prove very diſagreeable to the ſtates, in caſe of refuſal. It was not the buſineſs of the *United Provinces* to come to a rupture with *England:* they therefore endeavoured to appeaſe her majeſty; they beſought her to reflect on the conjuncture of affairs; they pleaded inability, exaggerated their loſſes at ſea, the inundation of their country, and the great expence incurred in equipping a fleet to join her navy againſt the *Spaniards*. In fact, however, the *Dutch* were grown rich by the war; the queen therefore could not admit their excuſes, alledging, that if they could ſupply the king of *France* with money, they could not ſurely be at a loſs for the means to pay their juſt debts: ſhe taxed them with ingratitude, and again reminded them of their deplorable ſituation when ſhe generouſly took them under her protection. The *Dutch* might juſtly have retorted, that the aſſiſtance granted proceeded more from a ſenſe of her own intereſt, than from motives of generoſity and compaſſion; but they choſe to temporiſe, to deprecate the queen's wrath by ſubmiſſion,

Elizabeth reſents the alliance of the ſtates with Henry IV.

[k] GROT. hiſt. lib. iv. p. 288.

and

and obtain a reſpite, by furniſhing her with a fleet of twenty-four men of war, appointed to join the *Engliſh* ſquadron deſtined upon an enterpriſe againſt the *Spaniards*.

In the midſt of theſe altercations, king *Philip* appointed the cardinal archduke *Albert* to the government of the *Low Countries*: the deſign was well laid, and more deeply founded than was at firſt imagined. Born to vaſt poſſeſſions, and ſtill vaſter deſigns, *Philip*, after a long dream of ambition and univerſal monarchy, was now depreſſed with diſappointment, broken with age and infirmity, and diſtempered in mind by continual care and ſolicitude. Hitherto had he ſacrificed his health, his eaſe, and all the pleaſures of life, to vain glory and empty projects; but now his thoughts were turned towards obtaining that reſt and quiet which he never ſuffered the world or himſelf to experience. His deſigns on *France* and *England* had terminated in events the moſt contrary to thoſe he propoſed; and inſtead of ſubduing the ſpirit of his rebellious ſubjects in the *Netherlands*, he ſaw himſelf diſpoſſeſſed of ſeven provinces, obliged to hold the reſt upon the uncertain tenure of a deſtructive war; by his obſtinate ambition he had given birth to a powerful republic, whoſe grandeur ſhould be reared on the ruins of his dominions. His pride however diſdained the thoughts of propoſing peace to his revolted ſubjects in his own name; yet he wiſhed for the means of accompliſhing that end, without prejudice to his honour: he reſolved therefore to commit this important buſineſs to cardinal *Albert*, intending, that if he could ſubdue the provinces, he ſhould govern them as *Spaniſh* dominions; if that was in vain attempted, he ſhould, by a marriage with the infanta *Clara Iſabella Eugenia*, receive the *Netherlands* in dowry, become their prince, and with this proviſion only, that they ſhould revert to the *Spaniſh* monarchy in caſe the infanta died without iſſue. The king had reaſon to believe, that the birth and manners of *Albert*, a *German* born, the affable ſweet diſpoſition of *Iſabella*, and the preſence of a native prince, might contribute more to ſubdue his ſtubborn people, than the force and rigour of his former meaſures; at the worſt, the cardinal could make peace, without affecting the grandeur, or derogating from the dignity of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, ſhould he find arms ineffectual. In purſuit of this reſolution, *Philip* made the utmoſt preparations for war, though his intentions were altogether pacific; every thing was reaſonably expected from the adminiſtration of *Albert*, who had paſſed twenty-ſix years in *Spain* highly eſteemed, and governed *Portugal* in quality of viceroy, with great approbation.

King Philip's *deſigns and projects.*

Before he quitted *Spain*, he procured the liberty of *Philip William de Naſſau*, prince of *Orange*, and eldeſt ſon of the late prince *William* of *Orange*, after he had lived twenty-eight years in a kind of captivity: nor was this ſufficient, he prevailed on the king to reſtore him to his titles, eſtates, and honours; perſuaded that this act would prove grateful to the *United Provinces*, and uſeful to the royal cauſe, as the prince had been from his infancy bred in the rigid principles of popery. *Philip* of *Orange* accompanied *Albert* in his voyage to *Italy*, and was by him ſent to the court of *Rome*; where he was received with the utmoſt reſpect. As ſoon as the ſtates general of the *United Provinces* had certain advice of what was tranſacted, they ſent an ambaſſy to the prince, congratulating him on his deliverance, profeſſing the utmoſt eſteem to his father's memory, and affection for his family; but at the ſame time lamenting his change of principles, from which the *Spaniards* boaſted they ſhould derive great advantages. They perſuaded themſelves, that a prince of the family of *Naſſau*, the ſon and repreſentative of *William* of *Orange*, that ſtrenuous aſſerter of freedom, would never ſwerve from the cauſe of liberty, and thoſe maxims which rendered the memory of his heroic parent immortal. They admoniſhed his highneſs to defer his intention of returning to his native country, to a more favourable opportunity, and until ſuch paſſports as were neceſſary to his ſafety could be obtained. This meſſage the prince anſwered by a letter couched in the moſt obliging terms, profeſſing his ſincere regard for the provinces, and offering the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that his whole endeavours ſhould be directed to obtain for them a juſt and honourable peace. Such was the ſituation of affairs at the time cardinal *Albert* was appointed to the government. [m] (A)

[m] BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. iv. p. 95. METEREN. lib. xviii. GROT. lib. iv.

SECT.

(A) Though we have in a former volume given an explicit detail of the riſe, origin, and progreſs of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, which gave birth to the wealth and grandeur of the republic, we cannot avoid mentioning their preſent naval ſtrength, in the midſt of a bloody ruinous war, in which they were ſo long and deeply engaged. *Grotius* affirms, that the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* alone ſent yearly 70,000 ſailors to ſea, and were then the moſt formidable naval power in *Europe* (1). This year they built 200 ſhips, in which number

(1) *Grotius Hiſt. lib.* 4.

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SECT. V.

Containing the adminiſtration of cardinal Albert; *the death of* Philip II. *and of queen* Elizabeth; *with other particulars.*

CARDINAL *Albert* diſpatching matters in *Italy*, quitted *Turin* on the 29th of *September* 1595, and arrived in *Luxemburg* on the 29th of *January* following; thence he poſted to *Namur*, in order to aſſemble the troops, and make preparations for puſhing vigorouſly the war with *France*; which was the firſt objects of his politicks. Here he was congratulated by crouds of the nobility, and the count *de Fuentes* waited upon the cardinal to ſurrender his truſt, and give him the neceſſary information concerning the ſtate of the country. A. D. 1596. *Cardinal* Albert *made governor of the* Low Countries.

Henry IV. in the mean time was buſied in proſecuting the war; he chaced the *Spaniards* out of *Burgundy*, forced the duke *de Mayenne* to ſue for an accommodation, and now beſieged *le Fere*, a ſtrong town in *Picardy*, which he reduced under his obedience. The cardinal however retaliated by inveſting *Calais*, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender; it was immediately after this ſucceſs, that, by advice of the *Spaniſh* provinces, he formed the reſolution of laying ſiege to *Oſtend*, then garriſoned by *Engliſh* forces; but de-

our author probably includes ſmall craft and coaſting veſſels. During the courſe of the war with *Spain*, not leſs than 400 ſhips went annually to *Lisbon*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, and other ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*; (2) at which illicit commerce the king connived, knowing it to be neceſſary to his ſubjects, tho' advantageous to his enemies. The reciprocal neceſſity of both ſtates obliged them mutually to tolerate and even cultivate their traffic, under the diſguiſe of the ſhips hoiſting foreign colours. In conſequence however of a remonſtrance ſent to *Philip* this year by the provinces of *Hainault* and *Artois*, he ſeized upon all the *Dutch* ſhips trading to the king's ports; a *Dutch* ſquadron, in conjunction with the *Engliſh* navy, was deſtroying the *Spaniſh* fleet in the port of *Cadiz*, aſſiſting in the reduction of that city, undermining the *Portugueſe* commerce in the *Eaſt Indies*, ruining their ſettlements, and ravaging the *Spaniſh* plantations in the *Weſt Indies*; ſo early did the cunning, the artifice, and commercial ſpirit of this republic diſtinguiſh itſelf.

(2) *Reidan, lib.* 12. *Meteren, lib.* 18.

ferred the enterpriſe as impracticable ſo late in the ſeaſon, in order to beſtow his whole attention on the reduction of *Hulſt*. Count *Solmes* commanded the garriſon, he took every precaution to render the cardinal's approach difficult. To draw off the attention of prince *Maurice* from his principal object, the cardinal made a feint as if his deſign was on *Breda*; this obliged the prince to ſend part of the garriſon to ſuccour that city, upon which *Albert* made a ſudden turning, and ſat down before the former: the ſurrounding marſhes and canals greatly obſtructed his operations, and fort *Naſſau* ſtill kept open a communication between the beſieged and the provinces; the artillery on both ſides played with fury, and the garriſon made frequent vigorous ſallies; but ſome failure in the execution of prince *Maurice*'s orders, obliged them on the 17th of *Auguſt* to capitulate, on conditions extremely honourable. In this ſiege the cardinal loſt 3000 men, among whom was the famous ſieur *de Rhone*, mareſchal of the league, known in the *French* hiſtorians by the name of *Chriſtian Chavigni*. Though count *Solmes* had made ſpirited efforts in defence of *Hulſt*, the province of *Zealand* was incenſed to ſee a place, the fortifications of which had coſt ſome millions of livres, loſt in ſo ſhort a time: in reſentment he was deprived of his regiment; but the ſtates general judging more favourably of his conduct, received him again into their ſervice. Some writers alledge, that he had orders from prince *Maurice* not to ſtand an aſſault, but to preſerve the garriſon for more important ſervices; and it is certain, that the prince greatly wanted a reinforcement, his inferiority on account of the detachments ſent to *France*, and numerous body of troops now on the *Spaniſh* expedition under the earl of *Eſſex*, preventing his keeping the field, and facing the cardinal, who had 30,000 men at the ſiege of *Hulſt* [1].

He reduces Hulſt.

A. D. 1596.

A treaty between Holland *and* Henry IV.

In the ſpring of this year a treaty offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the queen of *England* and the *French* king, to which all princes and ſtates were invited to accede. The *United Provinces* were highly delighted with an alliance which permitted them to link themſelves more cloſely to *Henry*, without giving umbrage to *Elizabeth*. Accordingly, in the month of *November*, they ſigned a treaty with that monarch, whereby they agreed to pay him the ſum of 450,000 florins for the maintenance of 4000 foot to be employed in *France*, unleſs *Philip* ſhould attack the *United Provinces*. In return, the king granted the ſtates very extraordi-

[1] Meteren, ibid.

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nary commercial privileges; among others, that their ſubjects ſhould be exempted from the rights of *Aubaine*, as they are called; whereby the goods of foreign merchants dying in *France*, became the king's property.[b]

Expedition to Cadiz.

IT was now that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets, under the lord *Charles Howard* admiral of *England*, and the earl of *Eſſex* general of the combined land-forces, ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, and anchored on the weſt ſide of the iſland of *Cadiz*. The *Spaniſh* ſhips of war retiring into the *Puntal*, were vigorouſly attacked; the engagement laſted from break of day till noon, when the enemy perceiving their galleons miſerably ſhattered, and their men ſlaughtered, reſolved to ſet their veſſels on fire, and run them on ſhore. Here the deſolation was terrible; but three ſhips were ſaved, and taken by the *Engliſh*. Immediately after this ſucceſs, the earl of *Eſſex* debarked with 800 men at *Puntal*, and advancing briſkly againſt a body of *Spaniards*, forced them to retreat to *Cadiz*, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that the inhabitants were in too much confuſion to reflect on the proper meaſures for their defence. The *Engliſh* burſt open the gates, entered the city, and after a ſhort ſkirmiſh in the ſtreets, obliged the garriſon to retire to the caſtle; where they ſoon capitulated. In the mean time Sir *Walter Raleigh* had orders to burn the merchant-ſhips that had taken ſhelter in port *Real*. Two millions of ducats were offered for their ranſom; which the *Engliſh* admiral rejecting, he began ſetting them on fire, though the duke *de Modina Sidonia* found means to ſave great part of their cargoes. This expedition was a ſevere blow to *Spain*; beſides the loſs ſuſtained by the merchantmen, the king loſt two galleons, thirteen ſhips of war, twenty-four veſſels laden with merchandiſe for the *Indies*; in a word, to the amount of twenty millions of ducatoons. *Cadiz* was pillaged and burnt, and the combined fleet put again to ſea, loaded with rich booty, though the expedition might have turned out to much greater advantage, had it been judiciouſly conducted. The *Dutch* writers mention an obliging letter ſent by queen *Elizabeth* to *John de Duvenvoorde*, thanking him for his gallant behaviour, and aſcribing great part of the ſucceſs to the bravery of the *Hollanders*; but in this particular all the *Engliſh* hiſtorians are ſilent.

A. D. 1597.

DURING the winter the ſtates, by means of the city of *Breda* and other openings, laid heavy contributions on *Brabant*; the inhabitants implored the aſſiſtance of cardinal

[b] METEREN, lib. xviii. fol. 390.

Albert, and he detached the count *de Vareux* to their relief. Prince *Maurice* formed the deſign of ſurpriſing the count; but failing in this, he attacked him in his retreat, and puſhed the enemy with ſuch ſuperiority, that he obtained a compleat victory, with the loſs only of 100 men. In this action, fought near *Tournhont*, the enemy left 1200 dead upon the field, 300 pair of colours, their military cheſt, and other trophies of war. Such an advantage was neceſſary to raiſe the ſpirits of the confederates, after the late glorious campaign of the cardinal. Next day *Tournhont* ſurrendered, after which the prince again put his troops in garriſon; as for *Maurice*, he went to the *Hague*, where his trophies were depoſited as a monument of his paſt victory gained in the open field; for hitherto all his ſucceſſes conſiſted in reducing and defending towns. (A)

State of Spain.

THE cardinal now turned his whole thoughts to the augmentation of his army, and making new levies; but the treaſury of *Spain* was ſo exhauſted, that this was a matter of difficulty. *Philip* was in a manner already bankrupt, he having publickly declared his inability to pay even the intereſt of the immenſe ſums borrowed of foreign bankers and *Spaniſh* merchants. He was forced to ſtop the courſe of juſtice againſt thoſe merchants become bankrupts by their loans to the court; and this, inſtead of mending, entirely deſtroyed his credit. *Albert* however ſtirred himſelf ſo effectually, that he was able to bring a conſiderable army into the field, though not before it was late in the ſeaſon.

Conqueſts of prince Maurice.

Conſiderable efforts were made on the ſide of *France*; *Dourlens* was taken by the count *de Fuentes*, and *Amiens* ſurpriſed by *Teglio Portocarrera*. To revenge himſelf, the *French* monarch inveſted *Arras*, and performed incredible ſervice to the *United Provinces*, by engaging the whole attention of the cardinal to the relief of that city. *Maurice* did not let ſlip the opportunity; he haſted with all poſſible expedition to aſſemble his army, croſſed the *Rhine*, took the caſtle of *Alphen*, and then fell upon *Meurs*, which ſurrendered on the 3d of *September*; on the 8th he again croſſed the *Rhine*, and inveſted *Grol*, defended by a numerous garriſon; notwithſtanding the brave defence of the beſieged, *Maurice* puſhed his operations with ſuch rapidity, as obliged the place to ſurrender by the 26th of *September*, upon receiving

(A) Prince *Maurice* is reported to have gained this victory by means of his cavalry, whom he armed with carbines inſtead of lances: he was likewiſe the firſt general who introduced piſtols among the confederate horſe, if we may credit *Meteren*, p. 408. lib. xix.

honour-

honourable conditions. The town of *Briefort*, ſituated among bogs and fens, was the next object of the prince's plan of operations; this place he ſcarce inveſted when the burghers retreated precipitately to the citadel; which was likewiſe reduced by the 12th of *October*. After an incredible ſwift courſe of conqueſts, after having in a few days obliged *Enſchede*, *Oldenſeel*, and *Otmarſen*, to receive his garriſons, *Maurice* ſat down with his army before *Linghen*, which he compleatly inveſted by the 28th of *October*; count *Frederic de Berg* commanded a numerous and reſolute garriſon. Divers briſk ſallies were made without effect; *Maurice*'s ſagacity foreſaw and prepared for every event, and the beſieged were by the middle of *November* reduced to the greateſt extremities, and the neceſſity of capitulating; upon which the prince put his army in quarters, and was received by the ſtates with all thoſe honours which his great ſervices merited. In this campaign *Maurice* placed great confidence in the abilities of a celebrated mathematician, one *Simon Stevin*, to whoſe ſkill in the attack and defence of fortified places ſome writers attribute the celerity of the prince's conqueſts; but *Maurice* had diſcovered profound knowledge in this branch of the military art long before *Stevin* was employed.

BROKEN with age, and chagrined by diſappointment, *Philip* endeavoured to engage the emperor, and the diet, to uſe their influence with the *United Provinces*, to liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation. He could not, however, ſupport the thought of renouncing his ſovereignty over a country which had coſt him more blood and treaſure than all his other wars; and nothing would content the ſtates but their being acknowledged a free people. For this they had ſought, and ſuſtained an incredible variety of hardſhips; now to relinquiſh it, would be to ſurrender the fruits of all their toil and labour. They had already experienced that all negotiations proved abortive, becauſe neither ſide would yield what was an eſſential article of peace: they perceived *Philip*'s inſincerity, from the frequent attempts made to ſurpriſe them unguarded, at the time when the forwardneſs of the negotiations had lulled the ſtates into ſecurity. However, they received *Nutſel*, the imperial ambaſſador, who arrived in the month of *Auguſt* at the *Hague*, with letters from the emperor, and divers *German* princes. *Chriſtiern* IV. of *Denmark* likewiſe offered his mediation, and promiſed he would be guarantee for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion; but the ſtates replied to both ambaſſadors, that all the conditions hitherto propoſed by *Spain* were inſidious and oppreſſive, tending to divide the provinces, weaken the alliance, extinguiſh that liberty of *Negotiations of peace.*

conſcience they had hitherto aſſerted, and treacherouſly wreſt from them their liberty; at the ſame time they aſſured the ambaſſadors, that if proper ſecurity of the rights and privileges of the provinces could be obtained, nothing could be a more deſirable object than the eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, the bleſſings of which were almoſt forgot and unknown in the *Netherlands*. It was certainly not the intereſt of the *Northern* powers to augment the power of *Spain*; but they were deceived by *Philip*, and cozened into a belief, that the obſtinacy of the ſtates alone prevented an accommodation. *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*, was prevailed on to ſend an ambaſſador to *England*, with a view of detaching the queen from the ſtates general. *Sweden* had likewiſe made ſome overtures towards mediating a peace; but the ſtates opened the eyes of theſe powers, and plainly demonſtrated to them that the catholic king would never conſent to ſuch terms as they were determined only to accept. As for *Elizabeth*, ſhe treated the *Poliſh* ambaſſador, who aſſumed extraordinary airs, with the higheſt contempt, and diſmiſſed him, diſguſted at her ſpirited treatment. Thus the deciſion of all differences was again committed to the ſword, though it was imagined that *Philip*'s deſign of marrying his daughter, the infanta, to *Albert*, and giving him the *Netherlands* for a portion, would prove ſo agreeable to the ſtates, as greatly to facilitate the king's pacific intentions. Time was indeed when the provinces would have rejoiced at this event, and accepted of any terms founded upon this baſis. Now they had been ſo long engaged in the cauſe of abſolute freedom, that ſubjection to any maſter was become irkſome [c]. We ſhall ſee how, after farther noble efforts and glorious ſtruggles, they obtained their end, and the full ſcope of their ambition; firſt by a truce concluded in 1609, whereby the king of *Spain* acknowledged the freedom of the *United Provinces*; and afterwards by the peace of *Weſtphalia*, in which they were acknowledged a ſovereign ſtate, the court of *Spain* renouncing all pretenſions to ſovereignty over the ſeven *United Provinces*.

Peace between Spain and France.

WHILE *Philip* was trying every expedient to engage the mediation of the empire and northern powers, he was making prodigious offers to *Henry* IV. of *France*, in order to detach ſo powerful a monarch from the confederacy with *England* and *Holland*. *France* was quite ſpent and exhauſted with war; *Henry* was equally deſirous of peace as *Philip*, but he could not with honour receive propoſals without

[c] BENTIVOG. p. 3. l. iv. THUAN. ſub Ann.

communicating

communicating them to the queen of *England* and the *United States*. The ſieur *de Buſenval* was diſpatched with letters to the ſtates general, acquainting them of the advantageous terms offered by *Philip*, of the ſituation of the kingdom, and of the king's reſolution to act in concert with his allies. It was obvious, however, from the pathetic deſcription *Henry* drew of the deplorable ſtate of his affairs, that he meditated an accommodation with *Spain*. The ſtates therefore uſed all their addreſs to prevent this meaſure, which would enable *Philip* to employ his whole force in the *Netherlands*. They told the ambaſſador, that the fortunate iſſue of the laſt campaign would enable them to proſecute the war with double vigour and advantage; that *Philip* deſired peace with *France* only until he could oppreſs and ſubdue his ſubjects in the *Netherlands*; that when he had obtained this great object, he would, agreeable to his conſtant ſyſtem of policy, turn his arms againſt *Henry*, and with more ſucceſs, as the conqueſt of the *Netherlands* would enable him to maintain an hundred thouſand men without touching the *Spaniſh* revenue. They concluded with beſeeching his majeſty, to accept of no conditions until they had firſt conſulted *Elizabeth*, their common ally. *Buſenval* replied in the moſt obliging terms, aſſuring the ſtates of the king's inviolable friendſhip; but *Henry* was too much a politician to let ſlip this opportunity of recovering his towns in *Picardy*, and reſtoring the bleſſings of peace to his ſubjects. Pope *Clement* VIII. laboured with indefatigable pains to conciliate the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and he ſent upon that commiſſion his legate, the cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*, the moſt expert ſtateſman of *Italy*. He came to *Vervins*, and was there met by the *Spaniſh* and *French* ambaſſadors. No remonſtrances from the ſtates could retard a treaty upon which *Henry* had already reſolved. The greateſt obſtructions which that prince had encountered, were raiſed by *Philip*. His kingdom was torn with faction, and ruined with the expences of an oppreſſive war. To enjoy the felicity of governing obedient ſubjects, peace with *Spain* was eſſentially neceſſary. He was urged by his moſt faithful ſervants, and particularly by *Gabriel d'Etrees*, who preſſed it as the only meaſure which could firmly eſtabliſh him in the throne. *Bentivoglio* [d] indeed aſcribes the whole to the influence of *Clement* and his legate; but had not *Henry* found a reconciliation with *Philip* attended with the greateſt advantages to himſelf and his people, it is probable he would never ſuffer himſelf to be

[d] Bentivog. p. 3. lib. xviii. p. 108.

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moved by all the addreſs and arguments of the pope and the cardinal *de Medicis*.

THE ſtates of *Holland*, alarmed at the congreſs of *Vervins*, immediately diſpatched *Juſtin Naſſau*, admiral of *Zealand*, and *John Olden-Barneveldt*, to throw every poſſible impediment in the courſe of the approaching pacification. They proceeded to *Nantz*, and laid their inſtructions before *Henry*, who, receiving them politely, replied, that he apprehended peace was more diſtant than he could wiſh: he muſt inſiſt upon reſtitution of *Blavet* and *Calais*, and he feared *Philip* would have no inclination to part with thoſe towns, in which caſe the war would be undoubtedly continued. Peace, he ſaid, was neceſſary to his kingdom; but they might depend it ſhould be ſuch as would turn out to the confuſion of his enemies. *Elizabeth* laboured in the ſame cauſe with the ſtates general. Her ambaſſadors had a conference at *Nantz* with the chancellor of *France*, and the dukes *d'Epernon* and *Bouillon*, about the means of eſtabliſhing a general peace, which the queen was ready to accept in concert with the ſtates: but the *Dutch* ambaſſadors replied, that their inſtructions were limited to demonſtrate the neceſſity and advantage of continuing the war; a propoſition which would ſcarce admit of heſitation, with reſpect to *Holland*. The *Engliſh* ambaſſadors acceded to this opinion, the ſcheme for a general pacification was relinquiſhed; but the treaty between *France* and *Spain* took place on the 2d day of *May*. *Elizabeth* and the ſtates exclaimed againſt the conduct of the *French* king; but that wiſe prince ſoon convinced the latter, that he had not renounced their intereſt by reſtoring peace to his own ſubjects[e]. On the contrary, we ſhall find the court of *Spain* complaining loudly of the ſums of money he remitted to *Holland*, which remonſtrances *Henry* anſwered, by ſaying, *That he did not aſſiſt the ſtates, but he was paying his debts.*

A. D. 1598.

The ſtates ſend ambaſſadors to England.

THE treaty of *Vervins* was no ſooner ſigned, than *Juſtin Naſſau* and *Olden-Barneveldt* quitted the *French* court, and ſet out for *England*, to concert a plan of operations for the farther proſecution of war. Here they were civilly received, but treated at the ſame time with great freedom by *Elizabeth*. That princeſs told them frankly, that ſhe had liberally aſſiſted the *United Provinces* with her money, but never met with any returns of gratitude. No attempt was made to reimburſe her expences, notwithſtanding the commercial wealth of the ſtates, and her neceſſities, entirely occaſioned

[e] GROT. lib. vii. p. 381.

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by her compaſſion for their ſufferings. This had involved her in a war with *Spain*, at the very time when the diſturbances in *Ireland*, and intrigues in *Scotland*, greatly embarraſſed her affairs. In conſequence of her rupture with *Philip*, her ſubjects were cut off from all intercourſe with *Spain*, to the great detriment of trade; it was therefore now incumbent upon her to liſten to the catholic king's propoſals, which however ſhe promiſed never to accept, without firſt acquainting the ſtates general. After all, the *Dutch* envoys eaſily perceived from the temper of the public, that the *Engliſh* would ſhew no averſion to the continuance of the war, provided the ſtates would break off all traffic with *Spain*, reimburſe the queen's expences, and take upon themſelves a more reaſonable proportion of the burthen. At that time the *Engliſh* councils were divided into two parties, headed by lord *Burleigh*, treaſurer, and the earl of *Eſſex*. The frugal diſpoſition of the former inclined him to a peace with *Spain*; the ambition and martial genius of the latter made him favour the oppoſite ſyſtem, in which alone glory could be acquired. Warm debates aroſe, and the moſt poignant ſarcaſms were levelled againſt *Holland*. It was ſaid that the ſtates, under the maſk of religion and liberty, had deſtroyed the former, by permitting every faith beſides the Roman catholic; and the latter, by converting freedom into licentiouſneſs; that they fought entirely for their own intereſt, and artfully threw the weight of their cauſe upon the ſhoulders of their allies; that they committed the moſt intolerable frauds, with reſpect to the pay of the *Engliſh* forces, extorting from them a double price for every kind of proviſion; that they traded to a vaſt extent with *Spain*, and grew wealthy amidſt all the horrors of a war, ruinous to their allies, and particularly to *England*; that in all pecuniary tranſactions with *England* they adulterated the coin, recoined the *Engliſh* money, and made payments to them in baſe money, greatly below ſtandard; that they had monopolized all the trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*, excluding their greateſt benefactors from thoſe markets in which the *Dutch* were lately but interlopers. Such were the aſſertions, many of them founded on truth, thrown out by the partizans of *Burleigh*, and the advocates for a peace with *Spain*. On the other hand, the power, the policy, the perfidy of *Philip*, were urged as reaſons for continuing the war, until the wings of his ſoaring ambition ſhould be ſufficiently clipped. It was affirmed, that no laſting treaty could be concluded with a monarch who broke through all moral obligations, to gratify his luſt of power, and ſet oaths at defiance to ſatiate

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his reſentment; that if the queen abandoned the ſtates general, and ſuffered *Spain* to gain poſſeſſion of *Brille* and *Fluſhing*, ſhe would at the ſame time loſe the ſums lent to the ſtates, and bring diſhonour on the kingdom; that if *Spain* once re-eſtabliſhed her power in the *Netherlands*, ſhe would then become a more formidable antagoniſt than ever to *England*; that if an offenſive war carried on in the *Low Countries*, or the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was found expenſive, her majeſty might eaſily and advantageouſly direct her operations againſt the *Spaniſh* colonies in *America*, the reduction of which would more than compenſate the expences of the armament; laſtly, it was aſſerted that the *United Provinces*, and particularly thoſe of *Holland* and *Zealand*, were the ſtrongeſt barriers of *England* againſt the attempts of the *Spaniſh* monarch. Had *Cecil* lived, the iſſue of this diſpute might poſſibly have been different; his death immediately turned the ſcale in favour of the oppoſite party, and produced a renewal of the treaty with the ſtates, which was ſigned at *London* the 26th day of *Auguſt*. The articles were, that the ſtates ſhould repay the queen, at ſtated inſtalments, the ſum of 800,000*l.* ſterling; that they ſhould maintain at their expence the *Engliſh* garriſons in the *Brille* and *Fluſhing*; that they ſhould levy troops in *England*, to be commanded by *Engliſh* officers, and paid by the ſtates; that, in caſe of any attempts to invade *England*, the ſtates would immediately ſend to the aſſiſtance of that kingdom a body of 5000 foot, and an equal number of horſe; that the number of ſhips and the ſtrength of ſquadrons, equipped in the common cauſe, ſhould be equal; that the queen's claim to the money due from the provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* to *Palavicini*, ſhould remain entire, as a depoſit for her yearly expences of 25,000*l*[f]. Theſe were the meaſures taken for vigorouſly ſupporting the war, and reſiſting the power of *Philip*, now at liberty to point his whole ſtrength againſt the provinces.

Treaty concluded between England *and the ſtates.*

Tranſactions of the court of Madrid.

In the mean time, the councils of this prince were fluctuating and unſteady, that depth of policy and refined underſtanding, for which he was formerly celebrated, were clouded with diſappointment, weakened by infirmity, and entangled in embarraſſments. It had long been debated, whether the infanta and the *Netherlands* ſhould not be given to the archduke *Albert*, as the beſt method of preſerving thoſe provinces, and extricating *Philip* out of a labyrinth of difficulties; but great inconveniencies attended this mea-

[f] Camd. p. 157. Thuan. p. 781.

ſure

ſure, in caſe *Iſabella* ſhould ever ſucceed, as was not improbable, to the *Spaniſh* monarchy. When the affair was propoſed to the council, the count *de Fuentes* oppoſed it with a variety of ſpecious arguments. The marquis *de Caſtel Roderigo* anſwered the reaſoning of *Fuentes*, and declared with equal warmth in favour of the meaſure, inſiſting that the diſmemberment of the *Netherlands* from the monarchy would produce a variety of advantages, and particularly a great ſaving of blood and treaſure. *Philip* was himſelf of the ſame ſentiments, and declared for them the more readily, that they were approved of by a majority of the council. He conſidered that *France* was aſcending by vaſt paces to a great height of power, that the union of the crowns of *England* and *Scotland* would, under the ſucceſſor of *Elizabeth*, render *Great Britain* formidable; and that thoſe kingdoms, by keeping alive the ſparks of rebellion in the *Netherlands*, might perpetually harraſs, diſturb, and embroil the *Spaniſh* monarchy. He likewiſe dreaded leſt the *Flemings* ſhould carry their conqueſts into the *Indies*; and was in hopes that the provinces, placed under a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*, would content themſelves with a free trade with *Spain*, without equipping fleets for long and dangerous voyages at ſo vaſt an expence. He was not aware that a ſpirit of liberty, of commerce and enterpriſe, was now excited, which it would be impoſſible to extinguiſh. What affected the king moſt, according to *Bentivoglio*, was the loſs the church would ſuſtain, by permitting the free uſe of the proteſtant religion. It was falſely ſuppoſed, that the provinces wanted nothing more than to be ſubject to a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*; they had now ſo long taſted liberty, though imbittered with war and bloodſhed, that no terms would have induced them to renounce what was purchaſed at the price of many battles. *Philip*, however, not doubting but their ſubmiſſion would follow, had the contract of marriage between *Iſabella* and his nephew the archduke *Albert* made out and ſigned; the articles of which were, that ſhe ſhould enjoy for her portion the *Netherlands* and provinces of *Burgundy* and *Charlerois*; that the male heirs ſhould ſucceed, and in caſe of failure the females; that provided one daughter only ſurvived of this marriage, ſhe ſhould marry the king of *Spain*; that the archduke ſhould oblige his ſubjects to ceaſe trading to the *Indies*, and reſt ſatisfied with a free intercourſe with the *Spaniſh* dominions in *Europe*, &c.

To execute this treaty, the cardinal *Albert* quitted the *Netherlands*, and proceeded with all expedition to the court of

of *Madrid*. His abſence was ſuddenly perceived by violent ſeditions and tumults among the troops, who, unawed by his preſence, threw aſide all reſtraint. All the garriſons of the towns in *Picardy*, which by the treaty were to be reſtored to the *French* monarch, demanded large ſums of money before they would evacuate the places they poſſeſſed. Their example was followed by the garriſons of *Ghent*, *Antwerp* and *Cambray*, who demanded their arrears, and threatened to throw off all ſubjection. This ſeditious humour was propagated like a contagious diſeaſe among all the troops, every man expreſſing his unwillingneſs to ſerve a court too needy and profuſe to regard the wants of the ſoldiers, who were fighting her battles, and ſhedding their blood for her ſecurity. At length ſupplies of money arrived, and the mutineers were appeaſed [z].

Death of king Philip, *and marriage of the archduke and* Iſabella.

Before the archduke left his government, he appointed a ſucceſſor, and nominated his brother the cardinal *Andrea* of *Auſtria* to that dignity. He likewiſe quitted the eccleſiaſtical habit, and reſigned the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, reſerving only a penſion, payable out of the revenues of the ſee, of 5000 ducatoons. Before his arrival at *Madrid*, *Philip* was in extremities, and exceedingly impatient to ſee the marriage concluded before he took leave of all ſublunary enjoyments. A variety of accidents retarded the archduke; and before he could reach the court, the king had breathed his laſt (A). *Philip*'s will, however, was punctually executed, the marriage was ſolemnized, and the ceremony performed by pope *Clement*, by means of proxies ſent to *Ferrara*, where his holineſs at that time reſided.

THE contract of marriage had no ſooner been ſigned by the late king, than *Albert* paſſed the neceſſary forms of taking poſſeſſion of his ſovereignty, previous to his journey to *Spain*. He likewiſe wrote a letter to the ſtates of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and their allies, acquainting them with the king's having reſigned the *Low Countries* in favour of his daughter, and requeſting that they would no longer refuſe ſubmiſſion to their natural princeſs, who would endeavour to govern with the utmoſt lenity, indulgence and affection. This letter was enforced by another from *Philip* prince of *Orange* to his brother *Maurice*; but no reply was made to either.

[z] METEREN. fol. 407. lib. xix.

(A) The particulars of the life and death of this prince, whoſe ambition, policy and genius for intrigue, had, for a ſeries of years, embroiled all Europe, may be ſeen in a former volume of this work.

ABOUT

About this time 4000 *Spaniſh* recruits arrived in *Flanders*, to complete the old corps broken and diminiſhed in the laſt campaign. With this reinforcement, the king's army conſiſted of 7000 *Spaniſh* infantry, 3000 *Italian*, 2000 *Burgundian*, 1000 *Iriſh*, and 7000 *German* and *Flemiſh* foot, with the cavalry, amounting to 25,000 men complete. After the archduke's departure, the admiral of *Arragon* was placed at the head of this army, to which the ſtates were unable to oppoſe an equal force. Paſſing the *Meuſe* at *Ruremonde*, *Mendoza* took poſſeſſion of *Orſois*, an open town belonging to the duchy of *Cleves*. As the place was of conſiderable importance, the admiral ordered a citadel to be built, erecting likewiſe a ſtrong fort at *Waſſum*. Prince *Maurice* having notice of the fate of *Orſois*, quitted the *Hague* to put himſelf at the head of the army quartered about *Arnheim*. In the month of *September* he marched to *Gueldres Weert*, to watch the enemy's motions, and while he lay encamped here, the admiral reduced the fortreſſes of *Alphen* and *Bronk*[h]. Thence he proceeded to *Rhimberg*, an unfortified town, ſubject to the elector of *Cologne*, but guarded by a body of the confederate forces. In his way thither, he ſeized the caſtle of *Barila*, and then cannonaded *Rhimberg* with ſuch fury, that the garriſon immediately ſurrendered. *Maurice* was too weak to oppoſe the enemy in the field; he was obliged to content himſelf with fortifying his camp, and reinforcing the garriſons of the places moſt likely to attract the admiral's attention; but he entertained hopes that the ſcarcity of money and proviſions would excite mutinies in the *Spaniſh* army before the winter, and effectually ſtop *Mendoza's* operations. In this, however, he was diſappointed, the admiral having found means to ſupport his troops by contributions raiſed on theſe towns, which deſired to be exempted from garriſons. Having made himſelf maſter of *Rheez*, *Emmerick*, *Dotchoum*, and other places, he placed his troops in quarters, the heavy rains rendering it impoſſible to keep the field longer. The inhabitants of *Weſtphalia* and *Cleves* loudly complained of the oppreſſion of maintaining the *Spaniſh* forces; they ſent remonſtrances to the cardinal *Andrea*, but were not redreſſed. *Progreſs of the war.*

While the admiral lay before *Dotchoum*, prince *Maurice* apprehending his next effort would be pointed againſt *Doeſburg*, a place of more conſequence, fortified all the poſts by which it was acceſſible, and encamped before the walls,

[h] Ibid. l. xx. Bentivog. p. 3. l. iv. p. 109.

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in a ſtrong ſituation, until the advanced ſeaſon removed all danger. During the whole winter ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the troops; but they were too inconſiderable to merit regard. Thus ended the campaign, in which the vigilance, activity, and addreſs of *Maurice*, prevented *Mendoza*, with a greatly ſuperior army, from obtaining any important advantage.

Naval tranſactions, and the ſtate of commerce in the provinces.

ABOUT the cloſe of the year a fleet arrived from the *Eaſt Indies*, which diſappointed the expectations of the proprietors and the publick, the profits having been ſcarce ſufficient to defray the expences of the voyage. This did not, however, check that ſpirit of enterprize now ſo general and ardent in *Holland*. A new ſociety ſubſcribed large ſums, and eight new ſhips were equipped for the ſame voyage. Numbers of individuals embarked in attempts to make new diſcoveries, and open freſh ſources of commerce. Voyages were made to the remote quarters of the globe, where the *Dutch* flag was unknown, and one *Balthaſar Monchuen*, a *Zealander*, fitted out at his own expence, not only two ſhips to *India*, but a ſquadron of five large veſſels, to eſtabliſh colonies in the iſlands of St. *Thomas*, and the continent of *Africa*. At firſt his project was attended with all poſſible ſucceſs, the *Portugueſe* of St. *Thomas* joyfully accepted the proffers of an advantageous trade, a mutual oath was taken to exclude all other nations; but the *Portugueſe* ſoon renounced their engagement, drove the *Zealanders* out of the iſland, and ruined the whole ſcheme which had greatly raiſed *Balthaſar*'s reputation[1]. This year was particularly fruitful in bold expeditions. Certain merchants of *Rotterdam* equipped four ſhips, which they ſent through the ſtraights of *Magellan* to *California*, with intention to diſcover a paſſage to *Japan* and *China*, and return by the *Cape of Good Hope*, after having encompaſſed the globe. In a word, ſuch was the avidity and ſpirit of this people, that no leſs than thirty large ſhips were ſent by the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, while they at the ſame time were eſtabliſhing a *Levant* trade by means of the *French* ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and proſecuting their fiſheries with great diligence. The trade indeed was conſiderably diſturbed by the ſwarms of privateers that iſſued from *Calais*, ſtill garriſoned by the *Spaniards*. This was an affair of ſo much importance as to require the attention of the legiſlature. The ſtates general aſſembled to deliberate upon the means of ſecuring

[1] LE CLERC, p. 101. l. vi. METEREN, l. xx.

the navigation of the provinces; but they could come to no other reſolution, than that the general officers of the marine ſhould, in their turns, cruize upon the privateers, and block up the harbour of *Calais*. The year concluded with a rich capture made by a ſmall ſquadron equipped by prince *Maurice*. Four *Spaniſh* merchantmen, richly laden, were taken before they got out of ſight of *Calais*. We have mentioned theſe naval tranſactions, to ſhew how aſſiduouſly the *Dutch* cultivated commerce, in the midſt of an oppreſſive war, which would otherwiſe have proved intolerable.

SECT. VI.

Containing the operations of the ſubſequent campaign; the arrival of the archduke and Iſabella *in the* Low Countries; *the victory obtained by the confederates at* Newport; *with other particulars, to the death of queen* Elizabeth, in 1603.

THE arrogance of the *Spaniſh* troops quartered in the empire cauſed violent commotions, particularly in the diſtricts of *Cleves* and *Weſtphalia*. They committed the moſt horrible outrages; entering, without diſtinction, and plundering neutral cities, to compenſate their deficiency of pay. All the peaſants deſerted their uſual employments, and ſought protection in the fortified towns; induſtry was wholly laid aſide, and every conſequent miſery introduced. Senſible that their little effects would fall into the hands of the enemy, the peaſants indemnified themſelves by plundering the ſeats of the nobility, reſolved to obviate the proſpects they foreſaw from the neglect of agriculture. The *Spaniſh* ſoldiers were in the mean while over-running the biſhopric of *Munſter*, the archbiſhopric of *Cologne*, the counties of *Bentheim*, the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*; in a word, all the country from the *Meuſe* to the *Rhine*, where they ſeized upon all the towns, and collected ſo rich a booty, that private men remitted large ſums to *Antwerp*. Their avidity was accompanied with the utmoſt riot and moſt diſſolute luxury. Unaccuſtomed to affluence, they ſpent it in profuſion, in drunkenneſs, incontinence, and abandoned mirth; endeavouring at the ſame time to repair their fluctuating fortune by the moſt cruel extortion, putting all thoſe ſuſpected of concealing their wealth to the torture. All were ſurpriſed that the *Germans*, ſo jealous of their liberty, ſhould

A. D. 1599. *Oppreſſion of the* Spaniards *in* Germany.

have permitted thoſe violences on the laws of nations to paſs unpuniſhed. Repeated aſſemblies were held by the princes of the empire, but nothing was determined. Only the count of *Oldenburgh*, the biſhops of *Bremen* and *Oſnabrug*, and *John* of *Naſſau*, had the courage to repel by force the inſults of the *Spaniards*. The aſſemblies wrote ſeveral pathetic letters to the cardinal *Andrea*; but that prelate, unable to advance the arrears of the ſoldiers, was forced to wink at their exceſſes, and diſregard the remonſtrances of the aſſembly. The emperor ſent *Neutſel*, a member of his privy council, to regulate the affairs of the duchy of *Cleves*, but he returned without having executed his inſtructions. *Mendoza* treated the inhabitants with great contempt, and he publickly expreſſed his deteſtation of the proteſtant princes of the empire, boaſting that the Almighty had ſent him as a ſcourge to puniſh hereſy. Incenſed at this conduct, the emperor publiſhed a decree, ordering *Mendoza* and the *Spaniards* immediately to quit the imperial dominions, a ſimilar injunction being at the ſame time tranſmitted to the confederate forces. In ſubſtance the edicts differed in nothing; but that to *Mendoza* was couched in terms more bitter and poignant. Both were enjoined to make immediate reparation, to releaſe all the priſoners made in the imperial dominions, to abſtain from future violation of the laws of nations, under penalty of incurring the emperor's wrath, and feeling the weight of his diſpleaſure.

Mendoza paid little regard to impotent menaces; a few days after the decree was put into his hands, he ſeiſed upon *Calcar*, a town in the duchy of *Juliers*, and obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Spaniſh* garriſon. He carried his indignation againſt *Lutherans* to ſo high a pitch of enthuſiaſm, that he wrote to the biſhop of *Paderborn* to purge his ſee of heretics, or expect ſuddenly a *Spaniſh* army in his dioceſe, which would at his expence perform the epiſcopal duty. Once more the *German* princes met to apply effectual remedies to an evil grown altogether unſupportable: hither the cardinal *Andrea* and *Mendoza* ſent their commiſſioner; *Delrio* and *Bodwitz* were pitched on to execute this important buſineſs; but the latter fell into the hands of a body of confederate cavalry, and was threatened with being treated as a ſpy: *Delrio* acquitted himſelf with ſo much dexterity, that after throwing a variety of embarraſſments in the way, after procraſtinating the reſolutions of the aſſembly, and detaining the princes for months to hear encomiums on the equity and moderation of the catholic king, the congreſs at laſt broke up without coming to any determination,

termination, although all were convinced, and ſecretly felt the injuries ſuſtained. As to the ſtates they ſent no deputies to attend the buſineſs of the aſſembly, juſtly ſuppoſing the time would be employed in fruitleſs altercation. Thus, after a decree of the *Aulic* council had paſſed, declaring thoſe enemies who ſhould longer remain in the empire, after repeated congreſſes were held to avenge the inſults upon the imperial dignity; the *Spaniards* proceeded in their uſual courſe, and maintained garriſons in five towns upon the *Rhine*[a].

Preparations of the ſtates for continuing the war.

In the winter prince *Maurice* ſurpriſed *Emmeric*, and thereby opened a path to diſturb the enemy in winter-quarters. It was partly the policy of the ſtates to remove the ſeat of war into the empire, hoping thereby to engage the imperial council and the injured princes of the empire to take arms againſt the *Spaniards*; but they did not long maintain their poſt at *Emmeric*, it was retaken with little oppoſition by the *Spaniards*. Upon this, prince *Maurice* formed a deſign againſt *Zavenar*, in which he ſucceeded: as the ſeaſon for opening the campaign was now approaching, the ſtates determined to enable prince *Maurice* to act with vigour; new levies were ordered to be made: to ſupport which expence, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* granted a new duty upon merchandiſe, and a tax upon moveable effects, donations and legacies; premiums and ſix *per cent.* were likewiſe given to thoſe who lent money to the government, and all perſons exempted from taxes for a certain number of years upon ſubſcribing a thouſand livres. To theſe meaſures all the other provinces, except *Groningen*, acceded.

Cardinal *Andrea*, to counteract the vigorous meaſures of the ſtates, publiſhed a declaration in the name of the infanta *Iſabella*, reproaching the ſtates with having abuſed the indulgence of the late king, who permitted them to trade with his *Spaniſh* ſubjects, offered them the moſt reaſonable terms of peace, gave three archdukes for their governors, diſmembered the monarchy to gratify their caprice, and was now repaid with ingratitude, and a determined reſolution to continue in their rebellion. They were accuſed of ſeducing the people, by perſuading them that their riches and commerce would increaſe by war. That this was true, might be attributed to the affection of the king for unworthy ſubjects, whom he hoped to reclaim by his lenity. Theſe meaſures proving fruitleſs, the infanta and the king of *Spain* prohibited, under the penalty of impriſonment and con-

[a] Grot. lib. viii. Reidan. lib. xv. Metteren. lib. xxi.

fiſcation of goods, all communication between the *United Provinces* and the kingdom of *Spain*, or the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The infanta, in particular, forbid the ſmalleſt intercourſe between her ſubjects and the *United Provinces*, withdrawing all permiſſions and paſſports which had hitherto been granted for that purpoſe. One month only was allowed to merchants to ſettle their affairs, after which the princeſs reſolved to puſh the war with vigour, unleſs the provinces accepted the terms of peace propoſed by her father, which ſhe now again offered. A counter-declaration was publiſhed by the ſtates, and the ſole effect of the cardinal's edict was to ſtimulate the provinces to a more aſſiduous application to foreign commerce, and to give birth to that *India* company, which, in a ſhort time, raiſed the republic to the higheſt pitch of grandeur.

Edict publiſhed by the archduke.

IMMEDIATELY after the publication of the edict paſſed by the ſtates general, a fleet was ordered to be equipped to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, and the land-levies were proſecuted with great diligence. Not only the old regiments were completed, but ſeveral new corps raiſed; particularly a regiment compoſed of two battalions of a thouſand men each, in *Germany*, levied at the expence of count *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*; two thouſand *French* veterans, diſbanded by the king at the late peace, and now enliſted by *La Noue*; and a thouſand *Swiſs*, likewiſe diſmiſſed from the *French* ſervice. When the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador complained to *La Noue*, that the *French* auxiliaries were an infraction of the late treaty between the two courts, he was anſwered, that his intention was to purge the provinces of certain evil humours fermented by their late civil diviſions [b]. Several regulations were made in the cavalry, and the number of horſe was very conſiderably augmented. Nothing, in a word, was omitted to withſtand the utmoſt efforts of the *Spaniards* and the archduke (A).

[b] BENTIVOG. p. 3. l. v. LE CLERC, l. vii. p. 197. METEREN. l. ii. p. 24.

On

(A) Two thouſand of the *Engliſh* forces were exchanged at the queen's requeſt, for an equal number of new-raiſed forces, who, however, behaved with the courage and conduct of veterans, at the battle of *Newport*. Among other military regulations, one, in particular, regarded falſe muſters; a common practice among the officers. This deceit and public fraud, of the worſt tendency, was made capital. Several changes

On the other hand, the cardinal was no leſs diligent in his endeavours to bring a numerous army into the field. His firſt care was to raiſe ſufficient ſupplies to defray the arrears due to the army and garriſons, ſome of which had mutinied for their pay. The garriſon of *Onburſt* was particularly inſolent, and the cardinal had the courage to execute what no former governor ever preſumed to attempt. He changed the garriſon, and exemplarily puniſhed the offenders; rewarding at the ſame time the garriſon of *Ghent*, who in the ſame circumſtances had conducted themſelves with modeſty and diſcretion. Next he returned to *Maeſtricht*, to conſult with the chief officers the operations of the campaign. The firſt object propoſed was an attempt on the Iſle of *Bommel*; of which prince *Maurice* gaining intelligence, by intercepted letters, he took meaſures for its ſecurity. The cardinal paſſed the *Rhine* on a bridge made of boats, on the 17th of *April*, with a reſolution immediately to enter the territories of the ſtates, but the chief officers were divided where to ſtrike the firſt blow. *Mendoza* was for attacking fort *Schenk*, which might be deemed the key to the Iſle of *Betaw*; others, aware of the difficulty of this enterpriſe, propoſed inveſting *Nimeguen*, to which *Mendoza* raiſed ſpecious objections; particularly, that the garriſon could always receive ſupplies by means of the river and fort *Knotſemburgh*. The laſt ſcheme, ſupported by a majority of the officers, was embraced. It propoſed croſſing the *Meuſe* lower, and attacking *Bommel*, the capital of the iſland of that name. To facilitate the attempt, *Barlotte*, a famous partizan, undertook to ſeize on the Iſle of *Voren*, but he was baffled by the vigilance of prince *Maurice*, who not content with diſappointing the enemy in this enterpriſe, detached a body of horſe and foot to watch their motions, and diſturb their march. This corps was fortunate enough to engage and defeat a party of the

Operations of the campaign.

changes took place in the method of arming the troops. Lances were laid aſide, and carabines given to the horſe, in their ſtead. This inſtitution was firſt introduced by prince *Maurice* in particular regiments. Now it became general by order of the ſtates. Several regiments were converted into light infantry, their heavy arms being exchanged for others more portable, and better calculated for expedition (1). It is, however, a queſtion hitherto undecided by military critics, whether the preſent light arms in uſe produce all the effects of the more clumſy weapons which formerly adorned the ſoldier. Certain we are, that the *Romans*, the beſt-diſciplined troops in the world, aſcribed a great part of their ſucceſs to the weight of their arms.

(1) *Meteren. Bentivog. Le Clerc, ubi ſupra.*

Spaniards, whereby *Mendoza*'s diſpatches, and the whole plan formed, were diſcloſed to the prince. Every means accordingly was employed to oppoſe the enemies croſſing the river. An infinity of boats and bridges were prepared, and batteries erected upon the oppoſite banks, by which the *Spaniards* were greatly annoyed in their courſe along the banks. Under pretence, however, of beſieging fort *Schenk*, which he battered furiouſly with his heavy cannon, *Mendoza* at laſt paſſed the *Val* with conſiderable loſs, penetrated into the iſle of *Bommel*, and regularly inveſted the capital; but not until *Maurice* had encamped under the walls, and raiſed ſeveral new works for its defence. The *Spaniſh* general was not deterred by difficulties. He erected batteries, and proſecuted his meaſures with determined courage, notwithſtanding the army which covered the city was little inferior to his own. His conduct was joyfully obſerved by *Maurice*, who perceived the attempt would neceſſarily terminate in the ruin of the *Spaniſh* army, ſhould it be obſtinately proſecuted. He was taking all the proper meaſures for drawing the enemy gradually into his ſnares, when he received an expreſs order from the ſtates to give them battle the firſt opportunity. *Maurice* was aſtoniſhed at orders ſo different from the uſual cautious and deliberate conduct of the government; he perceived they were dictated by the frugal diſpoſition of the deputies, who found it neceſſary to end the campaign at a certain time, to prevent exceeding the ſupplies granted by the provinces; and he determined not to obey, until he had firſt remonſtrated to the ſtates general. A joint letter was ſent by *Maurice* and *William* of *Naſſau*, repreſenting the danger of giving the enemy battle at that time, when ſcarce any advantage could flow from victory, and a defeat would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. Though he was equal in force, he was by no means ſuperior in courage to the enemy, who fought in deſpair, the precipitate meaſures of *Mendoza* having brought them into a critical ſituation, from which reſolution alone could extricate them. The *Dutch* forces, they ſaid, conſiſted chiefly of new-raiſed levies and auxiliary troops, who could not be deemed equal to the veterans of *Spain*; if this army gave way, the provinces would lie open to all the ravages of war; if the enemy were defeated, the treaſures of *Spain*, and populouſneſs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, would ſoon ſet on foot another army; he was now gaining more important advantages than could even reſult from victory, as *Mendoza* obſtinately perſiſted in waſting his blood and treaſure againſt the walls of a city which he never ſhould be able to reduce, while the confederates pre-

ſerved their preſent ſituation; in a word, he urged, that the proper ſeaſon for giving battle, depended on a variety of circumſtances, which could only be determined upon the ſpot, and ought therefore to be referred to the diſcretion of the general, who either deſerved their confidence, or ought to be recalled. Juſt, however, as this reaſoning muſt appear, it was conſtrued by the deputies into a deſire of prolonging the war. The great influence of *Maurice* depended on his being at the head of an army; and though his zealous attachment to his country was approved, yet his ambition was not unknown. He was therefore obliged ſo far to comply with the ſentiments of the government, as to promiſe he would ſeize the firſt favourable moment for giving battle [e].

MENDOZA was in the mean time playing furiouſly from his batteries, while his troops were miſerably galled from the enemies boats, and batteries ranged along the river. He perſiſted in the notion he ſhould be able to force *Maurice* to quit his ſituation, and the prince artfully cheriſhed this opinion, the better to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* army. At length he determined upon a general ſally from four different quarters of his intrenchments, while his artillery from the boats kept up an inceſſant fire. The *Dutch* forces marched out in the middle of the day, and attacked the *Spaniſh* intrenchments with the utmoſt reſolution. They were received with equal gallantry, and, after a bloody conflict, drawn off before victory had declared. The action was maintained for three hours, above fifteen hundred men periſhed on each ſide, but no impreſſion was made on *Mendoza*'s quarters, nor did any important conſequence reſult. The night following a leſs general, but more ſucceſsful, ſally was made. It was expected the enemy might be unprepared, not expecting the *Dutch* would ſo ſoon renew their efforts. The conjecture was well founded; all was in ſecurity in *Mendoza*'s camp, and the utmoſt conſternation introduced by the arrival of the confederates, whoſe attack ſucceeded beyond expectation. Several batteries were deſtroyed, prodigious ſlaughter made, and a great number of priſoners taken. After a reſpite of three days, the *Engliſh* and *French* auxiliaries, under Sir *Francis Vere* and *La Noue*, made another deſperate ſally on the *Walloon* quarter, which they forced with terrible ſlaughter. At laſt, overpowered with numbers, and badly ſupported by the *Dutch*, they retreated in good order. Such vigorous attacks, and the length of the ſiege, now protracted to the ſpace of three

[e] BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. v. p. 123.

weeks, convinced *Mendoza* of his error, and the impoſſibility of reducing *Bommel*; but the difficulty was to relinquiſh the deſign without expoſing himſelf to the ridicule of his own troops, and the aſſaults of the enemy on his rear. The latter, however, he avoided, by means of little forts and batteries erected, with great judgment, along the river; but could not eſcape the former, which broke out in ſedition and mutiny. Diſappointed of the expected booty from the plunder of *Bommel*, the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers became clamorous for their arrears, and were, with great difficulty and large promiſes, appeaſed. All the reſt of the campaign was conſumed in building and attacking forts, erected to cover the winter-quarters of both armies. The *Spaniards* made an attempt on a fort raiſed by *Maurice* at *Herwerden*, and were repulſed with loſs; on the other hand, the confederates, led by the prince in perſon, were equally unſucceſsful in an attack on the *Spaniſh* fort at *Meguen*, which, though unfiniſhed, the garriſon defended with extreme valour [d].

The German *princes take arms.*

DURING theſe tranſactions a circumſtance occurred, which, if judiciouſly improved, would, beyond doubt, have ruined the *Spaniſh* dominion in the *Netherlands*. The *German* princes, incenſed that the *Spaniards* ſtill maintained poſts and garriſons in their dominions, entered into an aſſociation to expel all foreigners; and for this purpoſe raiſed an army of 25,000 foot and 4000 horſe, under the conduct of the count *de Lippe*. The ſtates general preſſed the aſſociated *Germans* to join their army; but they did not withdraw their own troops out of the diſtricts of *Juliers*, *Berg*, *Munſter*, and *Cleves*. For this reaſon the princes declared, that they armed in their own defence, without intending to interfere in the quarrel between the king of *Spain* and his ſubjects, who had both violated the privileges of the empire. Cardinal *Andrea*, to appeaſe the *Germans*, withdrew his garriſon from *Emmerick*, which he ordered immediately to be reſtored to the duke of *Cleves*. This, however, did not ſatisfy the count *de Lippe*; he inveſted *Rhimberg*, held by a mutinous *Spaniſh* garriſon, who would have ſurrendered it had he agreed to pay their arrears. Their propoſal was rejected, the aſſault given, and the *Germans* repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to relinquiſh the enterpriſe [e]. From thence the count proceeded to *Reez*, where he was not more fortunate; a ſally from the town having put one of his quarters in confuſion, and ſpread terror through the whole army. The

[d] REIDAN. lib. xvi. p. 46. LE CLERC, lib. vii. p. 197.
[e] BENTIVOG. p. 130.

panic

panic was ſo great, and the harmony among the princes ſo ill eſtabliſhed, that in a few weeks the army diſbanded, and *Spain*, without ſtriking one blow, was delivered from this formidable enemy.

The archduke and ducheſs arrive in the Low Countries.

In the mean time, the archduke *Albert*, and his conſort, returned to the *Low Countries*, and made their public entry into *Bruſſels* with ſuch oſtentation and magnificence, as impreſſed unfavourable ideas of their characters. It is alledged by the *Dutch* writers, that the nobility were received with a cold civility, and diſguſting air of ſuperiority; that the deputies of the ſtates paid their compliments on the knee, a ſervility inconſiſtent with the dignity of freemen; and that *Albert* and the infanta, in every reſpect, received ſovereign honours, and thoſe marks of abject humiliation ſhewn to crowned heads. Theſe remarks are probably dictated by prejudice, ſince even the *Dutch* writers allow that the archduke, during his former reſidence, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his moderation, lenity, and affability: a carriage at this time no leſs neceſſary than before. On his entering upon buſineſs, the firſt difficulty that occurred, was, the oath uſually taken by the archdukes, to preſerve the privileges of the provinces inviolable. The ſtates hinted to them the neceſſity of withdrawing foreign troops, demoliſhing the citadels, and committing the defence of the towns to the inhabitants. Nothing could be more ſhocking to the archducheſs, nurſed in the arms of deſpotiſm, than an inſinuation which tended to limit her prerogative. Her prejudices were, however, ſurmounted by *Albert*'s moderation, who acquainted her, that ſhe could only obtain her ends by temporiſing, and promiſes to withdraw all foreigners, as ſoon as the dangers of war were removed at a diſtance. Having adjuſted this point, the archduke and ducheſs ſet out for *Louvain*, where they took the oaths preſcribed; and, after making the tour of the provinces, returned to *Bruſſels*. Next, the ſtate of the country was taken into conſideration; and the cauſes of the miſcarriage at *Bommel*, which was charged to the miſconduct and obſtinacy of *Mendoza*. This general recriminated; accuſing the troops of diſobedience, and the government of neglect, in furniſhing money and the neceſſary ſupplies; to which he, in ſome meaſure juſtly, attributed the diſgraces ſuſtained[f]. After a long hearing, *Mendoza* was acquitted, continued in his command, and the neceſſary meaſures taken to prevent future diſturbances and mutinies[g].

[f] Reidan. lib. xvi. p. 175. Grot. lib. ix. p. 395. [g] Metteren, lib. xxi.

The

The *United Provinces* were no leſs embaraſſed and divided among themſelves. Great clamours were raiſed by the deputies of the provinces, againſt the expences of the campaign, which had already greatly exceeded the ſupplies raiſed, without producing any public advantage. It was not conſidered that prince *Maurice* had done all that could be expected in defending *Bommel*, and ſecuring all the frontier againſt the irruptions of the enemy. A freſh demand of money was made, and poſitively refuſed by ſome of the provinces, who deſired the army might be ſent into winter-quarters. The diviſions were running high, when a remittance of 300,000 francs arrived from *France*, *Henry* IV. wiſely foreſeeing that the penuriouſneſs of the provincial ſtates would ruin the cauſe, and once more render the *Spaniards* abſolute maſters of the *Netherlands*. Notwithſtanding this unexpected ſupply, deputies were diſpatched to confer with prince *Maurice*, and repreſent to him the ſtate of the revenue, which required that the troops ſhould immediately quit the field. The prince replied, that money expended in defence of liberty, ſhould never be grudged; that in the preſent caſe they muſt determine to ſupport the war with vigour, or loſe the fruits of all their blood, toil, and treaſure, already beſtowed. That nothing could be attributed to miſmanagement, ſince he was ready to lay before the ſtates a clear account of the ſervices in which the public money had been employed; that marching ſo early into quarters would afford the enemy an opportunity of penetrating into the bowels of a country, the very frontiers of which they had hitherto found impregnable. He conſented however, that the charge of boats, waggons, and baggage horſes, ſhould be diminiſhed; but earneſtly exhorted the deputies to reflect on the fatal conſequences of entertaining a hoſtile army for the winter, in the heart of the provinces, and the difficulty of diſlodging ſo powerful an enemy. He deſired he might be permitted to erect three forts on the banks of the *Vaal*, to reſtrain the irruptions of the garriſon of St. *Andrew*; but the expence amounting to 80,000 francs, he was forced to content himſelf with throwing up ſome ſlight works on the dyke of the Iſle of *Tiel*. In a word, notwithſtanding all the prince's remonſtrances, and the probability that the archduke would endeavour to retrieve the character of the *Spaniſh* arms by ſome bold action, the ſtates reſolved upon a reduction of the forces, ſtrongly ſuſpecting that the corps were uncomplete. All the companies of foot conſiſting of 200 men, were reduced to 130, and thoſe of horſe compoſed

Diſcord in the ſeven provinces.

Reduction of the troops.

compoſed of 100 men, were reduced to eighty, by which means the government ſaved 60,000 livres per month. A ferment was excited in the army, and this reduction would have proved the moſt fatal blow ever ſuſtained by the provinces, had the enemy embraced the opportunity. The rivers were all frozen, the ſtates were defenceleſs, and every thing contributed to render an irruption into the provinces ſucceſsful, had *Albert* been careful to maintain diſcipline, catch at circumſtances, and recruit his army. But all this was neglected. Prince *Maurice* having, in the month of *November*, by expreſs order of the ſtates, placed his troops in winter-quarters, the admiral of *Aragon* followed his example, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Fort St. *Andrew*. He imprudently indeed gave out, that he only waited for a froſt, to invade the provinces, and thereby cautioned prince *Maurice* to take all meaſures in his power for their ſecurity [s].

WITH reſpect to naval affairs, great preparations were made towards the beginning of the year; as ſoon as all intercourſe between the *Spaniſh* dominions and the provinces were prohibited, the ſtates equipped an armament compoſed of ſixty-three ſail, under the conduct of *Peter Vander Dous*, to harraſs the coaſts of *Spain*, and prevent all commerce between that nation and the other maritime powers. Great encouragement was likewiſe given to private adventurers in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* trade; inſomuch that *Balthaſar Monchuren*, ſo unfortunate the preceding year on the coaſt of *Africa*, now fitted out a conſiderable ſquadron to cruize in the *Weſt Indies*, and ſearch for the gold mines in *Guiana*. While the grand armament was preparing, a part of the *Eaſt India* fleet returned richly laden, and ſufficiently compenſated the former diſappointment. This ſucceſs gave freſh vigour to the ſtates, and enabled them to purſue their ſchemes with redoubled vigour. On the 28th of *May* the fleet quitted the *Texel*, and arrived by the 11th of next month on the coaſt of *Portugal*. Finding he could make no impreſſion of the coaſt, *Vander Dous* proceeded to the *Canaries*, and made a deſcent on the iſland called *Grand Canary*, though vigorouſly oppoſed by the *Spaniards*. Next morning the town was taken by aſſault, the inhabitants eſcaping to the mountains, and carrying with them their moſt valuable effects. *Vander Dous* offered to ranſom the place; but the *Spaniards* refuſing to give the price demanded, he laid the whole in

Naval affairs.

[s] LE CLERC, lib. vii.

aſhes.

aſhes. Hence he ſailed for *Gomara*, which he plundered, proceeding with half the fleet to *America*, and ſending the other half back under admiral *Geebrantſen*. This voyage proved unfortunate; the climate and fruits of *South America* produced terrible diſeaſes among the ſeamen, which ſwept them off in great numbers, occaſioned the death of *Vander Dons*, and ſeveral of his officers. After ſome fruitleſs attempts on the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, the fleet returned to *Holland*, except a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips which came back the following year, heavy laden with a booty of ſugar and other commodities, carried off from the *Weſt India* iſlands. After all, the whole advantage obtained from this formidable armament, was to draw the attention of the court of *Spain* from the affairs of the *Netherlands*, and put the king to great expence in equipping a fleet, which lay afterwards to rot in his harbours. As to the booty taken, it by no means defrayed the charges of the government. The year concluded with a negotiation for peace, carried on under the auſpices of the emperor, who offered his mediation. The iſſue was the ſame with that of all preceding attempts, to reconcile parties too much inflamed to liſten to reaſonable conditions [h].

A. D. 1600. *The diſtreſſed ſituation of the* Spaniſh *affairs.*

NEVER was the court of *Spain* more diſtreſſed for money than at preſent. Yet were *Philip* III. and *Albert* too haughty to deſcend from their dignity, and relax in the terms of peace propoſed the former year. The archduke's long journey and voyage, his marriage, and the brilliancy of his court, had exhauſted the ſupplies intended for the proſecution of the war; and *Philip*'s own marriage, and the expences of equipping a powerful fleet, rendered him uncapable of making the neceſſary remittances. Long arrears were due to the troops, who every where become clamorous. The *Spaniſh* forces firſt broke out into open mutiny. A ſmall party took poſt at *Hamel* in the dioceſe of *Liege*; in a ſhort time it was augmented to a corps of 2000 foot and 800 horſe. Their example was followed by the *German* and *Walloon* garriſons of *Crevecœur* and fort St. *Andrew*, and at laſt the revolt had almoſt become general. *Albert* was forced to treat with the mutineers, and aſſign them free quarters, and a fortified town in *Brabant*, until their arrears were diſcharged, paying them at the ſame time a ſum of money ſufficient to anſwer other exigencies. Scarce had the mutineers at *Hamel* quitted that poſt, when a body of *Italians* who had mutinied, ſeized

[h] GROT. lib. viii. RALEIGH, apud Purchas, fol. iv.

upon

upon the place, which they fortified. *Albert* was forced to appeaſe this ſedition in the ſame manner he had done the former. To prevent the garriſons of St. *Andrew* and *Crevecœur* from proceeding to extremities, the archduke pretended he would ſend them upon an enterprize, where the booty would more than compenſate the deficiencies of their pay. *Barlette* the partizan was appointed to conduct the expedition, he reviewed the troops on his arrival; but neglecting to diſtribute money among the ſoldiers, they mutinied, ſeized their officers, and ſent them with their families priſoners to *Balduc*. It was dangerous to employ the forces that remained firm in their obedience againſt the mutineers. *Albert* dreaded that the contagion would ſpread through the whole; and yet this would have proved the moſt effectual meaſure, as there was no end to anſwering their inſolent demands [i].

Prince Maurice reduces ſeveral important places.

Maurice perceived that a fair opportunity now offered of attacking the *Spaniards* to advantage; but his powers were limited, and his force inconſiderable. However, that the occaſion might not wholly ſlip without deducing any benefit, he aſſembled eight companies of infantry, and an equal number of cavalry, which he diſpatched under *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, and colonel *Edmond*, a *Scotchman*, to make an attempt on *Watchtendoc* in *Guelderland*. The enterprize was ſuggeſted by *Rhihove*; it ſucceeded to admiration, the town and citadel were taken after a ſlight reſiſtance, and the government given to the officer who had formed the deſign. This ſucceſs encouraged prince *Maurice* to purſue his blow. He marched ſecretly with a ſtrong detachment towards *Crevecœur*, ſeized the out works before the mutinous garriſon was appriſed of his deſign, and in the ſpace of three days was maſter of all the fortifications, after defeating a detachment of 500 *Spaniſh* horſe, which came to the relief of the beſieged. The prince made overtures to the garriſon of St. *Andrew*; but the mutineers refuſed to ſurrender the fort, unleſs the prince advanced a ſum equal to the arrears owing by the court of *Spain*, which he had not in his power. *Maurice* then determined to apply force; he ſummoned the garriſon, and threatened to give no quarter, if they did not immediately capitulate; but they deſpiſed his menaces, while the country round the fort was under water; and even put to death the trumpet ſent with the ſummons. Next he hemmed in the garriſon by a number of little forts and redoubts, ſufficient

[i] Le Clerc, ibid.

to

to prevent their being ſupplied; at the ſame time keeping up ſo briſk a fire from certain batteries which he had erected, as forced the beſieged to conceal themſelves behind their ramparts. Juſt as they were reduced to extremity for want of fuel, and neceſſaries for their ſick and wounded, a ſignal from the garriſon of *Balduc* revived their courage, and gave them hopes of ſpeedy aſſiſtance. But this glimmering of expectation ſoon vaniſhed. *Velaſco* who was ſent with a detachment for the relief of the beſieged, made fruitleſs efforts to enter. He was baffled in every attempt by *Maurice*, and forced to leave the garriſon to their fate. In conſequence, they immediately capitulated, and to a man enliſted in the ſervice of the ſtates, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity.

The province of Groningen *compelled to pay the taxes.*

WHILE *Maurice* was purſuing the advantage afforded by the diſorder of the *Spaniſh* army, the ſtates, as uſual, aſſembled to deliberate on the means of raiſing the ſupplies for the enſuing campaign. *Groningen* had for three years refuſed to pay the contingent ſtipulated; a bold exertion of power was neceſſary to bring the province to reaſon, and upon this the ſtates reſolved. *William* of *Naſſau*, governor of *Friſeland* and *Groningen*, was diſpatched with a body of troops to the capital of the latter province, to compel the inhabitants to perform the articles of the union. He entered the city without the leaſt diſorder, diſarmed the burghers, and built a citadel, leaving the provincial ſtates to make their complaints to the ſtates general. In this they were not wanting: deputies were immediately diſpatched, with loud complaints of this violation of their privileges; but they were given to underſtand, that as *Groningen* was protected by the government, it muſt expect to bear a ſhare of the public expence, and on the ſame footing of equality with the other provinces. Finding they could have no redreſs, the provincial ſtates conſented to pay their contingent; upon which *William* of *Naſſau* proceeded to *Friſeland*, where, by a juſt mixture of perſuaſion and force, he quelled a violent tumult among the peaſants[k], who refuſed to pay the public tax. Theſe, it muſt be confeſſed, were violent remedies in a free conſtitution; but at this time they were abſolutely neceſſary, to prevent the diſſolution of the whole conſtitution, as the other provinces refuſed to pay their quotas, if *Groningen* was exempted.

[k] METEREN, lib. xxi. GROT. lib. ix.

ALBERT

ALBERT was upon no better terms with the ſtates of the *Spaniſh* provinces, who renewed their complaints againſt the oppreſſion of the people with foreign ſoldiers, the miſmanagement of the public money, the weight of taxes, and the profuſion of the court. He demanded that the ſupplies for the next campaign might be granted, a civil liſt for the ſupport of the court eſtabliſhed, and a ſum of money advanced upon the credit of the remittances expected from *Madrid*. They, on the other hand, required ſecurity that any ſuch remittances were actually expected, and that when they arrived, they would be paid into their hands; they deſired the account of the preceding year might be laid before them; and before they granted freſh ſupplies, irreſiſtable proofs were required that the laſt were not miſapplied. *Confuſion of the Spaniſh provinces.*

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs, when the *United Provinces* entered upon a reſolution to open the campaign with vigour, and ſtrike ſome blow, which ſhould at the ſame time ſecure their own commerce, and confound the enemy. The ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand* argued the neceſſity of an attempt upon *Dunkirk*, the privateers of which place extremely moleſted their merchantmen. It was ſaid, that this enterprize, though important, would not be difficult, becauſe the army could be tranſported by ſea, and by ſeizing certain forts round *Newport*, might march unmoleſted to *Dunkirk*. After this it was propoſed, that *Newport* and *Furneſe* ſhould be attacked, by which a way to *Oſtend*, defended by an *Engliſh* garriſon, would be ſecured. Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* was preſent at theſe deliberations, and aſtoniſhed at the unuſual vigour of the propoſals, which he was ready to attribute to the deſpair of the merchants of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who had ſuffered extremely from the enemies cruizers. Though he would not diſcountenance bold reſolutions, he thought it his duty to repreſent the hazard of the attempt, and the impoſſibility of reducing *Dunkirk*, before the archduke would be in a condition to march with a ſuperior army to its relief. After enlarging upon the ſubject, and pointing out all the inconveniencies which attended the project, he concluded with adviſing that *Sluys* might be inveſted, as an enterprize which would facilitate all their future operations, and be attended with leſs hazard. This, among other advantages, would, he ſaid, enable the ſtates to remove the ſeat of war into *Flanders*, the richeſt province belonging to the enemy, and from whence they drew their chief reſources for continuing the war. The propoſal, however *Vigorous reſolutions of the ſtates general.*

ever judicious, was rejected, becauſe it preſented no immediate relief to commerce; the other was preferred with all its dangers and difficulties. The tranſports were immediately got in readineſs, and the troops, to the number of 12,000 foot and 2000 horſe, conducted by prince *Maurice*, and accompanied with a large train of battering cannon, were embarked. On the 9th of *June* the fleet arrived at *Rammekins*, where, being detained by adverſe winds, the prince deſired leave to proceed by land through *Flanders*, which was immediately granted. In his march *Maurice* publiſhed manifeſtos, promiſing the utmoſt ſecurity to all the peaſants who would ſupply the army with proviſion, and threatening to lay all the villages in aſhes if the inhabitants abſconded. In his way he ſeized upon the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacſkerk*, and *Budene*, which he garriſoned with his own ſoldiers. Arriving at *Oſtend*, he detached count *Solmes* to attack fort *Albert*, ſituated at the diſtance of half a league from the town. The garriſon conſiſted of 500 *Spaniards*, who made ſo brave a defence, that, having reduced this, *Maurice* determined not to loſe time in attacking all the other forts erected to reſtrain the *Engliſh* garriſon [m].

Albert *marches to attack prince* Maurice.

MAURICE was ſcarce arrived at *Newport*, when he received intelligence from the governor he had left in fort *Oudenberg*, that the archduke was in full march to attack him, with a numerous army, already flushed with the reduction of all the forts the prince had left behind. It was hardly credited in the confederate army that *Albert* could ſo ſuddenly begin his march, conſidering the ſeditious, mutinous diſpoſition of his troops; but when he had paſſed *Bruges*, when he had made himſelf maſter of the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacſkerks*, and *Budene*, *Maurice* was diſconcerted. Reſolving to remove from *Newport*, where he found it impoſſible to chuſe a ſituation to his liking, he detached *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*, with colonel *Edmond*'s *Scotch* regiment, a battalion of *Zealanders*, four troops of horſe, and four pieces of cannon, to ſeize on the poſt at *Leffingen*, through which the enemy muſt paſs. On *Erneſt*'s arrival, he found the *Spaniards* in poſſeſſion of the paſſage, upon which he determined to ſtand his ground until he ſhould be ſupported by *Maurice*. At firſt the enemy miſtook him for the van of prince *Maurice*'s army; but finding it was only a detachment, they attacked the confederates with irreſiſtible impetuoſity; broke the cavalry, which took ſhelter in *Oſtend*; then fell upon the infantry, which would have baffled

Prince Erneſt *of* Naſſau *defeated.*

[m] Id. ibid.

all their attempts, had not the *Zealanders* quitted the field, and left the *Scotch* regiment alone to ſuſtain the whole weight of the enemy. So obſtinate was *Edmond*'s reſiſtance, that his corps was almoſt all cut in pieces, endeavouring to ſecure a regular retreat to *Oſtend*, which prince *Erneſt* effected. In this action nine hundred men periſhed, and the conſternation among the *Dutch* deputies at *Oſtend* was equal to what might have been expected had *Maurice* and the whole army been defeated. Next day, the 2d of *July*, the archduke held a council of war, to deliberate whether he ſhould wait for the detachment of three thouſand men under *Velaſco*, or immediately march, and attack the confederate army. *Zapena*, an experienced officer, was of the former opinion. *Barlotte*, the partizan, of the latter; and both offered ſpecious arguments in ſupport of their ſentiments. *Albert* ſeemed inclined to follow the opinion of *Zapena*, but an accident determined him in favour of *Barlotte*. Some of the out-guards had ſpied the *Dutch* fleet ſtirring from *Oſtend*, whence it was concluded that *Maurice* had no intention of re-imbarking his army; it was therefore thought adviſeable to attack him, while the pannic of *Erneſt*'s defeat was freſh in the minds of the ſoldiers. Agreeable to this reſolution, orders were immediately iſſued for the army to march with all poſſible expedition; the troops that had mutinied, deſiring to lead the van, in order to diſtinguiſh their courage and fidelity. *Maurice* was beginning his march to *Oſtend*, when the advanced guards of the enemy were deſcried. Immediately he drew up in order of battle, ordering the rear-guard to halt, until the tranſports with the baggage and artillery were all ſailed for *Oſtend*; in order to ſhew the troops that they muſt either conquer or die, as there was no poſſibility of eſcaping. All the eminences were planted with artillery, the charge of which was given to the ſailors, who ſerved with great courage and alacrity. Scarce was the army ranged, when certain ſoldiers, who had eſcaped from the late defeat, brought the firſt intelligence of *Erneſt*'s misfortune. Prince *Maurice* was greatly chagrined, but diſſembled his ſentiments, and forbade the ſoldiers, on pain of death, to ſuffer a ſyllable to tranſpire; ſent them, for the greater ſecurity, on board ſome boats which were ſetting off for *Oſtend*. It is ſaid, that he immediately ordered one of them to be put to death for having communicated the ſecret. Never was aſſembled a greater number of volunteers of diſtinction, than at this time ſerved under *Maurice*, to learn the art of war from a general ſo renowned. They conſiſted of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Ger-*

man nobility, who formed a kind of body-guard to the prince, and determined to ſhare his fortune. *Lewis* of *Naſſau* put himſelf at the head of the van-guard, drawn up in ſuch a manner that the ſecond and third lines might relieve the firſt, without confuſion; a manœuvre never effectually practiſed, except at the battle of *Newport*. The *Engliſh*, commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, compoſed the chief part of the van; the rear was led by count *Solmes*, and conſiſted of the provincial troops, the *Swiſs*, and *French* auxiliaries. As to the rear-guard, it was formed of *German* ſoldiers, under the conduct of *Oliver de Tempel*, a general officer of reputation.

Battle of Newport.

IN this order *Maurice* firmly expected the enemy, whoſe diſpoſition was nearly ſimilar, each having a body of cavalry in front, who began the charge, after the artillery had been briſkly ſerved for near three hours; during which time each expected the other would advance to the attack. But the prince was determined not to fatigue his troops with marching over ſultry ſand, and the archduke was adviſed by *Zapena* to defer the engagement to the next day, when the army would be refreſhed, and other circumſtances poſſibly more favourable than at preſent. He obſerved that the ſun was now directly in the eyes of the *Spaniards*, that a ſtrong weſterly wind blew clouds of ſand, and would drive the whole ſmoke of the artillery and muſketry in the faces of the ſoldiers, which would prevent their diſtinguiſhing the enemy, and greatly diſturb their operations; that the event of an attack upon the confederates, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, was extremely doubtful; that victory would more certainly reſult from deferring battle, and cooping them up in a poſt where they muſt ſoon periſh or ſurrender, having no retreat, and being deſtitute of proviſion and water. But the ſoldiers, flushed with the advantage gained over *Erneſt* the preceding day, loudly demanded battle, and complained of being deprived of their plunder, which they believed certain. They repeated a ſaying, uſual in the wars againſt the *Moriſcos*: *The more Moors, the more glorious the victory.*

PRINCE *Maurice*'s cannon was ſo well ſerved, and the ſhips kept up ſo continual a fire on the enemy, during high water, as forced them to remove to a greater diſtance from the ſhore, upon which the fleet kept on its courſe to *Oſtend*. Both vans engaged with the utmoſt intrepidity, and ſuſtained the fight with aſtoniſhing obſtinacy. *Albert* directed his chief ſtrength againſt the *Engliſh*, who baffled all his efforts, until Sir *Francis Vere* received a wound, which obliged

liged him, for a while, to quit the field. They were now ſupported by a body of *French* auxiliaries, and the battle became more general, the confederates right wing being deeply engaged with the left of the *Spaniards*. Here prodigious havock was made among the enemy, who repeatedly returned to the charge, after they were broken and repulſed by the inceſſant fire kept up from the artillery and muſketry. Upon the left the confederates frequently gave way; but they were conſtantly rallied, brought back, and ſupported with freſh troops kept in reſerve. At laſt both wings of the enemy were united, and the center, compoſed of the beſt *Italian* and *Spaniſh* infantry, alone ſtood firm, repelling all the efforts of *Maurice*, who vigorouſly attacked with the cavalry mixed with infantry. After the engagement had continued for three hours, and both ſides ſeemed rather exhauſted, and ſpent with fatigue, than ſatiated with blood, four pieces of cannon were ſo happily pointed againſt this impregnable body of *Spaniards*, as put the whole in confuſion, and obliged victory at length to declare in favour of the confederates. The fire of the artillery was ſeconded with a general attack of the cavalry, led on by *Maurice* in perſon, and puſhed with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. As ſoon as the enemy were perceived to ſtagger, the *Dutch* horſe cried out, *Victory:* the word inſtantaneouſly ſpread through the whole army, the center of the infantry advanced, and fell on with fury; the archduke received a ſlight wound, and his troops were wholly diſordered, diſperſed, and routed. Five thouſand men, beſides officers, were ſlain, and taken priſoners; among the latter were *Mendoza* and *Zapena:* and thus ended a battle brought on by the imprudence of the ſtates, won by the courage and ſkill of *Maurice*, together with the blunders committed by *Albert*; with the loſs of fifteen hundred men killed, and an equal number wounded, on the ſide of the confederates (A). Never had the *United Provinces* expe-

 rienced

(A) Various are the accounts of the battle of *Newport*. In circumſtances no two hiſtorians agree. *Grotius* relates that the loſs of the *Spaniards* did not exceed 3000 men; *Bentivoglio* diminiſhes the number one third, but allows that the victory was complete. Sir *William Temple* deſcribes the defeat of the *Spaniards* to the obſtinate courage of the *Engliſh*; and all the *Dutch* writers acknowlege their bravery, but deny the conſequences drawn by the *Engliſh* writer. *Reidanus* is ſevere in his animadverſions upon both parties. The *Dutch* are blamed for having reduced themſelves to the neceſſity of fighting or periſhing;

rienced an event more important, their very exiſtence depending on the fate of *Maurice* and his army. Nothing could exceed the anxiety of the *Dutch* deputies ſhut up in *Oſtend* during the battle, except their joy on receiving the news of the victory, and the congratulations of the conqueror, who aſcribed all his good fortune to the goodneſs of divine providence, and the courage of his troops, claiming to himſelf no part of the merit.

Prince Maurice *gains a complete victory.*

WHEN the purſuit of the flying enemy was over, *Maurice* alighted from his horſe, and at the head of the troops kneeled on the ground with great devotion, returning thanks to God in a loud and fervent prayer, for the ſignal victory with which the Almighty was pleaſed to bleſs the confederate arms. His example was followed by the army, and next day was appointed for public thankſgivings at *Oſtend*, where he ſuffered the troops to refreſh themſelves, while he was deliberating with the deputies and his officers the future plan of operations. Here violent conteſts among the ſoldiers aroſe about the priſoners, whom ſome were for putting to death, in revenge of the cruelties exerciſed on their comrades, after the defeat of *Erneſt*; and others for ſaving, in order to procure their ranſom. However, *Maurice*'s authority quelled the tumult, and his generoſity diffuſed a ſpirit of humanity through the whole army. Every man was touched with the tenderneſs of his behaviour to *Mendoza* and *Zapena*, who, to the mortification of being priſoners, had the additional affliction of being mortally wounded. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt care, *Zapena* died in a few days, filled with ſentiments of the deepeſt gratitude and veneration for the character of *Maurice*, whoſe conduct more reſembled that of a father, than of the conqueror of an inveterate enemy [n].

As for *Albert*, he ſet out the day after the battle to *Ghent*, to conſult with the archduchеſs upon further meaſures; and was received with ſuch affection and intrepidity of conduct by that princeſs, as inſpired new hopes and freſh courage. She had heard before his arrival a variety of reports, which,

[n] GROT. lib. ix. p. 398.

riſhing; and the *Spaniards* for not avoiding battle, when, without ſtriking a blow, they might have reduced the enemy. We are however of a different opinion, as *Maurice* might certainly receive ſupplies by the ſhipping, which did not quit the coaſt until the engagement began. *Meteren, lib.* 23. *Bentivog. p.* 148. *Grot. p.* 399. *Temp. p.* 74. *Reid. lib.* 17.

in

in the uſual manner, exaggerated the loſs, and even aſſerted that *Albert* was killed; but ſhe maintained her conſtancy, and behaved in ſuch a manner, as ſecured the eſteem and admiration of her ſubjects. Thence the archduke returned to *Bruges*, where he collected together the ſcattered remains of his army, which he joined to *Velaſco*'s corps, with ſuch expedition, that he reinforced the garriſon of *Newport*, and of the forts he had taken round *Oſtend*, before the confederates had left that city. *Maurice* incurred cenſure for having ſpent three days in this place; for not having purſued the enemy further; and for delaying a moment to lay ſiege to *Newport*; but he vindicated himſelf, by alledging the fatigue his troops had undergone, and their reluctance to enter upon any new enterpriſe, before they had recovered their exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits. On the 16th of *July*, he completely inveſted *Newport*, the garriſon of which, amounting to three thouſand men, made vigorous ſallies, and ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that the prince was forced to abandon the deſign, and embark his army for *Oſtend*. From hence he made divers irruptions into the enemy's territories, but they were rendered fruitleſs by the powerful army aſſembled by *Albert*; and as the ſtates were not in humour to enter upon freſh undertakings, he diſtributed the forces in winter-quarters. By this means *Flanders* eſcaped the impending ſtorm, at a time when all men imagined the conqueſt of this province would be the neceſſary conſequence of the victory at *Newport* °.

Negotiations for a peace broke off.

WHEN the operations in the field ceaſed, overtures of peace were renewed. Deputies were ſent by the archduke to confer with the ſtates general, at *Bergen-op-zoom*. Here they were met by deputies from the ſtates, and both ſides readily agreed that an accommodation was neceſſary, and eſſential to the good of the *Netherlands*; but they differed as widely as ever about the conditions. It was acknowledged by the deputies of the *United Provinces*, that nothing could be more agreeable to their wiſhes than to ſee an end put to a ruinous and deſtructive war; but this was not to be expected while foreign troops reſided in the country, and poſſeſſed all the fortreſſes. They ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* provinces in expelling foreigners, and reſtoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*; aſſuring them that the difference of religion would occaſion none in the affection they owed to each other as countrymen, provided the liberty of the

° METEREN, lib. xxii.

whole could be ſecured. They further urged, that ſo dependent was the archduke on the court of *Spain*, and ſeveral of the provinces on the archduke, that no treaty with either could be binding or ſafe, while they were reined in by citadels, and under the laſh of a powerful army. To this the other deputies replied, that they were ſent to conclude peace with their countrymen, and not to enter upon revilings againſt their ſovereign; that it could not be expected the archduke would leave himſelf defenceleſs, while the *United Provinces* remained completely armed, and ready to ſeize the advantage which his credulity might offer. They concluded with ſolemn aſſurances that the prince would ratify whatever conditions were ſettled among the deputies. Neither ſide would conſent to be diſarmed, and thus the conferences ended; upon which the *Spaniſh* provinces applied their whole attention to the means of ſupporting the war for another campaign. While they were deliberating upon theſe meaſures, letters arrived from *Philip* III. which equally diſguſted the ſtates of the *Spaniſh* provinces, and the archduke. They were addreſſed in the ſtile of *Philip* II. before the diſmemberment of the *Netherlands* from the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and the phraſe, *To our eſtates of the provinces*, retained[p]. The ambaſſador, however, removed the blame on the ſecretary, who had inadvertently copied the phraſe from former diſpatches, and thus the minds of the people and prince were quieted.

THE firſt operations concerted by the ſtates of the *Spaniſh* provinces were againſt the trade of the enemy. A fleet was equipped at *Dunkirk*, under admiral *Wakena*, to deſtroy the herring-fiſheries of *Holland* and *Zealand*; upon the ſucceſs of which depended, in a great meaſure, the ſtrength and opulence of thoſe provinces. The fiſhing-buſſes were protected by three men of war; but *Wakena* attacked the convoy with ſuch deſperate fury, that after ſinking one of the men of war, and obliging the others to ſheer off, he fell upon the buſſes, which he ſunk, burned, and deſtroyed. The *Dutch* immediately ſent a ſquadron in queſt of the *Flemiſh* admiral; but he found means to elude the enemy, and bring his fleet ſafe into *Dantzick*, and the ports of *Galicia*. This loſs, however, was compenſated to the *Hollanders*, by the arrival of the richeſt ſhips ever returned from the *Indies*, upon which the proprietors ſhared four hundred *per cent.* upon their capital, and were encouraged to launch out

[p] Id. ibid. LE CLERC, p. 212. lib. vii. GROT. p. 401.

deeper

deeper in this profitable commerce. As to the ſquadron ſent by the ſtreights of *Magellan*, it came back diſappointed, ſhattered, and ſickly, after having weathered terrible ſtorms, and ſuſtained incredible hardſhips [q]. (B)

DURING the winter a variety of ſchemes were ſet on foot, and enterpriſes formed for ſeizing upon cities, towns, and fortreſſes. The moſt important was a deſign projected by one *Francis de Province*, to deliver *Gertruydenburg* to the *Spaniards*; which being happily diſcovered, the traitor was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. About this time, *Mendoza* and other priſoners of diſtinction obtained their liberty, on condition that all the ſoldiers of the *United Provinces*, confined in the priſons, or on board the *Spaniſh* gallies, ſhould be releaſed; that they paid down the ſum of 23,000 livres, and gave ſecurity for the payment of 75,000 more, at a time appointed. *Le Clerc*, however, alledges, that the priſoners on neither ſide were diſmiſſed before the following year, becauſe *Philip* neglected to ratify the articles of exchange. A. D. 1601.

As the ſpring approached, the *United Provinces* puſhed more vigorouſly their preparations to act offenſively the enſuing campaign, without which it was obvious the victory at *Newport* muſt prove fruitleſs. They received freſh remittances from *France*, *Henry* taking this opportunity of clearing off the old debts, to enable the ſtates to withſtand the power of *Spain*; and they conſiderably increaſed the revenue, by new duties upon all imported merchandiſe. Money

[q] GROT. lib. x. METEREN, lib. xxiii.

(B) We muſt not omit the following incident, which merits a place among the tranſactions of the year. The counteſs of *Newenar*, firſt married to count *Horn*, who was beheaded by the duke of *Alva*; and afterwards to the count of *Newenar*, bequeathed to prince *Maurice*, at her death, the counties of *Meurs* and *Horn*, with their dependences. Upon the former the duke of *Cleves* ſeized, as a fief of his principality. To be revenged, *Maurice* ſent one *Cloet*, an officer of a bold and enterpriſing genius, to ſeize up *Cracou*, a fortreſs of *Meurs*, which he executed with ſucceſs, after having defeated the governor of *Staten*, with a detachment of 400 horſe and 500 foot. By this means the whole county of *Meurs* was preſerved in the prince's obedience, and the ambition of the D. of *Cleves* extinguiſhed, by one vigorous blow judiciouſly aimed (1).

(1) *Reidan. lib.* 17. *Le Clerc, lib.* 7.

A party of the enemy defeated, and Rhimberg *taken by prince* Maurice.

was likewiſe borrowed from the *India* traders, ſo ſucceſsful in the late voyage to the *Molucca Iſlands*, and a variety of ſchemes propoſed, and adopted, for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies. Prince *Maurice* had given orders for the army to aſſemble in the neighbourhood of *Gravenſwaert*, and his cavalry, in marching thither, encountered a body of the enemies horſe, under count *Adolphus de Berg*, whom they defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. This accidental advantage was deemed a happy omen; the troops aſſembled with alacrity, croſſed the *Rhine* the 9th of *June*, and appeared three days after before *Rhimberg*, garriſoned by 1200 men, under the conduct of *Bernard d'Avila*. The prince began his operations by attacking a fort ſituated in a ſmall iſland in the *Rhine*, to prevent his being expoſed to the inſults of the enemy. After forming this poſt, he made it the head of his trenches, at which the ſoldiers worked with great diligence[r].

Oſtend *beſieged by the archduke.*

ALBERT was not in a condition to attempt raiſing the ſiege; but he ordered count *Herman de Berg*, governor of *Spaniſh Guelderland*, to endeavour throwing in ſupplies; and he projected making an effectual diverſion, by laying ſiege in perſon to *Oſtend*. The prince was acquainted with his intentions, but continued to proſecute his operations, in which he encountered a variety of difficulties from the vigorous ſallies of the garriſon. By the 14th of the month, in deſpite of all obſtruction, he puſhed his works to the rampart of the counterſcarp, which he undermined, and blew up with great ſucceſs. Juſt as he effected a lodgment, he was deprived of eight companies of *Engliſh* troops, detached, by order of the ſtates, to join Sir *Francis Vere*, ſent with a ſtrong corps to annoy the archduke's army before *Oſtend*. This diminution of his ſtrength did not diſcourage *Maurice*; he plied the garriſon with red-hot bullets, effected a breach by another ſucceſsful mine, and was preparing to give the aſſault, when the garriſon capitulated upon honourable conditions. The reduction of *Rhimberg* was of the utmoſt conſequence, becauſe it covered the province of *Overyſſel*, and now prevented the enemy from levying contributions towards that quarter. In this manner it was, that a town, ſequeſtered in the hands of the elector of *Cologn*, and committed by him to the *Spaniards*, whom he favoured, fell at laſt into the hands of the ſtates general.

[r] Le Clerc, lib. vii. Bentivog. p. 3. lib. vi.

At

AT *Oſtend*, *Albert* made the moſt vigorous efforts. The affections of his ſubjects had enabled him to raiſe ſuch an army as it was impoſſible for *Maurice* to attack with any probability of ſucceſs. Yet after months were ſpent in the ſiege little progreſs was made. Sir *Francis Vere* threw himſelf into the town, and the garriſon behaved with ſuch intrepidity as aſtoniſhed, but did not diſcourage, the archduke. An infinity of batteries were raiſed, and aſſaults made without number. Rivers of blood were ſpilt, but neither ſide was diſpirited, becauſe they received conſtant ſupplies of men and proviſion; the army from the country around, and the garriſon by the ſea, which was conſtantly kept open. The obſtinacy of *Albert*, in proſecuting this ſiege, afforded the *United Provinces* all the advantages they could deſire. *Maurice* was left maſter of the field, while the treaſures and forces of *Spain*, and the *Flemiſh* provinces, were exhauſted before a place deemed impregnable, becauſe it could always be relieved. He accordingly inveſted *Bolduc* with an army of 7000 foot and 3000 horſe. The place was garriſoned only by ten companies of infantry and an equal number of cavalry; but ſuch was the ſpirit of the burghers, animated by the clergy, that they reſolved to ſuffer all extremities rather than ſubmit to heretics. The trenches were opened on the 1ſt of *November*, and the ſiege vigorouſly puſhed until a ſtrong reinforcement entered the town on the 27th; the prince's army being inſufficient to defend lines of ſo great extent. This, together with a report that the archduke was marching with powerful forces to the relief of the garriſon, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, obliged *Maurice* to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and ſend his troops into winter-quarters.

ALL this time the ſiege of *Oſtend* went on without intermiſſion. Neither the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the murmurs of the troops, or the intrepid gallantry of the garriſon, could oblige the archduke to renounce an attempt upon which he had ſet his affections. Both the army without, and the garriſon within, ſuffered extremely by ſickneſs and fatigue. The *Engliſh*, in particular, who were conſtantly in action, and unſeaſoned to the climate, were greatly diminiſhed; inſomuch that the beſieged, who at firſt amounted to 7000 men, were, in the ſpace of three months, reduced to 3000. At the ſame time the outworks were greatly damaged by the enemy, and unuſual inundations of the ſea, to repair and defend which required an exceeding exertion of vigour and diligence. Dykes, ſurrounded by faſcines, were erected to oppoſe the fury of the waves, and had ſcarce

ſcarce been finiſhed, when the archduke ordered them to be attacked and ſet on fire, with ſo much ſucceſs, that they burned for three days, to the great terror of the garriſon. The moſt vigorous ſallies were made, and the utmoſt efforts uſed, to extinguiſh the flames, without ſucceſs. At laſt, when the beſieged were quite ſpent with fatigue, Sir *Francis Vere* received intelligence from a priſoner, that the archduke had appointed the next day for a general aſſault with all his forces. Alarmed at this intimation, the truth of which he could not doubt, becauſe the ſoldier was ſo particular as to give a plan of the diſpoſition of the attack; he determined to elude the danger, by ſetting on foot a capitulation, which might protract the time until his garriſon was refreſhed, and the place reinforced. His ſtratagem ſucceeded; he received a ſuccour of four companies of foot, and accompliſhed all his other purpoſes, before his deſign was ſuſpected. His conduct was blamed, as diſingenuous and unworthy of a ſoldier; it certainly, however, protracted the fate of *Oſtend*, which he afterwards defended with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſpirit and reſolution.

IRRITATED at having been the dupe of the *Engliſh* governor, *Albert* reſolved upon revenge; and appointed the 17th of *January* for ſtorming a wide breach which his batteries effected. The attack was made with the utmoſt vigour, under *Mexia*, an experienced *Spaniſh* officer. It was ſupported for three hours with unremitting courage, and at laſt repelled by the invincible intrepidity of the beſieged, after the *Spaniards* had loſt 1000 men. After this unproſperous aſſault, the archduke was adviſed to raiſe the ſiege, which the ſeverity of the ſeaſon rendered intolerable to the troops; but he now thought his own reputation and the honour of the *Spaniſh* arms too deeply intereſted to liſten to any propoſitions. He ordered barracks to be erected for the accommodation of the ſoldiers, committed the direction of the ſiege to don *Juan de Rivas*, and ſet out for *Ghent*, to concert the means of puſhing his operations with ſtill more vigour. The ſtates general embraced this occaſion to exchange the garriſon of *Oſtend*, which was worn out and emaciated with perpetual fatigue and watching. As the enemy had conſiderably relaxed in their diligence, and the communication with the ſea was preſerved open, the ſcheme was executed without difficulty. A freſh garriſon, ſupplied with every neceſſary, accordingly took charge of the town, under the conduct of colonel *Dorp*, colonel *Edmonds*, a *Scotchman*, and *Hertain*, a *Frenchman*. Sir *Francis Vere*, with

with the former garriſon, joined the army under prince *Maurice*.

OSTEND was certainly not worth a moiety of the treaſures expended in that ſiege and defence. The garriſon coſt the ſtates near 200,000 livres *per* month; how much more muſt the archduke have laviſhed away in uſeleſs works, ammunition, proviſion, barracks, and the other expences of a numerous army? The *Spaniards* had an idea, that, by gaining poſſeſſion of *Oſtend*, they could ſhut up all the ports in *Zealand*, and wholly deſtroy the commerce of the province: that indeed would have been a conſiderable object; but experience proved that the trade of *Zealand* was independent of *Oſtend*. It was the court of *Spain*, and not the *Ten Provinces*, that puſhed this ſiege; the latter perceived that they lay expoſed to the inſults of the enemy, while the whole force of the *Netherlands* was employed upon a ſingle object; they therefore poſitively refuſed the ſum demanded by the archduke, and inſiſted on his ſupplying the mutinied troops out of the money arrived from *Spain*, which he now deſtined for proſecuting the ſiege of *Oſtend*. But the army was augmented early in the ſummer by 8000 *Italians*, under the marquis *Spinola*, to whom, in the end, the proſecution of the ſiege was committed. The *United Provinces* formed a ſcheme for preventing the junction of *Spinola* and the *Spaniſh* army, but it vaniſhed in ſmoke. It was therefore propoſed that *Maurice* with his army ſhould make the tour of *Brabant*, enter *Flanders* on that ſide, and march to the relief of *Oſtend*. *Maurice* repreſented the difficulty of marching a large army through an enemy's country, filled with forts and garriſons, and narrowly watched by an army; but his opinion was over-ruled. He was ordered to begin his march, and he accordingly paſſed the *Meuſe* with all his forces, attended with 2000 waggons laden with proviſions. On his entering the territory of *Liege*, he obliged the inhabitants to furniſh the army with every kind of ſubſiſtence, under pain of military execution. In *Brabant* he publiſhed an edict, ſent him by the ſtates general, inviting the provinces ſubject to the archduke, to join with him in reſtoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*, and throwing off the oppreſſive yoke of the *Spaniards*; but this publication producing no effect, the army advanced to *Tillemont*, where *Mendoza* was poſted with a body of 14,000 horſe and foot. He had taken poſſeſſion of a paſs through which the prince muſt neceſſarily march, and muſt be forced before the army could proceed. *Maurice* attacked his advanced guard, drew up before him in order of battle, but could not bring the *Spaniard*, grown

more cautious by his impriſonment, to an engagement. Upon this a council of war was called; and here it was unanimouſly determined, that purſuing the rout marked out by the ſtates would be impracticable, and that inveſting *Grave* was a meaſure more ſafe and important. This enterpriſe was accordingly undertaken with great ſpirit and alacrity. Nature and art had contrived to render this one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks in the *Netherlands*; it was garriſoned by a body of veterans, under *Gonzales*, a *Spaniſh* officer of merit, and ſupplied with all the requiſites of a vigorous defence. *Maurice* began his operations with attacking a half-moon, on the ſide of the river, of which he gained poſſeſſion in a few days. He opened trenches on the oppoſite ſide, puſhed his attacks by ſap, merely to ſave the deſtruction of his men, and was oppoſed by the moſt vigorous ſallies, in one of which Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded on the right, was wounded. *Mendoza* approached within half a league of the prince's quarter, with intention to force ſuccours into the town, or raiſe the ſiege by a battle; but he found the intrenchments ſo judiciouſly formed, that he deſpaired of ſucceeding in the latter, and applied his whole attention to the former. His attempts were baffled, he was reduced to extremities in his camp, and forced to retire to *Venlo*, leaving the garriſon of *Grave* to make the beſt defence in their power. In conſequence, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of ten weeks, *Gonzales* ſurrendered upon honourable conditions [a].

Maurice *reduces* Grave.

It was ſoon after the reduction of *Grave*, that the *Italian* auxiliaries mutinied, and formed one of the moſt dangerous conſpiracies, which had yet appeared in the *Spaniſh* army. At firſt they endeavoured ſeizing upon *Dieſt*; but being diſappointed, they marched to *Gravendork*, and thence to *Hoogſtrade*, ſo near *Breda*, that they could eaſily be protected, ſhould the archduke offer to reduce them by violent meaſures. After receiving aſſurances of prince *Maurice's* favour, they began with levying contributions in *Brabant*. At the ſame time the garriſons of *Antwerp* and *Weert* raiſed great clamours for their pay, and at laſt openly mutinied. The latter were appeaſed by the advancement of part of their arrears; but it was not eaſy to ſatisfy the large demands made by the former, of arrears upwards of twelve months ſtanding. Money indeed was ſo ſcarce, that *Mendoza* quitted the command, and ſet out for *Spain*, where he was very coldly received. In this ſituation the archduke re-

Revolt of the Italian *troops.*

[a] Bentivog. lib. vii. p. 3. p. 166.

ſolved

ſolved to try the effects of ſeverity; he had often, to no purpoſe, uſed gentle methods. A manifeſto was publiſhed, declaring the mutineers at *Hoogſtrade* proſcribed, their effects confiſcated, and themſelves guilty of high treaſon, for which a reward of 100 crowns was offered for the head of a ſubaltern officer; 200 for that of a field officer; and ten for the head of each private ſoldier. Immediately the mutineers publiſhed a well-drawn apology, in which was refuted every aſſertion of the archduke, and that duke was taxed with profuſion and luxury at his court, while the army was periſhing with cold and hunger. Not ſatisfied with mere words, they made a furious irruption into *Liege* and *Brabant*, levying heavy contributions, and puniſhing with military execution whoever refuſed to comply with their demands. Such was the terror they inſpired, that the pope's nuntio interceded, promiſed to procure their pardon if they would ſubmit, and likewiſe offered them a conſiderable ſum of money. The ſtates of the *Ten Provinces* aſſembled to deliberate the means of advancing their whole pay; but this the archduke, reſolved to try the effects of rigour, oppoſed. The incurſions of the mutineers in *Brabant* were ſupported by others made by the confederate ſoldiers, no leſs ruinous of the country. It is remarkable that the laws of war were ſtrictly obſerved by the mutineers, who formed themſelves into a kind of military eſtabliſhment, under certain laws, which they rigidly obſerved. Certain officers of their cavalry having been won over by the archduke's promiſes, were ſeized, put to the torture, and hanged by the heels. They had not only their officers, their council, and their general; but a ſecretary, a ſeal, arms, and motto. *Albert* had given *Frederic de Berg* orders to march with 7000 men againſt the mutineers, who had now aſſumed the name of *The Squadron*. *Maurice* gave them notice of the approach of the enemy, and deſired, if they ſhould want his protection, to advance nearer his camp; but *Frederic de Berg* made ſo much haſte that he ſurrounded them in *Hoogſtrade*, and would have obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion, had not *Maurice* ſeaſonably arrived to their relief, and obliged *Berg* to retire[t].

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs at the cloſe of the year, during which the ſiege of *Oſtend* was carried on with the ſame vigour as the preceding year, and with as little ſucceſs, though it now became apparent that the garriſon muſt at length ſurrender, for want of room, which daily di- *Continuation of the ſiege of* Oſtend.

[t] GROT. lib. xi. METEREN, lib. xxiv.

miniſhed by inches. The works were conſiderably damaged, many of them were taken by the enemy, but conſtantly ſupplied by others erected in their ſtead. By this means the garriſon continually loſt ground, and they were at laſt cooped up in a very narrow ſpace; though they ſtill maintained their ſpirits, as they received every kind of ſupplies and refreſhments from the harbour.

Progreſs of commerce.

To conclude the tranſactions of the year, the returns from the *Eaſt Indies* were no leſs conſiderable than the former year. Three ſhips, loaded with ſpices, arrived, and brought with them ambaſſadors to prince *Maurice*, from the king of *Achem*, who had no idea of a republic. Theſe ſucceſſes, and the growing commerce of *England* and *France* to the ſame quarter, inſpired the firſt idea of a company, which has ſince proved the ſtrength and bulwark of the *United Provinces*, and the moſt opulent mercantile body in the univerſe. For the farther particulars of this flouriſhing company, the reader may conſult the explicit account already given in the tenth volume of this work. We ſhall only obſerve, that the return of the *Indian* ambaſſador inſpired the *Eaſtern* nations with ſentiments of great reſpect for the *Dutch*, whom they now regarded as equal in power to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*. The iſland of *Ternate*, one of the *Moluccas*, declared in their favour, and was ſupported by the *Hollanders* in a war againſt an inveterate enemy, the king of *Tidore*. In a word, the ſum paid by the company for their charter, the vaſt exportation of home manufactures, the prodigious wealth drawn into the provinces by the ſale of *India* commodities, the aſtoniſhing increaſe of the marine, and the immenſe revenues ariſing from even ſlight duties upon ſo immenſe a trade, raiſed the *United Provinces* to a degree of opulence and grandeur, amidſt all the horrors of a civil war, which will hardly be credited by poſterity. Hence they were enabled to proſecute their military operations, without detriment to commerce; and to foil the attempts of *Philip* and *Albert* to deſtroy their liberties, while they were duping every other nation in trade, and engroſſing to themſelves the commerce of *Aſia*, of the *Levant*, the *Baltic*, and a great part of that of *America* [u].

[u] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. x. Le Clerc, lib. vii. p. 221.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Containing the death of queen Elizabeth, *and the tranſactions which followed, to the concluſion of the truce with* Spain *and the archduke* Albert, *in the year* 1609.

THIS year was uſhered in by the death of queen *Elizabeth*, the ſtrenuous protectreſs of *Holland* againſt the uſurpation of *Spain*. In this, it muſt be confeſſed, ſhe was wholly actuated by ſelf-intereſt; but ſtill the aſſiſtance of men and money afforded to the provinces, laid the foundation of their independency, and often met with unmerited returns. Some writers ſuppoſe, and not improbably, that this event was no way diſagreeable to the ſtates general. The ſpirit of *Elizabeth* was too violent, and the ſuperiority ſhe aſſumed ſo diſguſting, that neceſſity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The *Hollanders* had now thrown off that humility which characteriſed them, when the protection of the *Engliſh* queen was firſt implored; wealth, power, and the ſucceſs of their arms, inſpired a haughtineſs which could not ſuit with the ſpirit of *Elizabeth*. From the character of *James* I. they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but leſs troubleſome and imperious. To ſecure the intereſt of this prince, a ſolemn embaſſy was ſent to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the throne of *England*. The ambaſſadors, after demonſtrating the neceſſity they were under of continuing the war againſt *Spain* and the archduke, beſought his majeſty to continue the *Engliſh* auxiliaries in the pay of the ſtates, and ſuffer them to be recruited; that he would enter into a league with other powers of *Europe*, to oppoſe the aſpiring views of *Spain* after univerſal monarchy; adding, that her late majeſty having deſired they would equip a ſquadron of large men of war to join an armament ſhe intended againſt *Spain*, they had accordingly got ready nine ſhips and two frigates, which were lying in the *Downs* for his majeſty's orders. To this *James* anſwered in general terms, expreſſing his intention to live upon terms of friendſhip with the ſtates general, but his irreſolution as to the meaſures which ſhould be formed for the good of his kingdoms; he was but juſt come to the crown, and they muſt excuſe him if he declined involving himſelf in a war ſo early. * By this the ambaſſadors eaſily perceived that they were

A. D. 1603. *Death of Elizabeth queen of England.*

The ſtates ſend ambaſſadors to James I.

were diſappointed in their views, and their ſituation nothing improved by the change of princes in *England*[a].

THE court of *Spain* was entering upon the moſt vigorous reſolutions to ſupport the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no iſſue by *Iſabella*, and of conſequence the *Netherlands* muſt again revert to the crown of *Spain*. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of *Bolduc*, by a ſtratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, moſt of whom he made priſoners. Upon this *Maurice* determined to lay ſiege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, with which the depth of the roads had prevented his furniſhing himſelf, yet to check the inſolence of the garriſon, and ſtop their incurſions into the territories of the ſtates, was an object of conſiderable importance. Thither *Albert* marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that *Maurice* had not ſeriouſly determined on the ſiege, becauſe he had neglected to occupy all the poſts neceſſary for that purpoſe. To profit by the ſituation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis *de Bella*, with a ſelect body of troops, to ſeize and fortify a poſt which would greatly ſtraiten the enemies quarters. *Maurice* had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to fruſtrate the deſign. He ſet out at the head of 3000 *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *French*, with whom he came upon the marquis, as he was preparing to intrench himſelf, and attacked with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, as firſt put the enemy in confuſion, and ſoon obtained a complete victory, and poſſeſſion of the important poſt diſputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occaſion ſuperior to his enemies, who poſſeſſed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent ſo eſſential to the general. After this, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a ſhort diſtance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But *Albert* had now ſo little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and, under pretence of the ſeverity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters[b]. Such were the operations of the campaign, after the moſt vigorous reſolutions were taken on both ſides, of puſhing their operations with uncommon diligence and perſeverance.

Maurice *defeats a body of* Spaniards.

[a] LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxv. GROT. lib. xii.

[b] Id. ibid.

As

to the ſiege of *Oſtend*, it proceeded but ſlowly; both eneral without, and the governor within, had been ed, but no conſiderable advantage reſulted to either ; *Rivas* commanded the army, and practiſed every ex- it to approve himſelf worthy of the truſt, but he was edly baffled by the diligence of *Vander Noot*, the go- . At laſt he ſucceeded in reducing three out-forts, he joined to the quarter commanded by fort *Albert*, ans of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, rrounded with gabions full of earth. The garriſon d a battery, to fruſtrate the effects of this platform, rew bombs ſo ſucceſsfully, as deſtroyed the whole at- , and coſt the enemy infinite labour and expence. ſeconded the fire of their battery by a vigorous ſally, in 700 *Spaniards* were killed, and an equal number made ers. Diſappointed in this deſign, *Rivas* applied his to cutting off the communication between the garri- d the ſea. *Pompey Torgou*, the beſt engineer in the , contrived a kind of floating battery, which would t the entrance of ſhips, provided it could be ſecured the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. iſe theſe, above half the army was aſſiduouſly employ- ſeveral days, and when the work was almoſt perfected, had the mortification to ſee the whole deſtroyed by a of wind, which drove the ſea with great violence the dyke, and an inceſſant ſhower of bullets poured om the heavy artillery of the garriſon. Upon the though no officer ever laboured with more diligence *Rivas*, he made little progreſs, which ſo chagrined the ke, that he reſolved to commit the conduct of the to the marquis *Spinola*. Before the marquis would the honour intended, he deſired leave to examine the f the ſiege, for which purpoſe he ſent experienced to view the works. Some of theſe diſſuaded him azarding his reputation in an undertaking which eceſſarily prove unſucceſsful, from the impoſſibility of off the communication of the garriſon with the ſea. were of a contrary opinion; they believed the town infallibly ſurrender in time, and that perſeverance ſurmount every difficulty. The love of glory ſpurred mind of *Spinola* to embrace this laſt opinion. Suc- e knew, would raiſe his reputation to the higheſt le of military fame; and ſhould he fail, he hoped it be imputed to the impoſſibility of ſucceeding.

Progreſs of the ſiege of Oſtend.

he month of *October* he took charge of the army, and liſtinguiſhed his capacity. Before the ſpring of the A. D. 1604.

A. D. 1604. ſucceeding year he advanced his works ſo far, that the ſtates general plainly perceived that *Oſtend* could only be ſaved by hazarding a battle, or at leaſt making ſuch a diverſion, as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter propoſal was thought the leaſt hazardous; and upon this the ſtates reſolved, fixing for that purpoſe upon the ſiege of *Sluyce*, a place ſo important, as would certainly engage the archduke's attention. The army, amounting to 15,000 foot, and 2500 horſe, embarked immediately for *Zealand*, where they were met by prince *Maurice*, attended by *William Naſſau* governor of *Friſeland*, *Frederic Henry Naſſau* his brother, general of the horſe, three other princes of the houſe of *Orange*, the prince of *Anhalt*, the deputies of the ſtates general, and the council of ſtate. Next day the fleet ſet ſail for *Flanders*, and the troops debarked on the banks of the canal *Swartagate*, after they had taken two ſmall forts on the iſle of *Cadſant*. It is imagined, that if *Maurice* had proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to have raiſed the ſiege of *Oſtend*, by cutting off all their convoys of proviſion. On the contrary, he rejected the propoſal, as attended with a thouſand difficulties, which could only be foreſeen by thoſe who were experienced in the art of war; but the reaſons he offered, were ſuch as confirmed the ſuſpicions of the deputies, that he was not deſirous of finiſhing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the houſe of *Naſſau*. We ſhall ſee how theſe jealouſies gave birth to a ſtrong faction, which has ever ſince been the chief barrier of the republic, againſt the aſpiring ambition of the princes of *Orange*[e].

The ſtates reſolve to beſiege Sluyce.

MAURICE proceeded with reducing all the outpoſts which could obſtruct the ſiege of *Sluyce*. He took *Iſendyck*, defeated a body of twelve companies of *German* foot poſted at *Ardembourg*, and took poſſeſſion of *Middlebourg* in *Flanders*, which the enemy evacuated at his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, is what cannot be determined at this diſtance of time, through all the miſts of prejudice and paſſion which obſcure this whole tranſaction, and by rendering it equivocal, tarniſh the luſtre of the prince's character. *Albert* had no ſooner intelligence of the motions of *Maurice*,

[e] BENTIVOG. p. iii. lib. vii. METEREN. ubi ſupra.

than

than he detached *Velaſco* general of the horſe, ſince *Mendoza*'s departure, to take poſt at *Damare*, a ſtrong ſituation between *Bruges* and *Sluyce*. Here he was by every poſſible means to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. *Maurice* determined to diſlodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under generals *Ghend* and *Bax*. The *Dutch* met with almoſt unſurmountable obſtacles, by reaſon of the difficulty of the roads, and the reſiſtance made by *Velaſco*. *Bax* was wounded, and his troops on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry ſeaſonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the poſt, and defeated the *Spaniards* with great ſlaughter. Upon this ſucceſs the prince inveſted *Sluyce*, evacuating all the poſts which commanded the town, and taking the beſt meaſures for preventing the garriſon from receiving ſuccours, until his lines were compleated. *Serrano*, a *Spaniſh* officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with neceſſaries, and ſupported only by a ſlender garriſon, of which he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and proviſion were frequently thrown in before *Maurice* had finiſhed his lines: one indeed would have imagined, that he purpoſely ſuffered the garriſon to be reinforced, in order to try the ſtrength of his own capacity, in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At laſt he had ſo completely inveſted it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the ſafety of *Sluyce* in the marquis *Spinola*, who was far advanced in the ſiege of *Oſtend*, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had done for the two preceding years. *Spinola* however had too much diſcernment to undertake diſlodging prince *Maurice*, which was neceſſary for the relief of the garriſon. He found his lines too ſtrong, and drawn too judiciouſly to be forced. After viewing the poſts, and finding them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to *Damare*, where he attacked a detachment commanded by *William* of *Naſſau*, who received him gallantly, and ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole *Spaniſh* army, until he was ſupported by prince *Maurice*, which obliged *Spinola* to retreat, after having loſt above a thouſand men. Next day, the garriſon, reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſion, capitulated on honourable conditions, marched out with their arms and baggage, but ſo emaciated and exhauſted, as to excite the compaſſion of their enemies. The garriſon of *Sluyce*, when it ſurrendered, amounted

Sluyce *taken by prince* Maurice.

amounted to four thouſand men, ſo weakened with diſeaſe and hunger, that ſeveral hundreds dropt down dead in the ſhort march to *Damare*[f].

THE ſucceſs of *Maurice* greatly chagrined *Spinola*. That prince had in the ſpace of three months reduced the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the *Netherlands*; whereas the *Spaniards* had ſpent three years before *Oſtend*, and it was ſtill a matter of doubt with ſome men whether they could ſucceed.

SPINOLA returning to the ſiege, ſoon demonſtrated the poſſibility of reducing the ſtrongeſt ſituations. He blew up mines every where, he made violent aſſaults, and hemmed the beſieged within ſo narrow a circle, as determined the fate of *Oſtend*. Several governors ſince *Noot's* departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either ſlain or grievouſly wounded. Almoſt every ſhot from the enemies batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a ſmall compaſs wholly occupied by the troops. At laſt a ſtrong wind from the ſouth-weſt, at high water, gave the finiſhing blow to the works of the beſieged, which being newly erected in the room of others that were demoliſhed, could not withſtand the fury of the waves. They were all overturned, and it was afterwards in vain for the garriſon to reſiſt; however they refuſed to ſurrender, before the ſentiments of the ſtates and prince *Maurice* were known. A council was immediately called at *Sluyce*, to deliberate whether the relief of the garriſon was to be attempted, or the place immediately ſurrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly diſpatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garriſon and inhabitants obtained the moſt honourable terms, was ſigned the 20th day of *September*, above three years after the town had been firſt inveſted; and it had coſt the lives of an hundred thouſand brave ſoldiers. By means of this fortreſs, the ſtates general employed the whole ſtrength of *Spain* for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a ſuperior army into the *United Provinces*, while it left *Maurice* at liberty to reduce *Rimbach*, *Grave*, and *Sluyce*. Curioſity drew the archduke and ducheſs to ſee the remains of a place which had ſo long and glorioufly reſiſted the whole force of their arms; but ſcarce the veſtiges of what it had been, could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and thoſe fine works, upon which ſuch vaſt ſums had

Oſtend taken by Spinola.

[f] BENTIVOG. tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 177.

been

been laviſhed, were reduced to rubbiſh and a mere chaos. As for *Spinola*, he was loaded with honours, and equally careſſed as if he had terminated the war. He went to the court of *Madrid*, to ſolicit ſupplies for the enſuing year, was graciouſly received by the king, and promiſed all he required. He gave *Philip* a clear detail of the ſtate of the *Netherlands*, and the neceſſity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. By croſſing the *Rhine*, and finiſhing their operations on that ſide, they might eaſily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the ſide of *Zealand*, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the *Hollanders* inacceſſible. He repreſented, in the moſt lively colours, the diſorders conſequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greateſt obſtruction to the ſervice; and demonſtrated, that the diſeaſe was incurable, unleſs they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that ſoldiers ſhould fight upon truſt, and ſtarve in the cauſe of their country. He proved that the damages ſuſtained from the depredations of the mutineers, coſt the government more than if they were ſcrupulouſly paid, and that the miſmanagement of the revenue was the whole ſource of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reaſoning, and they entered immediately on the neceſſary meaſures to ſend *Spinola* back, with full power to remedy all the diſorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marſhal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* forces. He had authority to diſpoſe of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the golden fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally ſhewed the diſcernment of *Philip* and the merit of *Spinola*[z]. A. D. 1605.

DURING the abſence of the marquis *de Spinola*, terrible *Mutiny* ſturbances happened among the *Spaniſh* troops, who were l on the wing of revolting. Several of the mutineers d already entered into the ſervice of the ſtates; others ere plundering the ten provinces, and ſome had the inlence to demand the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of the *Netherds*, as ſecurity for the payment of their arrears. *Albert*'s tuation was truly deplorable; the ſcarcity of money renered him incapable of ſatisfying the troops, and his loſt uthority prevented his protecting his ſubjects from their iolences. He became, through no fault of his own,

[z] Id. ibid. METEREN. lib. xxv. LE CLERC, lib. viii.

equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, while the ſtates at the ſame time refuſed the ſupplies neceſſary for the maintenance of the court, until their demands were anſwered, and aſſurances given that the foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn. *Spinola* fortunately arrived in time to ſtop the progreſs of an evil, which muſt ſoon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began with immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redreſſing the grievances of the people, and giving all poſſible ſatisfaction to the ſtates. Then he ſet on foot his levies, which were proſecuted with ſuch diligence in *Germany*, *Italy*, and the provinces, that the ſtates general of the *United Provinces* became ſoon ſenſible of the neceſſity of oppoſing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude.

Motions of prince Maurice *and* Spinola.

MAURICE had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horſe in *Germany*. The king of *France* promiſed ſuccours in a ſecret manner, and adviſed the ſtates to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and ſtop the deſigns of *Spinola*. But with the utmoſt endeavours *Maurice* had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of *May* he made a bold attempt on *Antwerp*, which proved fruitleſs, though it was planned with the utmoſt prudence, and conducted with all imaginable reſolution. The ſhipwreck of the veſſels employed in the enterprize ruined the whole, and afforded the *Spaniards* an opportunity of making a great number of priſoners. It was further intended by this expedition, to attack *Spinola* at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, before his whole ſtrength was collected; but both enterprizes failed through a variety of croſs accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the *Scheld* with every neceſſary, reſolved to remove the ſeat of war into *Flanders*, to prevent *Spinola*'s deſign of penetrating into the *United Provinces*; and the *Italian* general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themſelves on every ſide, and commence hoſtilities in whatever quarter was found moſt convenient. *Maurice* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Iſendyck*, and *Spinola* imagining his deſign was to attack *Saſte Gand*, or *Bruges*, removed to a ſituation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being ſurrounded with fens and marſhes [h].

[h] GROT. lib. xiv. METEREN, ibid.

WHILE

WHILE the two principal armies were attentively obſerving each other, the archduke detached the count *de Buguoi* with a body of 8000 men, to ſeize upon certain paſſages of the *Rhine*. This officer, after defeating ſeveral ſmall parties of the enemy, reduced *Keiſers-waert*, into which the coadjutor of *Cologne* put a garriſon, thereby infringing the neutrality with reſpect to the *United Provinces*. The motions of count *Buguoi* put *Maurice* in fear that an attempt would be made on *Reinbach*; to prevent which, he detached his brother *Henry*, and *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*, to put this important place in a ſtate of defence. They encamped on the *Rhine*, threw a bridge over the river, and choſe ſuch a ſituation as ſhould enable them to ſuccour *Weſel*, *Reez*, *Emmerick*, or *Rheimberg*. *Weſel* armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of *Liguen*, *Oldenzeel*, *Grol*, and *Bravoort*, demanded ſupplies of them, and proviſions from the deputies who attended prince *Henry*, which they promiſed, and neglected, not imagining that *Spinola* would penetrate ſo far. In this they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in *Flanders*; left the reduction of that province to count *Frederic de Bergh*, and ſuddenly arrived with 5000 men on the banks of the *Rhine*, halting at *Beerort*. This river he croſſed on the 24th of *July*, having received intelligence that the provinces of *Friſeland* and *Overyſſel* were defended only by a ſmall body of forces. To ſecure his retreat, he ordered the count *de Buguoi* to build forts in certain poſts; and to conceal his deſign, it was debated in the archduke's cabinet-council, whether *Grave*, *Sluyce*, *Breda*, or *Bergen-op-zoom*, ſhould be inveſted. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy's councils, the ſtates little imagined the *United Provinces* were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions neceſſary to their ſecurity.

As ſoon as the forts at *Keiſers-waert* were finiſhed, *Spinola* laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with univerſal approbation. He could not avoid traverſing the dominions of the duke of *Cleves*, and of other neutral princes; but he determined that his army ſhould maintain ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, as ſhould afford no juſt cauſe of complaint; he ſent the count *de Serle* to aſſure the magiſtrates of the towns, that no violence ſhould be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count *de Buguoi* with a ſtrong detachment, to proceed with the reſt of the army through *Cleves* and *Weſtphalia*, and maintaining ſuch regularity and order, as even forces praiſe

Spinola's *conqueſts.*

from the *Dutch* writers. Having penetrated into *Overyſſel*, he firſt preſented himſelf before *Oldenzeel*, at a little diſtance from *Linguen*, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garriſoned. At the ſame time *Trivulcio* was detached to occupy all the poſts around *Linguen*, and take the proper meaſures for forming the ſiege. The garriſon of *Linguen* conſiſted of five hundred *German* ſoldiers, under the conduct of *Cobbin*, who had juſt begun to repair the fortifications, ſuffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The ſtates had even neglected to lay in the neceſſary ſtores, becauſe they hoped prince *Maurice* could return ſoon enough from *Flanders*, to fruſtrate all the ſchemes laid by *Spinola*; but they ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the ſupply of the provinces. The town was inveſted, and the approaches were ſo vigorouſly carried on, that *Cobbin* capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in *Spinola*, to check the ardour of his troops, and the rapidity of conqueſt, by loſing time in repairing the fortifications of *Linguen*; but his deſign was to ſecure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, ſhould he be forced to retire on the arrival of *Maurice*. He knew that a ſtrong garriſon would be able to employ the prince's ſtrength, while the *Spaniſh* forces might leiſurely quit *Overyſſel*, and carry their conqueſts into another province [1].

PRINCE *Maurice* was no ſooner acquainted with the intention of the *Italian* general, than he iſſued the neceſſary orders for preſerving his conqueſts in *Flanders*, and proceeded with his army to oppoſe the enemy in *Overyſſel*. His firſt deſign was to relieve *Linguen*; but the garriſon having ſurrendered before his arrival, he made diſpoſitions for covering all the other towns that lay expoſed. *William* of *Naſſau*, governor of *Friſeland* and *Groningen*, likewiſe begun his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehenſions of the people, and ſecure their fidelity to the ſtates, in which he proved ſucceſsful. The great object was to prevent *Spinola* from croſſing the *Yſſel*; to effect which, *Maurice* ſtrictly watched his motions. After he was joined by *William*, the army amounted to nine thouſand infantry, and three thouſand cavalry, and was conſiderably augmented by a number of *Spaniſh* mutineers,

[1] LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxvii.

who now wholly deſerted that ſervice, and proved extremely faithful to the ſtates general. *Villar*, the chief officer among the deſerters, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron *de la Chaus*, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of *Maurice*, and the advanced ſeaſon, obliged *Spinola* to retire, after he had left ſtrong garriſons in *Linguen* and *Oldenzeel*. He cantoned his troops round *Malheim*, at ſuch diſtances as furniſhed the prince with the idea of ſurpriſing the *Spaniards*. A ſcheme for this purpoſe was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the deſign projected, the *Spaniards* would have ſuſtained an irretrievable blow. Prince *Frederic* and general *Bax* were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprize, which failed through ſome miſunderſtanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were aſtoniſhed to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have catched them unprepared; however, the onſet was puſhed with ſuch impetuoſity, as would have produced the deſired effect, had not *Spinola* arrived with freſh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obſtinate conflict turned the fortune of the day, when a body of *Dutch* infantry appeared in ſupport of their countrymen. The action was now a ſecond time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the *Spaniards* would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of *French*, commanded by the count *de Chatiller*, ſecured a retreat to the *Dutch*, by keeping up a briſk unremitting fire on the enemy's flank, extended towards the river.

Prince Maurice checks his progreſs, but fails in an enprize finely projected.

Such was the iſſue of a manœuvre upon which *Maurice* placed great dependance, as it was planned with ſo much prudence, as ſeemed to inſure ſucceſs. The loſs was conſiderable on both ſides, but writers are divided with reſpect to the number. *Bentivoglio* alledges that *Spinola* left 300 dead in the field; but that the loſs of the *Dutch* exceeded 500 men, beſides *Emmerville*, the beſt officer among the *French* auxiliaries [k]. *Meteren*, on the contrary, affirms that *Maurice* had 200 men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas *Grotius* reckons the loſs pretty equal, but the victory clearly in favour of *Spinola*, the *Dutch* being not only diſappointed in the in-

[k] Bentivog. p. iii. lib. vii. p. 187. Meteren. lib. xxvii. p. 574. Grot. lib. xiv. p. 470.

tention

tention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. Upon the whole, prince *Henry Frederic* is blamed univerſally by all hiſtorians, for delaying the attack, and giving the enemy time to recover their ſurprize, draw up their forces, and acquaint *Spinola* with their ſituation. What beyond doubt determines the event of this engagement ſo much diſputed, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid ſiege to *Wachtendock*, and reduced this ſtrong fortreſs, without the prince's having it in his power to relieve the garriſon. While this ſiege employed the count *de Buguoi*, to keep up the credit of his arms, *Maurice* made an attempt on *Gueldres*, which proved unſucceſsful, and rather contributed to augment the diſgrace he endeavoured to avoid. Theſe misfortunes, however unjuſtly, affected the reputation of this great commander, who was often under the neceſſity of acting agreeable to the inſtructions of the ſtates, contrary to his own ſentiments; frequently he entruſted the execution of delicate enterprizes to his officers, and was always curbed by a faction which now arrived at great ſtrength, and openly profeſſed themſelves enemies to the aſpiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the houſe of *Orange*. With this *Maurice* ended a campaign, which on the whole proved honourable to *Spinola*, though it detracted nothing from the great merit of prince *Maurice*.

Naval affairs.

WE ſhall conclude the tranſactions of the year, with obſerving the rapid progreſs of the infant *India* company, which not only received the joyful news of vaſt conqueſts made in *Aſia*, of ſeveral rich captures of *Portugueſe Indiamen*, but of the ſafe arrival of thirteen large ſhips, loaded with ſpices, and the moſt valuable merchandiſe of *India*. About the ſame time, a *Dutch* ſquadron equipped for that purpoſe, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of tranſports, which was carrying a battalion of *Spaniſh* forces to recruit *Spinola*'s army. The tranſports were chiefly *Engliſh*, except a few *Hamburghers*: they hoiſted the *Engliſh* flag; notwithſtanding which the *Dutch* admiral attacked them with great fury, ſunk ſome, took others, and purſued the reſt to *Dover*, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the *Engliſh* cannon. Five companies of ſoldiers were taken or deſtroyed, the ſeven remaining companies were blocked up for ſeveral weeks, and *James* was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality he declared, contenting himſelf with fruitleſs, diſregarded remonſtrances. His cautious, timid diſpoſition, could not long eſcape the diſcernment of

of the *Dutch* (A), and they ſeemed willing to revenge upon him the haughty uſage they were compelled to bear from the ſpirited *Elizabeth*. This year was likewiſe ſucceſsful in cruizes upon the *Dunkirk* privateers, many of which were taken, and their crews immediately hanged; with which they were ſo terrified, as to keep cloſe in port, and ſuffer the *Dutch* commerce to proceed unmoleſted.

THE year was uſhered in with demands from the council of ſtate of the *United Provinces*, for ſupplies to ſupport the expences of the enſuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were conſiderably augmented, without the armies being proportionably increaſed. Twelve hundred thouſand florins were aſſigned for the extraordinary expences of the land-forces; beſides which, the council propoſed that the provinces ſhould liquidate all the ſums due ſince the year 1599, which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces exclaimed violently againſt an exaction, which would entirely impoveriſh the people, though it was no more than they had ſubſcribed for the public ſervice, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince *Maurice* to ruin *Spinola*, and terminate the war in a ſingle campaign. Still however a faction exclaimed againſt the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonſtrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defenſively, and was even too weak to ſuccour *Rhimberg*, when beſieged in the month of *Auguſt*.

A. D 1606. *Difficulties about raiſing the ſupplies in* Holland.

SPINOLA's circumſtances were altogether different. That general ſet out, when the campaign was finiſhed, to *Bruſſels*, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was ſo fortunate as to have all his propoſals approved; but the concurrence of the court of *Spain* was neceſſary for the carrying them into execution, and it was preſumed the lively repreſentations of *Spinola* would greatly influence his catholic majeſty. Accordingly he ſet out for *Madrid*, and was received by the king with the ut-

Spinola *obtains promiſes from the king of* Spain *of the neceſſary ſupplies.*

(A) It muſt however be confeſſed, that the ſtates general had reaſon to reſent the conduct of king *James*, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the *Spaniards*. He had not only withdrawn the *Engliſh* forces, but ſuffered them to be employed in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and recruited in *England*. Beſides, the tranſports on this occaſion were almoſt all *Engliſh*, which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he profeſſed.

moſt

moſt cordiality. His propoſals were immediately applauded, but the difficulty was to raiſe the ſufficient ſupplies. Three hundred thouſand doubloons a month, beſides the revenues of *Flanders*, were demanded for the vigorous proſecution of the war, which was a ſum too vaſt even for the *Spaniſh* monarchy, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Mexico* and *Peru*, but already drained by continual wars of near forty years ſtanding. The beſt meaſures poſſible were however taken to anſwer *Spinola*'s expectation, and with ſuch alacrity did the whole court embrace the ſcheme preſented, that an advanced ſum of money was immediately remitted to *Bruſſels*, to make freſh levies. But the plan of operations was in ſome reſpects diſconcerted by the tedioufneſs of the negotiatons at *Madrid*, and a fever which *Spinola* afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the *Netherlands*, until the ſummer-ſeaſon was pretty far advanced.

THIS delay probably ſaved the *United Provinces*. The ſtates ſpent the whole winter in deliberating the means of ſupporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be neceſſary. In the ſpring the levies were not begun, and even then made under a variety of diſappointments. The *French* king, embroiled with the duke *de Bouillon*, forbid troops to be raiſed in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of *Brunſwick* obſtructed the levies made in *Germany*; above all, the narrow parſimony, and unſeaſonable frugality of the *Dutch*, had almoſt ruined their affairs. At laſt the buſineſs of recruiting was undertaken, and *Henry* permitted a ſmall body of *French* to paſs into the *Netherlands*, before the end of the campaign [1].

He takes the field, and enters the provinces.

SPINOLA did not heſitate about ſeizing the advantage gained by his ſuperiority. He had two armies in the field; one compoſed of 12,000 foot and 2000 horſe, he led in perſon; the other, amounting to 10,000 infantry, and 1200 cavalry, was under the direction of the count *de Buguoi*. Both were provided with every neceſſary, and conſtantly attended by 2000 waggons loaded with proviſion. Advancing to the country of *Twente*, *Spinola* ordered the count *de Buguoi* to paſs the *Vaal*, and enter the enemy's country; but in this he was fruſtrated by the vigilance of *Maurice*, who raiſed ſuch a variety of obſtructions, as it was impoſſible to ſurmount. Baffled in his principal deſign, *Spinola* reſolved not to loſe the whole

[1] LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxviii.

fruits of his ſuperiority, and accordingly inveſted *Grol*, which obliged *Maurice* to march to the relief of the garriſon. He met with numberleſs difficulties in ſuccouring the place; but was on the point of ſucceeding, and had wrote to the governor an aſſurance of ſpeedy aſſiſtance, when the letter being intercepted by *Spinola*, and the ſiege vigorouſly puſhed, compelled the garriſon to ſurrender in deſpair. This obliged the prince to retire, and ſo animated the *Spaniſh* troops, that *Spinola* undertook the ſiege of *Rhimberg*. The prince *de Soubiſe*, and ſeveral volunteers of diſtinction, immediately threw themſelves into the town, with a view of diſplaying their courage; the defence was obſtinate, but colonel *Utenhove* was at length under the neceſſity of capitulating. *Maurice* in vain practiſed every method to ſave *Rhimberg*; he would even have ventured a battle, had the ſtates approved of ſo deſperate a remedy; but all was in vain, the activity of *Spinola* rendered his utmoſt endeavours fruitleſs.

His troops mutiny.

SCARCE had the *Spaniſh* general compleated the reduction of this ſtrong town, when the troops mutinied. At firſt he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reaſon uſeleſs, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the paſſions of the mutineers, who thought themſelves hardly enough uſed in being deprived of their pay. They even encreaſed to 2000 horſe and foot, retreating towards *Breda*, where they could inſure quarters. *Maurice* took advantage of the ſpirit of rebellion, and the ſickneſs that prevailed in the *Spaniſh* army. He marched towards *Overyſſel*, with intention to recover the late loſſes ſuſtained by the provinces. He begun with *Lochem*, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to *Grol*; but he had ſcarce formed the ſiege of this place, when he foreſaw numberleſs difficulties in the proſecution. Still however he purſued his deſign, in expectation that the confuſion in *Spinola*'s army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Owing to this confidence, he neglected purſuing his courſe with the uſual precaution. *Spinola*'s intelligence was good; he aſſembled eight thouſand infantry, and 1200 horſe, and ſet out with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garriſon, informed of his intention, kept up a briſk fire on the beſiegers. *Maurice* however had advice of *Spinola*'s march; he conſulted the deputies what ſhould be done, and had their conſent to hazard a battle, if neceſſary. But he did not chuſe to riſque the ſafety of the provinces

provinces on the iſſue of an engagement; though *French* auxiliaries, and even the *Dutch* troops, loudly manded battle. In this he certainly acted with prude though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to cen his courage, and at the ſame time his deſire to prol the war. *Maurice* had too much fortitude and true m nanimity to enter upon dangerous meaſures for n popular applauſe. He had already exhibited too m proofs of courage, to be juſtly taxed with cowardice, he left his general conduct to ſpeak for his fidelity. a word, he reſolved to retire, and executed his pur in ſo maſterly a manner, that *Spinola* did not think p per to purſue, and contented himſelf with reinforcing garriſon [m].

He relieves Grol.

AFTER *Spinola* had accompliſhed the relief of *Grol*, returned to *Bruſſels*, to remedy the diſorders wh threatened deſtruction to the archduke's affairs. Ev method was tried to appeaſe the mutineers, and in ſo meaſure with ſucceſs. Such was the confidence they poſed in *Spinola*, that they returned, upon his promiſe t their arrears would ſoon be advanced; but the ren tances from *Spain* falling ſhort of expectation, he fa in his engagements, and yet ſtill had the good fort to retain the affections of the ſoldiers, who ſhi the blame from him, upon the ſhoulders of the ar duke. In fact, *Spinola* and his friends had advan large ſums to the crown of *Spain*, of which they be now to dread the loſs, together with the blighting of th laurels acquired in the two laſt campaigns. But the ficulty conſiſted in extricating himſelf. To throw up command, would but leſſen all his proſpects of be reimburſed, and to continue his commiſſion, would hazarding the reputation he had gained with ſo much and labour. In theſe circumſtances his only hope v that the *United Provinces* would not take advantag the ſituation of the *Spaniſh* army; but would, from t uſual principle of frugality, involve *Maurice* in the f difficulties that attended him from the neceſſities of court of *Spain*. Such was the ſituation of affairs at cloſe of the campaign. We ſhall ſee how the efforts the provinces ſucceeded on the ocean [n].

Naval affairs.

THE ſtates general perceiving that little progreſs was m in the land-operations, thought the moſt effectual met

[m] BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. vii. p. 107. [n] LE CLERC, i GROT. lib. xiv.

ſtreſſing *Spain*, and of concluding the war at a ſmall nce, would be to harraſs the *Spaniſh* ſhipping, and oy the commerce of that kingdom. In purſuing this n, not only the expences of a fleet would probably imburſed by captures, but the *Dutch* trade greatly oted, and new colonies erected on the ruins of the *gueſe* eſtabliſhments. One grand fleet was accord- equipped to cruize on the *Spaniſh* coaſt, to watch arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce ie provinces. This armament was preparing, when e was received that a *Dutch* ſquadron of ſeven ſhips fallen in with eight galleons from *Peru*. The *Spa-* s attacked the *Dutch* with great vigour, but met with arm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, the reſt ſo roughly handled, that three foundered a and were loſt. This misfortune was ſeverely felt he king of *Spain*, though it produced no immediate ntage to the *Hollanders*. It raiſed his indignation to a height, that he fitted out a ſquadron to intercept *Dutch*, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, ſent orders to the admiral to treat the priſoners in ſame manner as the *Dutch* had uſed the *Dunkirk* es; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. revenge this cruelty, the ſtates gave orders to admiral *ain*, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the *cca* flota in the river *Tagus*, and burn and deſtroy the e without mercy; but he was fruſtrated in this at- t, and forced to ſatisfy himſelf with ſome unſucceſsful nts on the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. As he was to quit his ſtation, eight galleons homeward bound diſcovered. *Hautain* immediately gave chace, and two of the galleons on the rocks, where they pe- ; the reſt entered the *Tagus* and eſcaped. Soon af- ie was overtaken in a terrible ſtorm, in which the e fleet was diſperſed, and ſeveral ſhips loſt. His ſqua- was now reduced to thirteen ſail, including frigates brigantines, when the flota of don *Faiſardo*, compoſed ine men of war, and eighteen galleons, was deſcried. immenſity of the booty in view determined the *b* admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly inferior trength. He endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, was diſappointed. Vice-admiral *Claſſen* was ſeparated his tack from the reſt of the *Dutch* fleet, attacked by ſhips of the enemy, and engaged with the utmoſt . He defended himſelf for ſeveral hours with great epidity; but his mainmaſt being ſhot away, and his ſhip

ſhip otherwiſe greatly ſhattered, he reſolved to blow himſelf and crew into the air, rather than ſtrike to an enemy who had lately ſo cruelly treated his countrymen. This he executed with admirable conſtancy, and periſhed with 150 brave ſoldiers and ſkilful mariners. The engagement was warm between *Hautain* and the *Spaniſh* admiral, but night ſeparated the combatants, and prevented the deſtruction of both parties, who were each reſolved to die or conquer *. Such were the tranſactions of this year, towards the cloſe of which the richeſt *India* fleet ever ſeen from *India* arrived, with the agreeable news of further advantages gained in *Aſia*, and the proſperous ſituation of the company's affairs.

The court of Spain *begins to talk of peace.*

THE infinite loſſes ſuſtained by the *Spaniards*, by ſea and land, in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *America*; the immenſe expences of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury; the vaſt debts contracted by the crown; and the mutinous diſpoſition of the troops, all ſuggeſted the firſt idea of the neceſſity of a truce with the obſtinate *Hollanders*. It was now ſeriouſly deliberated in council, and the motion ſupported by the perſons moſt attached to the intereſts of their king and country. The *Portugueſe*, who were the greateſt ſufferers in their *Eaſt India* traffic, made ſtrong remonſtrances to *Philip* III. on the damages ſuſtained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had loſt an infinity of rich ſhips, were deprived of their beſt eſtabliſhments in the *Indies*, ſtripped of their commerce, and in the open way to deſtruction, if a ſpeedy iſſue was not put to the diſturbances in the *Low Countries*, which had already coſt *Spain* and *Portugal* above double the intrinſic value of the *Seven Provinces*. They aſſerted, that the difficulty of the war would every year encreaſe, with the inability of *Spain* to ſupport it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural ſituation of the provinces, ſurrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impregnable; and if *Spain* could not ſucceed through the ſpirited conduct of ſuch generals as the duke of *Parma* and the marquis *Spinola*, while ſhe exerted her utmoſt force, how could ſhe expect a fortunate iſſue under any other generals, when her ſtrength was ſpent and exhauſted? *Philip*, wholly occupied with the purſuit of pleaſure, was naturally pacific, and had proſecuted the war by the advice of his council, rather than from inclination.

* GROT. lib. XV.

His

His miniſters inſinuated to him that the *French* king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominion over the *Netherlands*. It was, beyond doubt, leſs diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to *Spain*, to ſuffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free ſtate, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large ſtrides to an equality with the houſe of *Auſtria*. The ſucceſs of the infant *India* company, afterwards eſtabliſhed upon a larger baſis, made the king apprehenſive. not only of the loſs of his colonies in the *Eaſt*, but of that vaſt empire he poſſeſſed in the *Weſt Indies*. It was at the ſame time whiſpered, that the *Dutch* would afford the *Moors* ſhipping to tranſport vaſt armies into *Spain*; and indeed it is aſtoniſhing that the provinces, amidſt all their diſtreſſes, never attempted making this diverſion. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and *Iſabella*, quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their ſubjects, determined *Spain* to make overtures for a truce. Even *Spinola*, for the reaſons we have before mentioned, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the *Ten Provinces* in ſecurity and peace, than riſque the whole *Netherlands*, and ruin *Spain*, in the fruitleſs attempt to conquer rebel ſubjects, who had too long taſted the ſweets of liberty, ever again to bear with eaſe the ſhackles of monarchy and abſolute dominion. He ſaid, that if to their growing empire in *Aſia*, they ſhould add eſtabliſhments in *America*, *Spain* would be reduced to its primitive poverty [p].

THESE ſentiments of the *Spaniſh* court tranſpired before any formal propoſals had been made. In *Holland* ſome alledged, that the report of pacific deſigns was induſtriouſly propagated, only to lull the provinces into ſecurity, and catch them napping and unprepared. Numbers of people pretended to diſcredit the rumour, becauſe they lived, and had raiſed fortunes, by the war. Others found out, that a peace would diſſolve the union of *Utrecht*, and bring the trade of *Holland* and *Zealand* back again to *Antwerp*. On the other hand, the provinces moſt expoſed wiſhed for an equitable peace, and all moderate perſons deſired to ſee the public tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed on ſuch a footing as ſhould ſecure the liberty of the provinces. Theſe were the general ſentiments of both parties, when the commiſſioners *Walrave* and *Wittenhorſt* arrived, from the archduke, at the *Hague*, to make ſome propoſals touching a congreſs. Prince *Maurice*

Objections to a peace in Holland.

[p] BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. viii. p. 204.

was then in *Overyſſel*; and the deputies to whom the baſſadors addreſſed themſelves, gave ſuch diſcouragem that they returned to *Bruſſels*, without having publi communicated their inſtructions. They were again ſer the *Hague*, in the month of *December*, with orders to quaint the ſtates, that they had inſtructions from the a duke to aſſure them of the ſincerity of his pacific views, readineſs to grant any reaſonable terms, and to demand conditions as the *United Provinces* were dete[illegible]ined to acc They were further impowered to offer the ſtates eith peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixi congreſs, where the articles might be adjuſted. To t aſſurances and demands the ſtates general refuſed to giv anſwer, becauſe the ambaſſadors had brought no letters preſsly addreſſed to the ſtates. This difficulty was not f ſeen; but, to remove it, one of the ambaſſadors ſet for *Bruſſels*, obtained the letter required, and returne the *Hague*. Now the ambaſſador demanded a public dience of the ſtates general, and obtained it on the 3 *January*. They read publickly the archduke's letter, A. D. 1607. *The archduke ſends deputies to the* Hague, *and treats with the* Dutch *as a free people.* ſeſſing his hearty deſire to heal up thoſe wounds which ſo long afflicted the *Netherlands*; they commented upon letter, ſet forth the uncertain event of war, the miſer the people, the duty of conciliating fellow-ſubjects unl pily divided by civil diſcord; with a variety of other top to which the ſtates general anſwered: That while the a duke formed any right to the *United Provinces*, it was poſſible they could ever conſent to a treaty; that all world allowed they were born a free people (A), and highneſſes could never make out their pretenſions to d nion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on ſtates to recover what had been inſidiouſly and oppreſſ wreſted from them; that they could not conſent in ſcience, in honour, or ſafety, to treat with princes who f ed pretenſions on their undoubted liberties, until ſuch tenſions were ſolemnly abjured; as for the reſt, they

(A) This aſſertion would ſeem to allude to the ſolemn declaration, publiſhed in 1581, by the ſtates aſſembled at the *Hague*, whereby they deprived *Philip* II. of all right, dominion, and ſovereignty over the *United Provinces*, which they henceforward declared to be a free ſtate; becauſe his m had firſt diſſolved the ori contract, by divers infra and violations of the en ments ſubſiſting between and his ſubjects. *Vid. H fort. demonſt.* 4. *lib.* 1. *des Provinces Unies.*

clared they would be no ways acceſſary to the evil conſequences which might enſue, ſince their reſolutions were all formed in ſelf-defence, and founded on juſtice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that ſubjects might lawfully oppoſe the ambitious encroachments of their ſovereigns, and draw their ſwords againſt princes in defence of liberty [q]. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors returned, promiſing that they would ſoon acquaint the ſtates with the archduke's ſentiments.

It muſt be acknowleged that the general ſentiments of the *United Provinces* were averſe to peace; that the ſtates treated the archduke cavalierly, and raiſed all poſſible obſtructions in the way of a negotiation; but ſuch were the circumſtances of the courts of *Madrid* and *Bruſſels*, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, upon any tolerable conditions. With this view *John Neyen*, an eccleſiaſtic, extremely converſant in politics, inſinuating in his addreſs, able, penetrating, ſubtle, and eloquent, was again diſpached to the *Hague*. *Neyen* was acquainted perſonally with the principal men in *Holland*; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, becauſe he had the art to make his opinions ſeem moderate. On his arrival he found the ſtates immoveably fixed in their reſolution to liſten to no terms, unleſs they were treated and addreſſed as a free people. To this the archduke had ſtrong objections; becauſe it was in fact acknowledging that he had hitherto maintained an unjuſt war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no juſt pretenſions to the ſovereignty of the *United Provinces*. He apprehended that ſuch a conceſſion would be injurious to *Philip*'s and his own reputation; and he was ſenſible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, neceſſity overcame his ſcruples, and he determined to grant the demands of the ſtates general, hoping that if the negotiation ſhould turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuſe the means he had practiſed of reſtoring peace to his ſubjects; but he firſt gave inſtructions to *Neyen* to endeavour to procure ſome mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. *Neyen* expatiated to the ſtates on the archduke's pious intentions to ſpare the effuſion of chriſtian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the moſt equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of ſovereigns and

[q] Baudius de Judiciis, lib. i. p. 4.

ſubjects, and enumerated with admirable addreſs all the arguments in favour of indefeaſible right, a topic ſince that time ſo hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the bleſſings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the *United Provinces*, in particular, would deduce from the eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity; but he artfully avoided touching upon the liberty of the ſtates general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitleſs, he returned to *Bruſſels*, and was in a few days ſent back with full powers to negotiate with the *United Provinces*, as a free ſtate, over which neither the catholic king or the archduke had any juſt claim to ſovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the ſtates general diſpoſed; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congreſs; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a ſuſpenſion of arms for the ſpace of eight months, during which no hoſtilities of any kind ſhould be permitted; provided, however, that the propoſals ſhould in eight days be accepted. Theſe overtures were contained in a writing, ſigned by the archduke on the 13th day of *March* 1607, and accepted by a ſimilar writing ſigned by the ſtates on the 24th of *April*. At the ſame time, an order to ſuſpend hoſtilities was reciprocally ſent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either ſervice. The articles of truce were exchanged at *Lillo*; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of ſuſpenſion to his envoy *Neyen*, who deſired leave to repair for this purpoſe to the *Hague*. As *Neyen* received no immediate anſwer to his requeſt, he conſtrued the ſilence of the ſtates into conſent, ſet out for the *Hague*, and on the firſt day of *June* publiſhed an edict, whereby he declared that the ſuſpenſion took place at ſea as well as land, limiting it however to the *Northern* ocean and the *Britiſh* channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjuſted, and ſeveral other particulars, which had before been omitted. Foreign miniſters, particularly the *French* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, were made acquainted with the determination of the ſtates, and invited to ſend plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the congreſs. In conſequence, the *French* king ſent the preſident *Jeannin*, and the ſieurs *Roiſſi* and *Buſenval* to *Holland*, where, on their firſt arrival, they gently expoſtulated with the ſtates, for having come to a reſolution ſo important to the tranquillity of *Europe*, without having previouſly acquainted their maſter with their intention, and received the advice of ſo conſtant and neceſſary

eſſary an ally [r]. *James*, king of *England*, likewiſe proiſed that his ambaſſadors, *Spencer* and *Winwood*, ſhould atnd the congreſs.

Now the chief difficulty that remained, regarded the manner of opening the negotiation. The deputies of the ſtates oreſaw the great revolution in affairs which ſo ſudden a change om war to peace would produce, eſpecially ſhould prince *Maurice* diſapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by he prince, in the long courſe of his ſervices, rendered him ery powerful and very popular. His reputation was a vaſt ructure raiſed on the firm foundation laid by his father; a uilding erected by courage, virtue, and public ſpirit, on the afis of patriotiſm. *Maurice* was not only at the head of the my, but he held the ſtadtholderſhip of four out of the ſeven rovinces, and the reſt were under his direction, as his two ouſins were governors. Several of the ſtates became jeaous of his authority and ambition; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that *Maurice*'s popularity would ſpire at abſolute dominion, and gave themſelves up to e direction of *Barneveldt*, penſioner of *Holland*, a miiſter equally able and faithful. The continuance of the ar would certainly encreaſe the prince's authority, and truce proportionably diminiſh it, and open the way to the tertion of the functions of civil power: this diſpoſed the hole party to wiſh for the treaty, and to advance its proeſs and iſſue with all their weight and influence. It was rther neceſſary, they alleged, to ſhew their allies that the ates had it in their power to conclude peace when they eaſed, which would render them more independent on eir allies, oblige *France* to declare more openly, and inice all their allies to afford real, inſtead of imaginary, aſſtance and large promiſes. On the other ſide, the *Orange* irty threw all poſſible obſtructions in the way of the eaty, receiving every propoſal with great coldneſs and arogance, ſtarting punctilious difficulties upon every expreſon, and obliging the archduke upon every trifling occaon to ſend expreſſes into *Spain*, and wait their return, rithout advancing a ſtep in the negotiation. In this inteeſt may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the hole body of militia by land and ſea. The former, by ong habit, had contracted invincible prejudices againſt *Spain*, and the latter propoſed the improvement of their fortunes. But there was one conſideration which weighed ſtrongly in favour of the oppoſite faction. This was the

Obſtructions raiſed by the ſtates to the progreſs of the negotiation.

[r] METEREN, lib. xxviii. GROT. Hiſt. lib. xvi.

decline of the vaſt *Spaniſh* monarchy, ſo formidable under *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. owing to extenſive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, *France* was riſing to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterpriſing, conſtant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domeſtic diſcord and misfortune, by a peace with the houſe of *Auſtria*. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accuſtomed to conſtant heats and commotions, would not long remain quiet without exerciſe; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be neceſſary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the ſame time promote the views of his own ambition. *Flanders* had anciently formed a part of the *Gallic* monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of *France*, An enterpriſe to recover the ancient demeſnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and ſeemed perfectly congenial to the diſpoſition of *Henry*, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this ſide, if invited by any greater decay of the *Spaniſh* power in the *Netherlands*. It was further obſerved, that the authority of *Spain* in the *Low Countries* was ſupported by treaſures, which came by long and perilous voyages from *Spain*; and by troops drawn from thence, from *Italy* or *Germany*, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the *Ten Provinces* was inconſiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealouſies both of *France* and *England*; but if *Henry* were once maſter of *Flanders*, the body of the *French* monarchy would be ſo great, ſo entire, ſo populous, and flouriſhing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the *United Provinces* fatal, and completely deciſive. Then would they have laboured in vain againſt *Philip*, and fought out that long and glorious ſtruggle, not for abſolute freedom, but for a change of maſters. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of *Maurice*, that actuated that able miniſter *Barneveldt*, though many of his party were excited by perſonal reſentment to the prince, and drawn over by the preſents and promiſes of *Spain*[s].

Besides the contending intereſts of the two parties, the negotiation met with another obſtruction. The archduke had indeed given his ſolemn aſſurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king *Philip*, ratifying the means he propoſed, and the terms he ſhould ſtipulate in the treaty;

[s] Bentivog. p. 209. Meurs. Rer. Belg. lib. v.

but

but hitherto no declaration of the *Spaniſh* court had appeared to confirm the preliminary ſteps to the negotiation. Such a declaration was neceſſary, becauſe the *Netherlands* reverted to the crown of *Spain* at the deceaſe of the archduke without iſſue; in which caſe, all treaties with him would prove void, unleſs they were concluded with *Philip*'s conſent. At laſt the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained; of which *Spinola* gave notice to the ſtates, deſiring a paſſport for *Lewis Verreiken*, the archduke's ambaſſador. When *Verreiken* preſented the declaration to the ſtates general aſſembled at the *Hague*, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promiſed ſtrictly to obſerve the armiſtice; but that he had deſignedly ſlurred over the clauſe where it was ſpecified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free ſtate, over which he had no juriſdiction. Not only this, but ſeveral other particulars in the manner and ſtile of the act, were diſpleaſing to the ſtates general. They reſented the title given the archduke of ſovereign of all the *Netherlands*; the act's being written on paper inſtead of parchment; the king's ſubſcription, *We the king*; the ſeal affixed, which was not the great ſeal of *Spain*; and the demand, that the *Dutch* ſquadrons ſhould be immediately recalled from the *Spaniſh* coaſts. In the end, the ambaſſador was informed, that the ſtates could not accept the declaration without conſiderable amendments. *Verreiken* laboured to remove the objections. He inſiſted that the catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries ſtipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that procuring the amendments required would only retard the negotiation; but that if the ſtates would, in the mean time, proceed to buſineſs, he would engage to obtain the declaration wanted as ſoon as in courſe it could be expected. But this was poſitively refuſed; and the ſtates, for their own ſecurity, gave the ambaſſador copies of ſuch a declaration as would quiet their ſcruples, in the *Latin*, *French*, and *Spaniſh*; that no miſtake, through the equivocal ſenſe of words, might ariſe[t]. In theſe, ſeveral articles, relative to religion, were inſerted, which, it was apprehended, the court of *Spain* would not grant; and indeed the writing would ſeem to be calculated with that deſign, and dictated by the partizans of the houſe of *Orange*.

[t] METEREN, lib. xxviii. LE CLERC, lib. viii.

When the ſecond ratification arrived at *Bruſſels*, the firſt obſervation which occurred, was that the great ſeal was not affixed: but this difficulty the archduke engaged he ſhould be able to ſurmount, ſhould the contents prove otherwiſe agreeable to the ſentiments of the *United Provinces*. The article with reſpect to religion, it was foreſeen, would occaſion more trouble. *Verreiken* and *Neyen* were diſpatched to the *Hague* with this new ratification; and though it was ſupported with all their eloquence and addreſs, could not gain the approbation of the ſtates. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a looſe ſtile, upon paper, and ſealed with a private ſignature. However, to preſerve the appearance of candour, they ſaid they would communicate the ratification to the provincial ſtates, and report their opinion in ſix weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and ſend deputies to the congreſs. Before the ambaſſador's departure, the ſtates deſired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this was refuſed, though *Verreiken*, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the *Hague*, kept the ratification, and ſent his collegue to attend the archduke's commands. By the 14th of *November Neyen* returned from *Bruſſels*, with orders to deliver the ratification to the ſtates, upon receiving their written promiſe to reſtore it, in caſe the negotiation ſhould prove abortive. Even this was denied, and *Neyen* again forced to ſet out for *Bruſſels*, where he obtained the archduke's leave to ſurrender the ratification, without any promiſe or written acknowledgement. From ſuch punctilious conduct and faſtidious cavilling, it was obvious that the *Orange* party prevailed, that the general ſentiments of the people were not pacific, and that the negotiation would at laſt prove fruitleſs.

While the treaty went on in this channel, letters addreſſed to the ſtates were received from the emperor, in which he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions, reminded them that the *Netherlands* were formerly a part of the empire, and that conſequently they could not claim the privileges of a free ſtate, without his conſent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of *Spain* prove valid, without the full approbation of the *Aulic* council. To theſe letters the ſtates returned a civil anſwer, excuſing themſelves by affirming, that they imagined the king of *Spain* and the archduke had given his imperial majeſty timely

information, otherwiſe they ſhould not be wanting
mark of reſpect. They repreſented the cauſes
nduced them to throw off the ſovereignty of *Phi-*
now inſiſt on the privileges of a free people;
edged their having already been acknowledged in-
nt by ſeveral ſtates and ſovereigns; and laſtly,
y apprehended it properly belonged to *Philip*, to
whether he had a power to make the grants he
l; that as for themſelves, they had long taken
lution of being free, or of periſhing in the defence
y.

CE had the ſtates general returned this anſwer, and
the c. mpliments of ſeveral foreign princes, when
rinces reported their opinion, that the ratification
ſufficient baſis for negotiating a peace or truce.
olution had been carried in all the provincial ſtates,
te of the objections raiſed by the *Orange* faction.
lid the talents of *Barneveldt* appear more conſpicu-
n on this occaſion; on which he equally diſplayed
or, the ſtateſman, and the patriot. After delibe-
vith the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Great Britain*,
s acquainted the archduke by letter, that they
ıdy to enter upon the negotiation, provided that
ſhould be demanded repugnant to their privileges,
ıely directed againſt their liberties; and that if
l nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint
number of deputies (A). Towards the cloſe of
the

was at this very time,
: attention of all *Eu-*
ixed on the approach-
reſs, which was to de-
he fate of the *United*
, that the *Hollanders*
he ſcheme of a *Weſt-*
npany, which ſhould
trade to *Africa*, upon
l of the *Eaſt India*

The project met
ructions, on account
ıce now negotiating;
ıpprehended the king
would diſpute any
hich could be made
company. However,
e ſtates choſe to avoid
raiſing difficulties in the way
of the treaty, which the whole
world muſt attribute to their
deſire of prolonging the war,
they permitted their grand ar-
mament to ſet ſail in queſt of
the *Caracca* fleet, ſoon expec-
ted. Admiral *Hemskirk* ac-
cordingly ſteered for the coaſt
of *Spain*, received information
that a *Spaniſh* ſquadron of ſix
men of war lay in the bay of
Gibraltar, and made diſpoſiti-
ons for attacking the enemy.
Juan Alvazes d'Avila, com-
manded the *Spaniſh* fleet. He
was attacked by *Hemskirk* with
the utmoſt reſolution, and the
engagement

the year the armiſtice was expired, of which the archduke gave the ſtates general notice, and of his deſire to prolong it for a month. He likewiſe acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expreſſed his inclination that the congreſs might ſit with the utmoſt expedition. The marquis *de Spinola*, *Ricardot*, *Mancidor*, the archduke's ſecretary, *Neyen*, and *Verneiken*, were appointed ambaſſadors. It gave umbrage, that not one native of the *Netherlands* ſhould be choſen to adjuſt the articles of a treaty, that wholly reſpected this country; but the power was in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and by exerting it they propoſed to gain ſome advantages to themſelves [u].

A. D. 1608. In the beginning of the following year, *Spinola* and the other ambaſſadors ſet out for the congreſs; and as ſoon as they arrived in the territories of the ſtates, they were received by *Juſtin Naſſau*, and conducted to the *Hague*, without any expence. In all the towns the people flocked to ſee *Spinola*, whoſe reputation was as great in *Holland*, as in the other provinces of the *Netherlands*; and at *Dordrecht*, prince *Maurice* met that general, who ſeemed to regard the prince with aſtoniſhment and admiration. *Maurice* expreſſed ſentiments no leſs favourable to *Spinola*, and they both paid thoſe compliments which were certainly due to each other's merit. Various were the ſentiments of the people on the arrival of *Spinola* in *Holland*. Some alledged, it was wrong to ſuffer ſo popular an enemy to enter the heart of the country, and thereby afford him the opportunity of ſeducing the minds of the people. To this it was anſwered, that the people were

[u] Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

engagement continued with great fury, until the *Dutch* admiral loſt his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of ſo brave an officer cauſed ſome confuſion in the fleet; but the ſpirits of the *Dutchmen* were ſoon rouſed, by the gallant conduct of *Verhoef*, who ſucceeded to the command. After an obſtinate fight, *d'Avila* was killed, his ſhip run a-ground, and burnt by the garriſon of *Gibraltar*, to prevent his being taken; the reſt of the *Spaniſh* fleet was burnt, ſunk, or deſtroyed, and the victory indiſputably in favour of the *Hollanders*, tho' they received no other benefit from it, than the deſtruction of the *Spaniſh* armament. (1).

(1) *Meteren, lib.* 28. *Le Clerc, lib.* 8. *p.* 248.

inveterate

inveterate enemies of the *Spaniſh* dominion, and *Spinola* himſelf a promoter of the peace. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the ſtates had prevailed on the *French* ambaſſadors, that their maſter ſhould become guarantee of the treaty intended; and they ventured to engage, that his majeſty ſhould aſſiſt the ſtates with ten thouſand men, in caſe it was broke through the fault of the king of *Spain* or the archduke. By the 4th of *February*, the ſtates general thinking it was time to open the negotiation, ſent compliments to the ambaſſadors, and demanded their inſtructions. Then they appointed *William* of *Naſſau* and the ſieur *Broderode*, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. *John Barneveldt* was choſen to repreſent *Holland*. All were aſſembled in a great hall provided for that purpoſe, and the firſt day was ſpent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We ſhall only mention, that the *Dutch* deputies demanded whether the ambaſſadors propoſed treating with them, as the repreſentatives of a free ſtate? To which they were anſwered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he propoſed reſigning the ſovereignty? To which it was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of other princes, the king of *Spain* retaining the arms and title of king of *Jeruſalem*, the *French* king thoſe of *Bavaria*, and the king of *England*, the arms and title of ſovereign of *France*, though they poſſeſſed not a foot of land in thoſe countries. A few days after the *Dutch* deputies produced a ſchedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of reſignation required. The *Flemiſh* ambaſſadors declined giving an anſwer, but ſent the writing to *Bruſſels*; and received the archduke's conſent, that this article ſhould be granted, agreeable to the deſire of the ſtates general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the *Indies*. The facility with which an article of ſuch importance was given up, created ſuſpicions in the ſtates, that either the archduke was not ſincere, or that the congreſs would prove fruitleſs, on account of extraordinary demands touching ſome other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme deſire of terminating a war, which had equally exhauſted *Spain* and the ten provinces.

The congreſs ſits at the Hague.

THE next object was a general armiſtice, reſtitution and compenſation of loſſes; articles which were without difficulty adjuſted, by leaving matters in their preſent ſituation;

ation; but it was more delicate and dubious with reſpect to commerce. Both equally affected the extenſive trade of the *Eaſt Indies*; they had each too long experienced the advantages of this commerce, to reſign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the *Eaſt India* company were deeply concerned in the iſſue of this article, and they made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to the ſtates general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the ſingle article of commerce; the debates were warm and ſpirited, but nothing was determined. At length the *Dutch* deputies declared, that only the acceptance of one of three propoſals they had to make, could terminate the diſpute. The firſt was, that the provinces, in conſequence of a peace, ſhould ever have free leave to trade to the *Indies*; the ſecond, that they ſhould have liberty, in conſequence of a truce, for a certain number of years; or that at leaſt there ſhould be peace on this ſide the tropics, and both nations left to promote their ſeveral intereſts by arms on the other ſide the line. This laſt propoſition was made, becauſe the *Hollanders* knew themſelves greatly ſuperior by ſea, and the *Indian* princes in general diſguſted at the *Portugueſe* government. Two of theſe propoſitions were immediately rejected; the one being directly contrary to an expreſs inſtruction, that the commerce with the *Indies* ſhould on no account be allowed to the provinces; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke, which determined him to have the peace general, or the congreſs diſſolved. As to the ſecond propoſal, the ambaſſadors declared they would accept it with this reſtriction, that the ſtates ſhould agree to renounce the *India* trade at the expiration of the truce. But this was refuſed, and the ambaſſadors deſired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjuſted.

NEXT the *Dutch* deputies demanded a liſt of the articles of which the ambaſſadors propoſed treating; but this was denied, until they conſented that no advantage would be taken of omiſſions, and that whatever ſhould happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies ſet the example, and gave in a liſt of their propoſitions, contained in twenty-eight diſtinct articles. They were followed by a ſimilar catalogue exhibited by the ambaſſadors in ſeven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion; but they were expreſſed ſo equivocally, and arranged with ſo little method, as afforded a large field for cavilling. With this writing they preſented a requeſt, that the ſtates would draw out a ſcheme of the *European* and *Indian*

Indian commerce, which they would tranſmit to the courts of *Bruſſels* and *Madrid*, provided it contained nothing which appeared too ſevere to the catholic king and the archduke. The propoſal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a demand made, that both parties ſhould reciprocally depoſit a certain ſum in *Spain* and *Holland*, as ſecurity for the performance of their engagements. The articles were firſt examined at the congreſs, and debated with much warmth. *Ricardot* in particular was ſo affected with the inſolence of the deputies, that he ſhed tears, and lamented the unhappy ſituation of *Spain*, which reduced a great monarchy to the neceſſity of temporizing with a ſet of burghers and merchants. *Spinola* managed his temper with more addreſs, and to his conduct it was owing that the congreſs had not broke up long before. *Neyen* was diſpatched to *Brabant* and *Spain*, with the ſcheme of commerce, which now received conſiderable amendment; but ſtill the bill was too harſh, and long rejected by the proud ſtomachs of the *Spaniards*, who could not make conceſſions with any grace, to thoſe whom they uſed to command. Theſe propoſals met with a variety of obſtructions at the court of *Madrid*, and *Neyen*'s long ſtay, rendered it neceſſary to prolong the armiſtice to the end of the year.

About this time the ſtates general received advice of negotiations carried on at the court of *France*, which almoſt determined them to break off the conferences precipitately. While *Neyen* continued at *Madrid*, don *Pedro de Toledo* was ſent to *Paris*, to engage *Henry* in the intereſt of *Spain*, and thereby deſtroy the fruits of the whole negotiation at the *Hague*. *Philip* could not be prevailed on to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, unleſs they previouſly renounced the commerce of the *Indies*; but finding that the *French* monarch was deaf to all his propoſals, he concealed his ſentiments, in hopes of obtaining his ends by dint of addreſs and refined policy. At laſt, the ambaſſadors declared on the 20th of *Auguſt*, that their final inſtructions reſpecting the three great points of religion, liberty, and commerce, were arrived: that his catholic majeſty was reſolved to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, upon no other conditions, than that they ſhould re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion, and renounce the *India* commerce. Upon this declaration they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an anſwer with the ſtates general, the council of ſtate, prince *Maurice*, and *William* of *Naſſau*. Having communicated the propoſal to the

the foreign ambaſſadors at the *Hague*, it was reſolved that the negotiation was at an end; and a manifeſto was publiſhed on the 23d, in which, after enumerating all the tranſactions of the congreſs, the whole blame of the conſequences that might enſue from a rupture of the treaty was thrown upon *Philip* and the archduke. The manifeſto was delivered to the *Spaniſh* miniſters, who complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the ſtates general, and obtained it on the 27th. Here they propoſed a truce for a certain number of years; and the ſtates general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the ſovereignty and freedom of the province ſhould be acknowledged during and at the expiration of the truce. This exceeded the powers of the ambaſſadors; but they remitted the propoſal to *Bruſſels*, and received for anſwer, that what the ſtates demanded, could only be granted on their renouncing the commerce of *India*, and eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in all the provinces; that however the archduke had forwarded their propoſitions to the court of *Spain*, expected an anſwer in a few days, and hoped the ambaſſadors might in the mean while be permitted to reſide at the *Hague*. In this manner the truce was ſpun out to the end of *September*.

In the mean time prince *Maurice*, who never approved of the negotiation, apprehending that a truce at leaſt would enſue, ſhould the *Spaniards* relax in their conditions, ſent a circular letter to all the magiſtrates of the cities. This letter was dated the 21ſt of *September*, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation. In the arguments urged on this occaſion, it was eaſy to diſcern the politician, the patriot, and at the ſame time the aſpiring prince. His reaſoning was calculated to the good of his country. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſtoration of popery, and aſſerted the ſovereignty of the provinces; but he at the ſame time artfully enflamed the minds of the people, and rendered them averſe to peace, poſſibly with a view to his own intereſt. Certain it is, that the truce propoſed was neceſſary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could it be obtained on equitable conditions. *Maurice* however ſeemed averſe to it upon any term; and it was perhaps more the intereſt of the *Spaniards* to have concluded a perpetual treaty of peace.

On the 24th of *September*, the ambaſſadors gave notice to the ſtates, that they were now impowered to treat with

with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce for ſeven years, during which, both parties ſhould freely trade to each other's dominions in *Europe*, retain what they now poſſeſſed, and ceaſe from all acts of hoſtility. They acknowledged however, that the archduke was not authoriſed by the catholic king, to grant theſe conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The propoſal was communicated through the channel of the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Brandenburgh* ambaſſadors; but it was rejected, unleſs the ſovereignty of the ſtates was abſolutely acknowledged without reſtriction, and free leave granted to trade to the *Indies*. As ſuch conceſſions exceeded the powers of *Spinola* and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambaſſadors took their leave, their time being expired. At parting, *Ricardot* aſſured the ſtates, that the archduke had acted with the utmoſt ſincerity throughout the negotiation; he blamed their obſtinacy, exhorted the ſtates to reflect ſeriouſly on the conditions they rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and ſolicitations; and he concluded with ſaying, that they muſt be reſponſible for all the conſequent effuſion of chriſtian blood, ſhould the war be reſumed. The ambaſſador was anſwered by the penſioner *Barneveldt*, who inſtanced, as a proof of the ſincerity of the ſtates general, their refuſal to enter upon the conferences, until their ſovereignty was acknowledged. He concluded with retorting the allegation, that they would be reſponſible for the future effuſion of blood, ſince the ſeverity of the *Spaniſh* councils firſt kindled the war. The tyranny of *Philip* II. furniſhed the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of *Philip* III. prevented its being extinguiſhed, at a time when all the combuſtible materials were already conſumed [a].

The Negotiation of peace broke off.

SOON after the departure of the ambaſſadors, it was diſcovered, that *Ricardot* had either forgot or deſignedly left at his lodgings, the original inſtructions given to the *Spaniſh* miniſters. This the ſtates publiſhed, with a long comment in their own vindication, though poſterity have juſtly conſtrued the inſtructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the faſtidious and inſolent demands of the ſtates, their cavilling humour, and punctilious conduct,

[a] GROT. lib. xvii. BAUDIUS, lib. iii. MEURSIUS, Rer. Belg. lib. v. METEREN, lib. xxx. LE CLERC, lib. viii. CLARENDON's hiſt. of the rebel. tom. i.

would

would have prevented the eſtabliſhment of a truce, on the ſame terms it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign miniſters would ſeem to be of this opinion. They concurred in preſſing the ſtates at leaſt to conclude a truce; and the preſident *Jeannin*, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the ſtates objected that no dependence could be placed in the promiſes of the *Spaniards*, who had ſo often violated their engagements, he replied, that his maſter, the king of *France*, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and ſupport with all his might that prudence and perſeverance which enabled an oppreſſed people to treat with their ſovereign on the footing of a free republic.

The republic divided into parties.

It has already been frequently intimated that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every propoſal that did not immediately contribute to the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and laſting peace. At the head of this party was prince *Maurice*; whoſe intereſt and aſpiring views made him, it is alledged, prefer war to the moſt advantageous terms of accommodation. It was however dangerous to profeſs himſelf an enemy to the tranquillity of his country; he therefore choſe the ſafer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing againſt the conſequences of the truce, ſenſible that *Spain* and the archduke were not yet ſufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the ſtates would demand. *Barneveldt* was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the *French* ambaſſador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, becauſe perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at leaſt, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all *Maurice's* views, and repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colours the danger of ſervitude to a family, whoſe patriotiſm was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and paſquinades, calculated to blow up the ſparks of civil diſſenſion, were every day publiſhed; nor did the *Orange* party ſcruple to tax the kings of *France* and *England* with ſelfiſh views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly obſerved; which in conſequence would involve the provinces in numberleſs calamities, and thereby prove beneficial to the commerce of *France* and *England*. A number of anonymous letters, threatening an attempt on his life, were received by *Barneveldt*, all of which he laid before the ſtates, ſaying, that tho' he deſpiſed the anger of the great, and the reſentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conſcious of faithfully performing

performing the duty he owed to his country; yet he could wiſh to reſign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With theſe words he quitted the aſſembly, and was ſoon followed by deputies, ſent to exhort him not to abandon the ſtate at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were moſt wanted. Upon reſuming the functions of penſionery, he repreſented in the moſt lively terms the advantages deducible from the ſuccours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be ſhewn to their ſentiments; he gave in an exact calculation of the ſupplies neceſſary for the proſecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the ſpirit and ſtrength of his arguments, brought over the province of *Holland* to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. *Zealand* alone, ſwayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of *Maurice*, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The diſpute grew high, the *Zealanders* inſiſting that to conclude a truce without their conſent would be a direct infraction of the union of *Utrecht*; and the others remonſtrating upon the injuſtice of one province's giving law to all the others [w].

A. D. 1609. *The conferences renewed, and truce concluded for twelve years.*

In theſe diſputes the year was ſpun out, without any progreſs made, either in the proſecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However *Barneveldt*, and the foreign miniſters, laboured with ſo much zeal and aſſiduity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armiſtice, and ſend deputies to confer with the *French* and *Engliſh* ambaſſadors at *Antwerp*. Here it was the great point was gained, of again renewing the conferences with the ſtates general of the *United Provinces*, then aſſembled at *Bergen-op-Zoom*. In the end, the conferences were removed to the *Hague*; and, after ſubduing infinite obſtructions, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the ninth of *April*, ratified on the 14th, then publiſhed in all the towns of the *Netherlands*, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, eſpecially of the *Spaniſh* provinces. In the firſt article of the treaty the archduke, in his own, and the king of *Spain*'s name, acknowledged the *United Provinces*, renounced all claim to ſovereignty over them, but in ſuch general terms as would admit of altercation. In the ſecond a truce for twelve years, by ſea and land, through all the

[w] Aitsma, tom. i. lib. i. p. 16. Meteren, lib. xxx. fol. 660.

dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in poſſeſſion of what they now held, without ceſſion or exchange. In the fourth a general amneſty was ſtipulated, and full freedom of trade by ſea and land to each others dominions granted. This neceſſarily implied a ceſſation of hoſtilities in the *Indies*; however, great debates afterwards aroſe upon this account. *Spain* obſerving the rapid progreſs of the *Hollanders* in the *India* trade, apprehended they would ſoon become too powerful in that quarter; and the *Dutch* were willing to maintain the advantage of their ſuperiority. Both, for this reaſon, diſputed the article; yet it could not be ſet aſide without deſtroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the ſubjects of the archduke and the ſtates, trading to each others dominions, which were to be on the ſame footing with thoſe of other nations. The archduke uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have the duties at *Lillo*, on the *Scheld*, aboliſhed, and the commerce of *Antwerp* reſtored to its former grandeur; but this was ſo diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of the *Hollanders*, that it was impoſſible it ſhould ever take place. The ſixth and ſeventh articles likewiſe regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unneceſſary to dwell on particulars; ſufficient it is that the truce was mutually beneficial, *Spain* being no longer in condition to ſupport the war, and the *Hollanders* having obtained the end of all their deſperate reſiſtance and invincible perſeverance in the cauſe of liberty. *Philip* of *Naſſau* was of all men the greateſt gainer by the truce; as, in conſequence, he entered into poſſeſſion of all his paternal eſtates in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* and *Burgundy*; while the ſtates rewarded the faithful ſervices of *Maurice* with a penſion of 25,000 florins, to be paid annually out of the public treaſury, beſides an appointment of 60,000 francs as governor-general. Penſions were likewiſe ſettled on the other princes of the houſe of *Naſſau*: all were gratified in a manner that demonſtrated the high ſenſe the republic had of their merit, though they might poſſibly be diſappointed in their great deſign of raiſing prince *Maurice* to ſovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almoſt totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of freedom and the proteſtant religion in the *Seven United Provinces*[x]. The fortune of the ſtates on this occaſion ad-

[x] Scriptores citat. ibid. p. 18, & 662. Etiam BAUD. tom. iii. ſub fin.

mirably

mirably diſplays how courage, conduct, and perſeverance, however baffled and diſappointed, will, in the end, riſe ſuperior to misfortune, and triumph over every adverſary.

SECT. VII.

Containing the religious diſputes among the proteſtants of the United Provinces ; *the treaty with the* Mooriſh *prince of* Tetuan ; *the diſputes about the ſucceſſion to the duchy of* Cleves ; *in a word, all the civil and political tranſactions of the new republic, to the expiration of the truce in the year* 1621.

SCARCE had the *United Provinces* taſted the ſweets of liberty and peace, when religious diſputes aroſe, to blight the felicity procured by obſtinate valour and invincible reſolution. *James Arminius*, of *Oudewater*, in the province of *Holland*, firſt a miniſter of the goſpel at *Amſterdam*, and afterwards profeſſor at *Leyden*, gave birth to a new ſect, called after his own name, whoſe principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a ſupreme being. The ſect was, however, in his time firſt diſtinguiſhed, and his diſciples ſtigmatized as deſerters from the followers of *Calvin*. They aſſerted free-agency; they ſpoke ambiguouſly of God's preſcience ; they deemed the doctrine of the *Trinity* not eſſential to ſalvation ; many of them affirmed that the ſcripture requires no adoration of the *Holy Ghoſt* ; and all, that *Jeſus* is not equal to God the father : in a word, they regarded the creed of St. *Athanaſius* as the unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehenſible myſtery. Theſe tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in *Holland*, the other proteſtant provinces, and in *Germany* ; but they had not been publickly taught from the profeſſorial chair before the elevation of *Arminius* to that office. Moſt divines who had received their education at *Geneva*, or in the *Palatinate*, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predeſtination ; a violent conteſt aroſe between the parties ; ſynods and religious conferences were held in divers places ; the ſtates interpoſed, and the chief perſons of the republic eſpouſed either *Arminius* or *Gormarus*, who were the leaders of theſe factions ; for ſuch in reality they ought to be eſteemed. Religion was only the pretext, policy was the ſource of thoſe impure and bitter invectives poured out on both ſides. The prince of *Orange* and *Barneveldt* ſeized this

Religious diſputes in Holland.

opportunity of venting their mutual animoſity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the penſioner acquired from accompliſhing the truce with the archduke, in deſpite of all the endeavours of the houſe of *Naſſau*. In all controverſies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in diſpute; it is particularly ſo in religious conteſts, where probably both parties are reaſoning upon what exceeds the limits of their underſtanding. The ſmalleſt deviation leads into a greater, and at laſt the diſputants end in ſomething which has not the ſmalleſt relation to the firſt ſubject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obſcure divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading perſonages in the provinces, and laid the firſt conception of a humour that has ever ſince remained lurking in the conſtitution of the ſtate, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that diſunion and diſcord, which will probably terminate one day in the total ſubverſion of the republic. It would be impoſſible to exhibit a juſt idea of theſe diſputes, without running into theological diſquiſitions, equally fruitleſs to a reader, and inconſiſtent with hiſtorical narration. Sufficient it is, that neither party was convinced, though the neceſſities of the ſtate made them for ſome time ſilent; and that the *Arminians*, though leaſt numerous, were however extremely formidable, on account of the weight, influence, and ability of their leaders [a].

Treaty with the emperor of Morocco.

WITH reſpect to civil affairs, the object of greateſt conſequence, was, to puſh with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*. With this view the ſtates ordered that 150 *Moors*, taken on board *Spaniſh* captures, ſhould be returned without ranſom, and preſented to the emperor of *Morocco*, in conſideration of the civilities ſhewn by that prince to *Hemſkirk*'s fleet ſome years before; and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ſhips of war were accordingly ſent under captain *Hermanſen* to the coaſt of *Africa*, having on board the *Mooriſh* priſoners, and a preſent of ſome black cattle from prince *Maurice* to the emperor. The preſents were well received; all the immunities required, granted; and a propoſition made of declaring war jointly againſt the king of *Spain*, which the *Dutch* civilly declined, urging in excuſe the late truce. This propoſal was made by an alcaide,

[a] METEREN, lib. xxxii. LE CLERC, lib. ix.

who

who returned with the fleet to *Holland*. The *Mooriſh* envoy, perceiving the ſtates were averſe to war, offered to take part of their fleet into pay; but this was likewiſe refuſed, and, to qualify his diſappointment, the ambaſſador was loaded with preſents, and diſmiſſed, with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of reſpect and veneration for his maſter.

THE next year was uſhered in by an event which had almoſt fruſtrated the intention of the late treaty with *Spain* and the archduke, and involved in a freſh war all the provinces of the *Netherlands*. Prince *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, dying without iſſue-male, his dominions devolved upon his ſiſters, in whoſe right the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and duke of *Newburgh*, demanded the ſucceſſion. Several other competitors likewiſe appeared; but theſe were the chief. The elector applied to the *French* king and the *Dutch*, to ſupport his pretenſions; the duke of *Newburgh* to the king of *Spain* and the archduke. At firſt the contention lay between the houſe of *Saxony* on the one ſide; and the houſes of *Brandenburgh*, and *Newburgh*, on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjuſt the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitleſs. The archduke, newly reſpiring after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himſelf in freſh diſputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his intereſt to provide that the *Dutch* ſhould take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of aſſiſting the elector of *Brandenburgh*, ſeize upon thoſe places in the diſputed territory which lay moſt convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the diſpute, but *Henry* IV. did not chuſe that the houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould have any acceſſion of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the houſe of *Saxony*; and the aſſaſſination of *Henry*, by *Ravillac*, happened before that monarch had taken any meaſures to oppoſe the imperial verdict. Still the court of *France* eſpouſed the princes, and encouraged the ſtates general to undertake the ſiege of *Juliers*, to which they were ſolicited by the elector of *Brandenburgh*. *Dutch* writers alledge, that the ſtates determined upon this meaſure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infraction of the truce; but they were compelled to it by *Maurice*, whoſe warlike, ambitious mind eagerly ſought a rupture, or at leaſt a war, in which his talents ſhone with ſuch luſtre. Accordingly, with 14,000 foot and 3000 horſe, he traverſed *Spaniſh Guelderland* without offering the ſmalleſt violence to the inhabitants, the ſubjects of the archduke *Albert*; and ſate down before

The truce broke by the death of the duke of Cleves.

Juliers. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the ſecond day of *September*, and was garriſoned by *Dutch* forces, under the pretext it ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the ſtates until the diſpute might be finally decided. *Albert* regarded this tranſaction as an infraction of the truce. He perceived that the ſtates, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions. He therefore determined to venture the whole ſtate of *Flanders* rather than ſuffer ſuch an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with *as* free and ſovereign; a middle diſtinction made in the late treaty, by way of ſalve to the pride of the court of *Spain*. He firſt demanded ſolemn reſtitution of the town of *Juliers*, in the name of the duke of *Newburgh*; but obtaining only ſhuffling, dilatory anſwers, an army was aſſembled under *Spinola*. As the ſtates had ſtrongly garriſoned their late acquiſition they were under no apprehenſions about the deſtination of this army, not doubting but it was intended againſt *Juliers* in which the archduke would find himſelf diſappointed. The maſterly conduct, however, of *Spinola* threw the provinces into the utmoſt conſternation. After approaching within ſight of *Juliers*, he wheeled round ſuddenly marched to *Weſel*, and took it before the *Dutch* army could come to its relief. This town was ſtrong by nature and art; it was claimed by the duke of *Brandenburgh*, as dependency on the duchy of *Cleves*, but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the ſtates general. No leſs aſtoniſhed than awed by the ſucceſs of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invaſion of the provinces, the *Dutch* applied to the mediation of *England* and *France*, and at laſt accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject conceſſions than they had ever before made in their moſt adverſe circumſtances. By this one ſpirited ſtroke, *Albert* regained the reputation loſt from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the ſtates were juſtly chaſtiſed and mortified for that inſolent carriage ſhewn towards ſovereign princes, and crowned heads, once their maſters [b].

The archduke and republic again reconciled.

The religious diſputes again renewed.

THE appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controverſy in the *United Provinces*. No ſooner was the truce re-eſtabliſhed, than the civil diviſions broke out with redoubled ſtrength and vehemence. The *Gormariſts* renewed their perſecution of the *Arminian* diſſenters; they were puſhed on by the

[b] Idem. ibid.

houſe

houſe of *Orange*, ſometimes protected by the ſtates, and oppoſed chiefly by *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Voſſius*, the learned in general, and the magiſtrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. *Arminius*, on his firſt elevation to the profeſſorſhip, behaved with the utmoſt moderation; he ſcrupuloufly avoided giving offence, but was, in courſe of lecturing, forced to advance opinions which roufed the indignation of the *Gomariſts*, who watched the opportunity of reſuming the diſputes. His doctrines were oppoſed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The beſt pens in *Holland*, or indeed in *Europe*, were employed in his vindication. *Grotius* and *Voſſius* both embarked deeply in the cauſe; and the *Leyden* profeſſor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconſiderable member. In ſome towns the *Arminian* clergy were impriſoned or expelled, in others the *Gomariſts*. Synods met in all the provinces, public diſputations were maintained, and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The ſuſpenſion of the clergy naturally led to A. D. an inquiry into the rights and powers of the magiſtrates, 1611. this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or ſtadtholders of the ſeveral provinces, and that into the ſovereign right of the provincial ſtates and ſtates general. A queſtion purely ſpeculative became now a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to liberty. The *Arminians* were repreſented as ſecret friends to *Spain*, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were inflamed, prince *Maurice* was raiſed to a greater height of popularity than he ever before obtained, and being at the head of the army, and ſupported by the multitude, he ventured upon ſome bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magiſtrates of cities at pleaſure, ſo as to obtain a majority in the provincial ſtates, and conſequently in the ſtates general. The firſt conteſted election of magiſtrates was at *Leuwarde* in *Friſeland*, where the magiſtrates, legally choſen, were depoſed, and ſupplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at *Utrecht*, where the diviſions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomaſters were diſliked, and complaints were made of their aſſuming an authority inconſiſtent with the laws; promiſes of ſpeedy redreſs were given; but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomaſters uſurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and inſiſted upon the free exerciſe of their religion, though expreſsly prohibited by the union of *Utrecht*, in

which all other opinions beſides are licenſed. As the violence of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince *Maurice*, attended by deputies from the ſtates general, repaired to *Utrecht*, in order to reſtore the tranquillity of the city; but, inſtead of meeting with the reſpect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was groſsly inſulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This determined the ſtates general to aſſemble at *Woerde*, and to ſummon the provincial ſtates of *Utrecht* and prince *Maurice* before them. After long deliberation, no remedies, adequate to the diſeaſe, could be found; the ſtates of *Utrecht* were therefore diſmiſſed, with a ſerious exhortation to apply themſelves vigorouſly to the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the deſtruction of all government, unleſs ſeaſonably prevented. It is difficult to find the cauſe of the commotions in *Utrecht*; they would ſeem to be a conſequence of the original diſpute between *Arminius* and *Gomarus*; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controverſy, had changed opinions; and *Maurice* was inſulted by the very populace by whom he was adored[c].

A. D. 1612. *Commotions at Utrecht.*

WHEN the provincial ſtates of *Utrecht* returned, they reported the cenſures paſſed on their conduct by the ſtates general; which ſo enraged the populace, that, flying to arms, they committed a thouſand diſorders, rioted about, and raiſed ſuch tumults as the new magiſtrates could not appeaſe. Upon this the burghers were ordered to ſend four deputies to attend the ſtates at the *Hague*, with the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of *Utrecht*. It was added, that if they preferred the ſtates ſhould ſit rather at *Utrecht* than the *Hague*, their inclination ſhould be gratified, provided the garriſon was reinforced with four more companies of ſoldiers, to ſuppreſs diſorders, and protect the aſſembly againſt inſults. All theſe admonitions and conceſſions produced no effect. The *Utrechters* remained obſtinate, and the ſtates talked of laying ſiege to the city. Previous, however, to violent meaſures, they publiſhed a circular letter, addreſſed to all the provincial ſtates of the union, acquainting them of the tranſactions at *Utrecht*, and requiring their advice and aſſiſtance. Meantime a body of forces had orders to file off towards *Utrecht*. At firſt the magiſtrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the ſtates would never puſh matters to extremities; but they no ſooner be-

[c] UTEMBOGARD. p. 3. p. 488. METEREN, lib. xxxii. LE CLERC, lib. ix.

held

held the city almoſt completely inveſted, than they changed their tone, and beſought the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* to interpoſe as mediators. In conſequence, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the *Utrechters* were puniſhed, by depoſing the new magiſtrates, and reſtoring thoſe who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effuſion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the ſafety of the commonwealth, had not the government acted with great ſpirit and reſolution.

The religious diſputes now become political.

WITH reſpect to the clergy, their diſputes became purely political. It was debated, How far the ſovereign authority might interpoſe in eccleſiaſtical affairs? Whether the clergy might not, in conſcience, be under the neceſſity of preaching doctrines contrary to the legiſlative power? Whether the ſovereign authority has power to aſſemble the clergy, and to chuſe the members of the aſſembly? Whether the eccleſiaſtical ſynods are ſubject to the ſovereign power? and, admitting they are, Whether by that means the ſovereign is not made arbitrary over the conſciences of the ſubject? The parties came to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of Remonſtrants, and Contra-Remonſtrants. Libels, paſquinades, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their ſpirits. At *Utrecht* factions were renewed; and it was viſible the people only watched an opportunity to ſubvert the government, and reſtore their own favourites to the magiſtracy. This induced the ſtates general to inveſt the council of ſtate with authority to exact a freſh oath of fidelity from the magiſtrates, burghers, and other inhabitants. The populace were now exaſperated to the higheſt pitch. They knew themſelves guilty of ſedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining poſſeſſion of the garriſon, commanded by the chevalier *Ogle*, appointed to that truſt by prince *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*. *Canter* and *Helſdingen*, the perſons raiſed to the magiſtracy in the late tumults, entered into the conſpiracy; and all bound themſelves by an oath to ſecrecy, and fidelity to their engagements. By ſome means, however, their deſign tranſpired; ſome of the conſpirators were ſeized, put to the torture, and an ample diſcovery obtained. The two chiefs were baniſhed for life, and forbid, at the peril of their lives, ever ſetting foot in the *United Provinces*. Several of the conſpirators were condemned to death; but afterwards reprieved, and pardoned.

As the controverſy could never be decided by arguments, where each party built upon the authority of the ſacred writings,

writings, the contra-remonſtrants ſolicited the ſtates general for a national ſynod to ſit under the direction of the ſtates; they granted the requeſt, as the moſt probable method of terminating diſputes; but were oppoſed by the provincial ſtates of *Holland* and *Utrecht*. Thus, not only the eccleſiaſtical, but the civil government was divided. *Barneveldt* ſaw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by propoſing certain eccleſiaſtical laws to be confirmed by the ſtates. This ſcheme was projected ſeveral years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the ſtates of *Holland*, but rejected by others, until the religious controverſy ſhould be firſt decided. Whatever was done before this event, would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. *Barneveldt*, however, meant to ſilence all diſputation by the force of laws; but this was contrary to the intereſt and views of the *Orange* faction, who made a handle of the propoſal, to the prejudice of that great ſtateſman and patriot. He was accuſed of dangerous deſigns upon religion; notwithſtanding which he carried his point in the province of *Utrecht*, and was in a fair way of ſubduing the rage of faction [d]. At *Rotterdam* matters went otherwiſe. One *Giſelius*, a violent contra-remonſtrant, ſtirred up the people by his ſeditious harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonſtrants; he was admoniſhed to moderation by the magiſtrates, but in vain. He was exhorted to hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromiſe their differences amicably, but to no purpoſe; he refuſed to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magiſtrates publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonſtrants were the authors of thoſe factions which diſturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies publiſhed againſt the clergy. At laſt it became neceſſary to ſuſpend *Giſelius*. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the juriſdiction of *Rotterdam*. This was called perſecution, the notion of which is attended with the worſt conſequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magiſtrates to order *Giſelius* immediately to quit the city. He refuſed to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiouſly led through the public ſtreets by a bailiff. The *Orange* party made an excellent handle of this circumſtance. They exclaimed,

[d] BRANDT, lib. xxv. UTEMB. p. 4.

that

that liberty was at an end; that the magiſtrates uſurped a power altogether unconſtitutional; and aſſerted, that the remonſtrants were in the intereſt of the jeſuits, and conſpiring again to ſubjugate their country to the *Spaniſh* tyranny. However abſurd the accuſation might appear to all judicious perſons, it was ſo artfully propagated as to gain credit. *Maurier*, a *French* writer of credit, then reſident in *Holland*, relates, that ſo convinced was the princeſs dowager of *Orange* of the ambitious deſigns entertained by prince *Maurice*, that ſhe ſeriouſly remonſtrated with him upon the ſubject. He even alledges, that the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain *Barneveldt* to his purpoſes, aſſured that the conſent of this honeſt patriot would eaſily pave the way to ſovereignty. He further relates, that the princeſs cloſeted *Barneveldt*, uſed all her influence with him, and received for anſwer, that nothing could be more conſonant to his wiſhes than the glory and elevation of the houſe of *Orange*, could this be obtained conſiſtently with the liberty of his country. *Barneveldt* then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which muſt neceſſarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and poſſibly of the commonwealth. In a word, he ſpoke with ſo much ſtrength, energy, and pathos, that he entirely overcame the princeſs, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid ſtickler for liberty, and perſuaded her to exert all her influence to induce *Maurice* to lay aſide his purpoſe, and heal up thoſe diviſions in church and ſtate, which could never produce any other effect than the deſtruction of all parties [c].

Ambitious deſigns of prince Maurice, *and ſteadineſs of* Barneveldt.

MAURICE, notwithſtanding, affected to abſtract himſelf entirely from the eccleſiaſtical diſputes. When *Barneveldt* told him, that faction ran ſo high that the ſtates of *Holland* muſt have recourſe to him to aſſiſt their authority, he pretended aſtoniſhment, and declared his averſion to meddle in theſe matters. However, *Barneveldt* had too much diſcernment not to fathom his private ſentiments; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the converſation about the remonſtrants. The penſioner propoſed, that the ſtates general ſhould be moved to grant a general toleration, with reſpect to the diſputed points; and that the clergy of each ſide, who were ſuſpended, ſhould be reſtored to their functions. To this propoſition the prince, in appearance, conſented; and it was accordingly decreed by the ſtates, aſſembled at the *Hague*, in the year 1616, that every violation of ſuch general toleration as contributed to the

[c] Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi. BRANDT. lib. xxvi.

public tranquillity, ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt e
tual manner by the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers
was further decreed, that if any freſh diſputes ſh
ariſe upon points hitherto uncontroverted, they ſhou
decided by a majority in the provincial or national ſy
Theſe reſolutions were, however, oppoſed by the dep
of the cities; viz. *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, the *Hague*, *Ben*
ſen, and a variety of towns, where the people declared,
could not, with a ſafe conſcience, hear doctrines o
preached, which muſt give offence to every ſincere chri
It was not conſidered, that *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Moha*
dans, were permitted the free exerciſe of their ſeveral reli
in *Holland*. Still, however, the ſtates purſued their firſt re
tion, though they relaxed a little in favour of the dep
on condition they would not ſuffer perſons within the
riſdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppr
In the end, the deputies were diſmiſſed, with an exhort
to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to
with all their influence in reſtoring the public tranqu
which could be no great difficulty, conſidering that
parties were of the ſame religion, had the ſame for
worſhip, the ſame public ceremonies, the ſame mann
expoſing vice and cheriſhing virtue, and differed only
few points of little conſequence to ſalvation, or inde
ſociety.

THE excellent deſign of the ſtates was, however, t
derably obſtructed by the pride and conceit of the the
ans, who would not admit that any part of their f
was capable of amendment; and by the ſecret endea
of the *Orange* faction to leſſen the influence, and
the character of *Barneveldt*, as well as to diminiſh th
thority of the provincial ſtates of *Holland*. This pu
could not be accompliſhed but under the maſk of li
and religion, which ever work powerfully on the mi
the vulgar, who leaſt underſtand them or enjoy their
fit. The nobles and magiſtrates of *Holland* were att
in public writings; and *Barneveldt*, in particular, after
years faithful ſervice, was libelled as a traitor to his cou
He had frequently repreſented this abuſe of liberty t
ſtates; but the point was delicate: laying any reſtrai
the preſs would enflame the minds of the people, and
the faireſt opportunity of declaiming againſt the go
ment, to the fomenters of ſedition. *Barneveldt* now
in a draught of his plan for ſuppreſſing libels and in
matory publications; but it was ſtrongly oppoſed b
magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, notwithſtanding their co

Barneveldt *propoſes reſtraining the liberty of the preſs.*

the ſubject of the keeneſt ſatires and paſquinades which yet appeared. They gave no reaſon for their oppoſi-, only that they did not approve of renewing laws :h had been repealed after mature deliberation. Never-:ſs, in the following year, *Barneveldt* ſo far prevailed, the ordonnance was publiſhed, though it was never in force, or received by a variety of other towns [f].

ICH was the ſtate of parties, that the remonſtrants were ;ed to meet privately in ſome towns, and the contra-nſtrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to oſt powerful, they ſeized on the churches, and excluded opponents. At *Amſterdam* the remonſtrants were :eſt; but hearing that the ſtates had in other cities ted the uſe of churches to the contra-remonſtrants, up-heir petitioning, they wrote to *Leyden* for a miniſter of ;ect to preach the goſpel in *Amſterdam*. One *Rembert* *The populace riſe against the remonſtrants.* op was ſent; and, on his arrival, the reformiſts met private houſe, to hear divine ſervice, and perform their tions. Finding the place too ſmall for their numbers, hired a large warehouſe belonging to a merchant; opponents complained to the magiſtrates of their ille-ſſemblies; but obtaining no redreſs, they aſſembled in a ıltuous manner, during public worſhip, broke the win-, forced the doors, abuſed the miniſter, and threaten-ıe lives of the audience. The remonſtrants now, in turn, complained to the magiſtrates, and demanded :e and protection; but they were anſwered, that the method to ſecure themſelves would be to avoid ſuch ings as incurred the reſentment of their fellow-citizens.

ıt encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made nagiſtrates remiſs in the diſcharge of their duty, was, *Prince* Maurice *declares himſelf head of a party.* prince *Maurice* had, about this time, declared in favour .e contra-remonſtrants, and deſired that a clergyman of principles might be ſent to preach in the *French* chap-ıt the *Hague*. The remonſtrants were now afraid to ıble; they petitioned the magiſtrates for the ſame pro-on granted to other ſects; they pleaded the toleration-t, but obtained no ſatisfactory anſwer, though the ma-ates were too cautious abſolutely to deny their peti-. At laſt they had recourſe to the ſtates; but the tehenſion of involving themſelves in diſputes with the giſtrates, obliged the ſtates to ſhift off the matter, by ommending the petitioners to the burgomaſters of *Am-dam*.

[f] BRANDT. ibid. LE CLERC, lib. ix.

NOT only the open declaration of prince *Maurice*, but the conduct of *Dudley Carleton*, the *Britiſh* ambaſſador, encouraged the contra-remonſtrants to proceed in a higher ſtrain. They now threw off all reſpect for the ſtates of *Holland*, and *Barneveldt* was groſsly inſulted in the aſſembly, by a perſon greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confuſion, and all moderate perſons dreaded that anarchy and the diſſolution of the government muſt enſue. The ſtates were reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the prince's protection, which he artfully with-held, under various pretexts. He even iſſued ſeveral orders to prevent the troops from aſſiſting the magiſtrates in quelling tumults and ſuppreſſing ſeditions. This induced *Barneveldt* to labour diligently in keeping the ſtates aſſembled, as the only means of preſerving the conſtitution. At laſt the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing they could expect no aſſiſtance from the military power to enforce the laws, reſolved to augment the garriſons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as *Grotius* demonſtrates[s]. They communicated their intention to the prince; he was diſpleaſed, alledging it was an encroachment upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the *Hague* in the night, and ſet out for the *Brille*, where he introduced two companies of ſoldiers in deſpite of all the remonſtrances of the magiſtrates. He had not acquainted the council of ſtate with his reſolution; which gave great offence to that aſſembly, as it was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with the governors to take their leave in form. *Maurice*, however, diſregarded their ſentiments; he had now thrown off the maſque, and reſolution was neceſſary to obtain a majority in the ſtates, by changing the magiſtrates in the cities.

He refuſes to aſſiſt the ſtates of Holland.

Seizes on Brille, &c.

ADVICE of the tranſaction at *Brille* ſoon arrived at *Leyden*; and the magiſtrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a ſimilar viſit, aſſembled the chief burghers, and formed the reſolution, that, in caſe the prince ſhould approach the city, a deputation ſhould meet him, to requeſt he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The ſame reſolution was taken by the magiſtrates of *Haerlem*, *Torgau*, and *Woerde*; but *Maurice* had by this time gained poſſeſſion of *Delft* and *Scheidam*. Thence he ſent circular letters to the cities of the province of *Holland*, juſtifying his conduct; but they

[s] Apolog. c. 10.

were

were ſo ill received by the magiſtrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purpoſes while *Barneveldt*'s intereſt was ſo conſiderable; nor could this be diminiſhed but by obtaining a majority in the ſtates, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of *Holland*, he made trial of his authority at *Nimeguen*, where, during the war, he retained the power of changing the magiſtrates at pleaſure. Here he depoſed three of the chief magiſtrates, who eſpouſed *Barneveldt*, and favoured the remonſtrants. The diſgraced magiſtrates threw themſelves under the protection of the ſtates of *Holland*, and implored their aſſiſtance. Their requeſt was granted, and the ſtates immediately wrote to the ſtates of *Guelderland*; but the city of *Amſterdam*, and ſome other places, interpoſed, and refuſed to ſuffer the letter to paſs in the name of the ſtates of *Holland*, becauſe their deputies had oppoſed the contents [h].

He has great influence in Guelderland.

AFTER this tranſaction *Maurice* went to the ſtates of *Guelderland*, informed them of what he had done at *Nimeguen*, and received their thanks and applauſe. Here his influence carried every thing; he exhorted the ſtates to aſſiſt him in ſupporting the authority of the ſtates general againſt the encroachments of the provincial ſtates, and curbing the inſolence of the city-magiſtrates, who had the preſumption to raiſe troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the deſtruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the ſtates of *Guelderland* charged their deputies to the ſtates general, to repreſent the prince's reſolution to ſupport their authority; but it appears that neither *Maurice*, nor the ſtates, entertained a juſt idea of the nature of the government, or underſtood the laws of their country. The power aſſumed, in quality of governor, was by no means conſiſtent with the liberty of the cities, which, for time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magiſtrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of theſe privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raiſe ſuſpicions in the breaſt of every friend of liberty and his country. As to *Barneveldt*, he was ſo much affected with the public diſturbances, ſo anxious and ſolicitous about the fate of the republic, and ſo diligent in oppoſing the ambitious purpoſes of prince *Maurice*, that he was ſeized with a fever, which had almoſt deprived *Holland* of her moſt faithful and able miniſter.

[h] BRANDT. ibid. Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi.

On

On his return to the ſtates, perceiving he could not ſtem the torrent, and that the prince would one day reek his whole vengeance upon his head, he deſired leave to reſign the office of penſionery, and retire into private life, where he might at leaſt freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after foiling the whole power of the *Spaniſh* monarchy to enſlave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

THE great point now in debate was, whether a national ſynod ſhould be held? *Maurice* attended the ſtates at *Overyſſel*, and there ſtrongly recommended a meaſure which alone, he ſaid, could terminate the diſputes of the clergy: his ſpeech, however, was regarded as a ſnare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by ſtratagem or open force. Of this the deputies of *Haerlem* ſpoke freely, at the next aſſembly of the ſtates of *Holland*. They were the firſt who ventured to declare their ſuſpicions, and their reſolution to ſupport the ſtates againſt all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the ſtates of *Holland*, to which their deputies demanded an immediate anſwer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjuſting the contingents for ſupporting the expence of the government for the current year. *Haarlem* demanded that all the cities in arrear ſhould make up their accounts before demands were made on thoſe who had already advanced their proportions. At length thoſe new diſputes were wholly terminated by the prudence, the equity, and ability of *Barneveldt*. Something was likewiſe due to the ſpirit and good ſenſe of *Maurier*, the *French* ambaſſador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, *Maurier* told the ſtates, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re-eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general deciſion of their differences, or a compromiſe, in which both ſides muſt relax. As to the firſt, no man, he urged, of underſtanding and honeſty would recommend it; the ſecond was attended with a thouſand difficulties, which muſt ariſe in courſe of debate, where both ſides were too much heated and enflamed to reaſon diſpaſſionately; the laſt, in his opinion, was the only probable meaſure: a general toleration, until ſome better expedient could be found, would in the mean time diſarm faction, and fruſtrate the ſchemes of thoſe men whoſe ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

A. D. 1614.

THOUGH

THO' the diſputes in the ſtates of *Holland* yielded to the remedies applied by *Barneveldt* and *Maurice*, it was otherwiſe with the provinces in general. *Maurice* remained firm in his ſentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too artful to diſcloſe his purpoſes. He ſecured the *Engliſh* miniſter in his intereſt, and, with all the contra-remonſtrants, demanded a national ſynod, as the only effectual application to a diſeaſe which muſt ſoon deſtroy the conſtitution. Upon *Barneveldt's* oppoſing this meaſure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day publiſhed; and that great man was forced to have recourſe to the juſtification of a conduct which merited the higheſt applauſe and deepeſt gratitude from his country. He publiſhed a remonſtrance, in which he recited the particulars of his birth, ſervices, and education; the cauſe of the preſent diſorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole maſs of humours. Corroſive applications, he ſaid, were unadviſeable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without anſwering any of the indications, or touching the ſeat of the diſeaſe: ſuch were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the faireſt characters, and ruin thoſe perſons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of ſaving the commonwealth. He deſired it might be conſidered, that the exceſſive malice and rancour contained in thoſe writings could not be altogether levelled againſt him; they muſt have a deeper deſign; that of deſtroying the other faithful ſervants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very ſhadow of liberty, and a republican government. The virulence, the calumny, and bare-faced falſhood of the writers, evidently demonſtrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their ſentiments, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment, and made no ſcruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence there was a neceſſity to uſe compulſion in chuſing the magiſtrates. Were their profeſſions of zeal for religion, and their country, ſincere, they might have purſued methods more honourable, and conſiſtent with the true ſpirit of devotion and patriotiſm; but it was much eaſier to propagate calumnies, than to prove facts; bold aſſertions were ſufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their paſſions were influenced, it was not neceſſary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending chriſtian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and diſputed only

A. D. 1615.

about ſpeculative points uneſſential to religion. He laid before the ſtates, an account of the public expence, beſought them to contribute unanimouſly to the ſupplies wanted for the enſuing year; and then addreſſing himſelf to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, exhorted them to uſe their utmoſt efforts with their conſtituents, to remove every obſtruction to the peace, and reſtore the unanimity, and felicity of the commonwealth [a].

A. D. 1616. 1617. An air of ſimplicity and candour, of good ſenſe and public zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extenſive knowledge, powerfully recommended this performance to every ſincere patriot: it was however attacked with all poſſible marks of inveterate rancour, the author was loaded with abuſe and obloquy, and even the ſtates attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not paſs unnoticed. Accordingly they offered a reward for the diſcovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took *Barneveldt* under their immediate protection. They were ſupported by the towns of *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, *Schoonhoven*, &c. By theſe inſtructions were given to their deputies, to repreſent at the next aſſembly of the ſtates, the neceſſity of taking meaſures for preſerving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promiſing to indemnify the deputies, and ſupport them with all their ſtrength and influence. In conſequence the ſtates remonſtrated with prince *Maurice*, on the preſent ſituation of affairs; they repreſented, that certain perſons, meaning himſelf and the *Orange* faction, had, contrary to juſtice, and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of *Holland*; that his highneſs was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a ſtadtholder, which chiefly conſiſted in maintaining the ſovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the ſtates were bound, in conſequence of their oath, to preſerve the government, and of their reſpect for the houſe of *Orange*, to ſupport the magiſtrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, againſt all oppreſſion. They exhorted him therefore to aſſiſt their laudable endeavours; to uſe his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the ſtates in eccleſiaſtical matters; to join with them in the moſt efficacious methods of terminating thoſe obſtacles, which occaſioned ſo much grief to every ſincere patriot; to protect in particular

[a] GROT. Apol. cap. xx.

ticular the province of *Holland*, againſt the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to deſiſt from demanding a national ſynod, ſo contrary to the expreſs meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; to prevent the courts of juſtice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the reſolutions of the ſtates; to oblige them to confine themſelves within the limits of their inſtructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the ſtates or cities; not to oppoſe the antient right of the cities, to provide for their own ſecurity by levying guards and garriſons, when the forces of the ſtate were inſufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the ſtates, the council of war, and the magiſtrates of thoſe towns where they ſhould happen to be quartered. They likewiſe requeſted that his highneſs would not attempt to garriſon towns, or interfere in the elections of magiſtrates, without the conſent of the ſtates and council of war; that he would beſtow no military preferments, and neither augment nor diminiſh the garriſons, without previouſly acquainting them; and laſtly, they earneſtly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counſellors, who ſought to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of their country, and only regarded the republic and the *Orange* family, as the means of their own elevation; but always rely on the advice of the ſtates, who regarded his honour and intereſt, as the honour and intereſt of their country. This method his father, the late prince *Orange* of glorious memory, always followed, and he inſtantly met with the warmeſt returns of gratitude; ſecured the liberties of the provinces, and raiſed them from a oppreſſed, inſulted, deſpicable people, to a powerful, formidable, and free republic. The meaſures here pointed at, were no leſs neceſſary, they ſaid, to the good of the public, than for the ſecurity of individuals. They could not by any means allow the ſmalleſt violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they ſaid, to die honourably, than to ſurvive the loſs of thoſe bleſſings which their anceſtors and themſelves purchaſed at the exorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they aſſerted, that if they were properly aſſiſted by the influence and power of the ſtadtholder, they would undertake ſpeedily to ſubdue all controverſies which affected the public tranquillity, cloſe up thoſe wounds, which by habit would become incurable, reſtore order, diſcipline, and regularity to the ſtate, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their ſeveral

proportions, for the ſupport of the government and common cauſe [b].

HISTORY does not inform us what reply *Maurice* made to this remonſtrance; we are only told that he was greatly ſhocked, but not moved to the purpoſes of the ſtates, or convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he aſſembled a great number of divines of his own faction, at *Amſterdam*, to aſſiſt the magiſtrates in drawing up reaſons, to convince the ſtates of the neceſſity of a national ſynod. This with another writing were preſented, and clearly refuted by *Grotius*, who was too cloſe, clear, and learned for his antagoniſts. It was at length propoſed by the council of ſtate, that three theologians from each province, ſhould meet to adjuſt the conditions of a mutual toleration; and that if they could come to no agreement in the ſpace of a month, the proteſtant clergy of *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and *Switzerland*, ſhould be invited to their aſſiſtance. The propoſal was approved by a majority of voices in the ſtates; but *Amſterdam*, and the deputies of ſome other cities, oppoſed the reſolution, and ſtarted a variety of objections. They were eager for a national ſynod, in which they were ſtrongly ſupported by the provinces of *Zealand*, *Groningen*, *Friſeland*, the *Ommelans*, and prince *Maurice*. This diviſion among the cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonſtrants, and the terror of *Maurice* in his military capacity, entirely deſtroyed the authority of the ſtates of *Holland*, and rendered them incapable of proſecuting their moderate deſigns. Still, however, the council of ſtate continued to urge their propoſition, declaring null and void all that had been tranſacted in favour of a national ſynod. The council became now more than ever affected to the ſtates, from the affront given them by the prince's departure to the *Brille*, without their conſent or knowledge. The breach with the council of ſtate conſiderably diminiſhed the intereſt of *Maurice*; but it did not retard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, beſides a variety of cities and towns, he expected to ſurmount all oppoſition, and to effect ſuch alterations in the conſtitution, as would infallibly raiſe him to the ſovereignty of the provinces. He made no ſcruple of declaring that augmenting the garriſons, ſuppreſſing tumults by a military force, in a word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the governor, were in themſelves acts of rebellion. The

[b] Idem. ibid.

truth

uth was, this guard was an obſtruction to his deſign of anging the magiſtrates. The city of *Utrecht* inſiſted upon exertion of this privilege handed down for time immemo-l, but to avoid altercation, the magiſtrates firſt ſent depu-s to confer with the prince and the ſtates general. *Bar-veldt*, in the name of the ſtates of *Holland*, had an au-ence upon the ſame ſubject; but all his arguments could t prevail with *Maurice*, to ſuffer the garriſons to be un-r the direction of the magiſtrates, or to relinquiſh his oject for retrenching the privileges of the cities [c].

Soon after theſe conferences, *Maurice* repaired to *recht*, attended by three deputies from the ſtates gene-. He was received with great marks of diſtinction, d the burghers were ordered to appear under arms. he magiſtrates and clergy waited upon him with com-ments; and to the latter he ſaid, that his intention was reſtore the public tranquillity, by aſſembling a national iod, when all the controverted points ſhould be can-ſed, and their diſputes finally decided. The reply was, t nothing could be expected from ſuch an eccleſiaſ-al court, where the parties were to ſit in judgment, altercation, debate, and confuſion; they therefore in-ated him to lay aſide the project, as dangerous, and at events inadequate. Notwithſtanding this repulſe from clergy, *Maurice* propoſed to the provincial ſtates of *recht*, the diſbanding of the new levied garriſons, and convocation of a general ſynod. The propoſition ng communicated to the deputies of *Holland*, they ited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to repoſe of the provinces, to ſupport the privileges of the vns, and to protect the public tranquillity, taking not ſmalleſt notice of their ſuſpicions, that he was labour-to overthrow the conſtitution, and execute deſigns y oppoſite to their requeſt. *Maurice* was more ſincere: plainly gave the deputies to underſtand, that their ar-al in *Utrecht* was by no means agreeable. However y held conferences with the ſtates; after which the ince was told, that the guards raiſed by the magiſtrates re perfectly conſtitutional; and with reſpect to religion, at a national ſynod could not be convoked without detri-ent to the privileges of the provincial ſtates, who were preme within the juriſdiction of the province. After veral fruitleſs negotiations, held upon the ſuppoſition the rince would not venture upon any alterations without

[c] Le Clerc, lib. ix.

authority, at laſt his deſign was diſcovered, and the ſtates unable to oppoſe, determined to connive at his meaſures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had reſcued the provinces from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*. Before the blow was ſtruck, the members of the ſtates, with *Ledemberg* the ſecretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the *Hague*, there to expect the iſſue. Already *Maurice* had occupied the principal avenues leading to *Utrecht*, which he lined with ſoldiers. When he had aſſembled a ſufficient force, he ordered the new levies raiſed by the magiſtrates to appear, upon which he releaſed them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and diſbanded the whole garriſon. *Grotius* affirms, he had no authority for this proceeding, that the power was entirely in the provincial ſtates, and that *Maurice* had conſidered their ſilence, their inability to appeaſe him, and their abrupt departure, into an aſſent of his meaſures. Afterwards he went to the town-houſe, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by thoſe new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotiſm. This was all the apology he offered for the groſſeſt violation of the privileges of the city and province. He would paſs himſelf for the protector of the church and ſtate and indeed his conduct was ſo ſpecious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who ſtrenuouſly preſſed him to aſſume the ſovereignty.

Maurice *offers violence to the privileges of* Utrecht.

NEXT he procured a few of the burghers to accuſe the preſent magiſtrates of abuſing their office. This was ſufficient reaſon for depoſing them, and ſubſtituting in their room, the friends of *Maurice*, and the contra-remonſtrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magiſtrates, and to appoint a perpetual, inſtead of an annual council. All the remonſtrants were turned out of their places. *Ledemberg*, ſecretary to the ſtates, was forced to reſign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the houſe of *Orange*, after he had for thirty years ſerved the public with unblemiſhed integrity. A variety of alterations were beſides made in the other ſeveral departments of the ſtate; even the clergy were deprived of their ſtipends, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them the province of *Utrecht*. The contra-remonſtrants, encouraged by theſe favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church then poſſeſſed by the remonſtrants. *Tau-*

rin the miniſter, refuſed to comply: but he was ſoon obliged to take ſanctuary under the wing of *Ledemberg*, with whom he retired to the *Hague*. Upon the ſecretary's being arreſted a few days afterwards, *Taurin* eſcaped to *Antwerp*, to avoid the ſame fate [d].

ABOUT this time, by order of his maſter the *French* king, *Maurier* the *French* ambaſſador demanded an audience of the ſtates general. He repreſented in lively colours, the approaching diſſolution of the government, owing to the violence of faction, at a time when the expiration of the truce with *Spain* ought to make every part of the ſtate unanimous. He threw out ſome reflections on the violence offered to the liberties of the cities, and ſaid, that the provinces had wantonly laviſhed ſeas of blood, in reſiſting the tyranny of the houſe of *Auſtria*, if they were now to be enſlaved by a faction of their own ſubjects. He recommended harmony in church and ſtate, and exhorted the ſtates general to exert with vigour the power lodged in in their hands by the conſtitution. The ſtates, conſcious of their inability, but aſhamed to acknowledge their weakneſs, ſeemed embarraſſed for an anſwer. Having no other reply, they thanked the king, told the ambaſſador the danger was not ſo great as he apprehended, and that they would take the moſt effectual meaſures to reſtore peace, concord, and regularity.

PRINCE *Maurice* having terminated matters to his wiſh at *Utrecht*, ſet out for the *Hague*, where he made report of the late tranſaction, and received the thanks of the deputies of the four provinces in his intereſt. The deputies of *Holland* were likewiſe exhorted, to prevail on the cities to diſband the new levied guards; but it was obvious from their anſwer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infraction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the leaſt tumult would furniſh a pretext for ſimilar treſpaſſes in the conſtitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the ſtates general, by rendering himſelf abſolute in the cities, and of conſequence in the provincial ſtates. They concluded with ſaying, they would report the prince's requeſt to their conſtituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of *Holland* might be left in the full exertion of their privileges; but they were ſerved in a ſimilar manner with thoſe of A. D. 1618.

[d] BRANDT. lib. xxix. GROT. Apol. cap. 20.

Utrecht, and even the cities in the prince's intereſt were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to ſhew his impartiality. It was not poſſible indeed to ward off the blow, becauſe the ſtadtholder had the army at command, and the ſtates of *Holland* were wholly diſarmed. Beſides, he took his meaſures with ſuch prudence and art, as ſeemed even to have deceived *Barneveldt* himſelf. At the very time *Maurice* was projecting his fall, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very conſiderable employments. The penſioner's ſon was created maſter of the dykes and foreſts, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger ſon of *Barneveldt*, he gave the government of *Bergen-op-zoom*, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the *United Provinces*. At laſt, the artifice, the power and addreſs of *Maurice* rendered his party every where ſuperior. He gained over to his intereſt *Francis Aerſens*, ſon of *Cornelius Aerſens* ſecretary of ſtate, and long ambaſſador at the court of *France*. The violence, the ability, and vigour of *Aerſens*, quickened the meaſures of the prince. His aſpiring ambition ſcrupled no action which could promote his intereſt; perniciouſly bold, and deteſtably eloquent, he converted the nobleſt qualities to the worſt purpoſes, ruined his country, oppreſſed innocence, and ſacrificed patriotiſm, at the ſhrine of thoſe ill-fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and ſtrongeſt barrier of the commonwealth. *Aerſens* ſtimulated *Maurice* to what he was before inclined. To his counſel may be attributed the ſolemn ſynod aſſembled in the month of *November*, at *Dordrecht*, to which the ſtates general, the provincial ſtates of the *Seven Provinces*, the kings of *England* and *France*, the elector palatine, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the cities of *Bremen*, *Verden*, *Geneva*, and the proteſtant cantons of *Switzerland*, diſpatched their ambaſſadors and deputies. Thither the *Arminian* party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they diſſented from the eſtabliſhed church.

BARNEVELDT and the remonſtrants had long avoided this blow, under pretence that a general ſynod was a treſpaſs on the privileges of the provincial ſtates. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people if they appeared; and if they refuſed to obey the citations, to expoſe them as public incendiaries, the friends of *Spain*, popery and ſlavery. The remonſtrants refuſed to attend the ſynod; at laſt they publiſhed a long writing, in which they explained the chief points

of

of their doctrine, proteſted againſt the ſynod, and exhibited their reaſons for refuſing to appear in their own defence, before judges who were actually parties in the diſpute. Accordingly their opinions were ſolemnly condemned, and the remonſtrants were ſtigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the eſtabliſhed religion, and attributed to the *Belgian* church other ſentiments than thoſe it really profeſſed. *Aerſens* wrote ſeveral pieces againſt *Barneveldt*, in which he boldly charged him with theſe deſigns. He was a ſpirited, artful, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity, they made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the people, and ſo far influenced their paſſions, that *Maurice* reſolved, before the public ardour cooled, to ſeize upon *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Hoogenberts*, and other leaders of the *Arminian* party, whom he impriſoned in the caſtle of *Louveſtein*, whence that faction has ever ſince borrowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long ſervices, the moderation and patriotiſm of *Barneveldt*, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allegations of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. *Maurice* procured an order of the ſtates general for his impriſonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the ſtates; notwithſtanding which, this order was ſigned only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince's intereſt. *Barneveldt* was accuſed of being the author of the diſturbances at *Utrecht*, and of harbouring deſigns deſtructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the ſtates general, condemned to death by the moſt iniquitous ſentence, and deprived of his life on a public ſcaffold, by the ſame blow which ruined the character of prince *Maurice*.

The leaders of the Arminians *impriſoned.*

Barneveldt *condemned and executed.*

(A) In this confinement the learned *Grotius* remained for ſeveral years, when at length he made his eſcape, through the courage, the affection, and addreſs of his wife *Reigersberg*. This lady had obtained leave to ſend large boxes of books to her huſband, and to viſit him in priſon, which furniſhed her with a hint for his eſcape. She perſuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his houſe. He was carried out by the guards, without ſuſpicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of their burthen; he eſcaped to the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, paſſed from thence into *France*, where he was well received by the king. At laſt he was employed by *Chriſtina* queen of *Sweden*, that liberal proteſtreſs of merit, and died at *Rosbach*, in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, in the year 1645. *See his life.*

rice,

A. D. 1619. *rice*, and withered with the ardour of ambition thoſe laurels acquired by long and important ſervices (B). He loſt his popularity and the affections of the people, when he hoped to obtain the ſovereignty. Inſtead of being adored as a hero, he was deteſted as a tyrant. As he paſſed through the cities, nothing but murmurs and the name of *Barneveldt* could be heard, where formerly *Maurice* was received as the guardian and protector of his country. In a word, the death of *Barneveldt* laid the foundation of a conſpiracy againſt the life of the prince, which was diſcovered only a few hours before the time appointed for its execution. The deſign was projected by *Satnlemburgh*, governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, who with his accomplices, fell a ſacrifice to patriotiſm and filial duty[c].

[a] Le Clerc, lib. ix. tom. i. Grot. p. Apol. 59.

(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the caſtle of the *Hague*, on the 13th day of *May*, A. D. 1619, when *Barneveldt* was ſeventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had ſpent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambaſſador to the courts of *France* and *England*, and penſionery of the ſtates of *Holland*. A medal was ſtruck in honour of his memory. All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full luſtre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepeſt ſtain upon the houſe of *Orange*.

SECT. VIII.

Containing the commercial affairs of the republic during the truce, the renewal of the war with Albert, *the death of prince* Maurice, *the propoſals of peace made by* Iſabella, *fruſtrated by the* French *miniſtry, the treaty with* France *againſt* Spain, &c.

The ſtate of commerce at the expiration of the truce.

DURING the truce with the archduke, the *United Provinces* had paid the moſt aſſiduous attention to trade and navigation, which were aſtoniſhingly improved and extended, by voyages to *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, in all of which this indefatigable people had erected colonies, and founded ſettlements. The returns made by the *Eaſt India* company, alone were ſufficient to aggrandize the ſtate, and raiſe this infant republic to a degree of naval power

power, ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory. Vaſt fleets, equal in ſtrength to hoſtile armaments, returned with the richeſt treaſures and ſpices of the *Indies*, the *Baltic* ſwarmed with *Dutch* ſhips, the flag of the republic became even well known in the *Levant*, and her ſhipping traded to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, with as much ſecurity as if the provinces were ſtill under the protection of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. *Venice*, a republic the firſt in opulence and power in the world, gladly ſolicited the friendſhip of this new commonwealth, and was forced to make court to a people, whoſe induſtry was the ruin of her commerce, and the chief cauſe of her decline. The foundation was laid of an empire at *Batavia*, infinitely ſuperior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republic of the *United Provinces*, where the providence of the *Dutch* ſeemed to ſecure a retreat, in caſe by any fatal accident their liberties ſhould be deſtroyed in *Europe*[a].

Negotiations for a new treaty.

SUCH was the ſituation of this republic at the expiration of the truce with *Albert*, a prince who, from his pacific and moderate ſentiments, juſtly merited the appellation of *pious*. It was the archduke's ſincere intention to have paſſed his life in tranquillity, and end his days in perfect harmony with the *United Provinces*. He admired the ſpirit of liberty, the independency and the induſtry of men, whom he otherways regarded as rebels and heretics; experience convinced him of the impoſſibiliy of ſubduing them, and he was taught by the dictates of ſound policy, to put up with the loſs of ſeven provinces, rather than hazard the ruin of the remaining ten; which formed all his dominions. But the court of *Spain* entertained different ſentiments. Loſſes, defeats, and mortifications, had not yet ſubdued the haughty ſpirit of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and *Philip* could not ſupport the thoughts of ſeeing ſo precious a jewel torn from his diadem. Thus the long ceſſation of hoſtilities which it was hoped would calm paſſion, compoſe reſentment, and open the way to a durable ſolid pacification, had no other effect, than enabling the parties to reſume the war with redoubled vigour.

PREVIOUS however to the renewal of hoſtilities, *Albert* ſent *Peckius*, chancellor of *Brabant*; to the *Hague*, either to conclude a new treaty, or procure an audience of the prince. The ſuperb equipage in which he appeared, gave offence to the frugal *Dutchmen*; it prejudiced them againſt whatever he could offer: but the extravagance of

[a] BASNAGE, p. 6. LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 73.

his propoſitions, which were dictated by the court of *Madrid*, were not even deemed worthy of a reply by the ſtates general. The populace inſulted the ambaſſador, and he returned highly irritated to *Bruſſels*. *Albert* beheld with uneaſineſs the obſtinacy of the *Spaniſh* miniſtry; he endeavoured to palliate their demands, and grant a truce upon the ſame footing as the preceding. For this purpoſe ſecret agents were employed in *Holland*; but as *Philip* publickly inſiſted, that the provinces ſhould enter into their former ſubjection, all the negotiations vaniſhed in ſmoke. *Spinola* took the field with an army of 15,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, with which he penetrated into the country of *Juliers*, ordering the count *de Berg*, with a ſtrong detachment, to inveſt the city of *Juliers*, garriſoned by *Dutch* forces ſince the death of the duke of *Cleves*. He was well acquainted with the diviſions in the provinces, and weak condition of the army under prince *Maurice*. *Berg* inveſted *Juliers*; but finding the garriſon numerous and reſolute, he converted the ſiege to a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the neceſſity of ſurrendering, in deſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the prince to throw in ſuccours [d].

A. D. 1621. *Renewal of the war.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, and the great ſuperiority of his forces, the archduke was ſtill deſirous of an accommodation: he was on the point of renewing the negotiations, when he was ſeized with a diſorder which carried him off, and deprived the *Netherlands* of all hope of an iſſue to their calamities. It was expected that the death of *Philip* III. which fell out about this time, and the minority that enſued, would have accelerated a peace; but the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, as well as the counſellors about the archduchеſs, found their advantage in the continuance of the war. It is likewiſe ſaid, that *Spinola*, animated with his ſucceſs before *Juliers*, with the diſtraction of the provinces, and the ſtrength of his army, promiſed to force the *Dutch* in a few campaigns to abſolute ſubjection. In purſuance of this deſign, he aſſembled his whole army with intention to inveſt *Bergen-op-zoom*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in *Dutch Brabant*. *Maurice* penetrated his meaning, and took care to provide the garriſon with liberal reinforcements of men, ammunition, and proviſions. The prince had his head-quarters at *Emmeric*, whence he detached colonel *Henderſon*, a *Scotchman*, with 700 men, who threw themſelves into the town, in defiance of the vigi-

[d] MEM. de Fred. Hen. P. d'Orange, p. 12, 13.

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lance of *Spinola*. Soon after the colonel ſallied out with a numerous party, on the quarter of the beſiegers camp, commanded by *Baglioni*, general of the *Italian* forces. Here, after an obſtinate conflict, he was wounded, juſt as he was on the point of graſping victory; his party, finding themſelves unſupported, retired with ſome precipitation, and the colonel died the day following, deeply regretted by prince *Maurice*. Now the ſiege was puſhed with great vigour, and the reſiſtance was ſuch as might be expected from a brave garriſon, animated in defence of liberty, and aſſiſted by ſtrong fortifications. However, the prince, who was too weak to offer battle to *Spinola*, formed an enterpriſe on *Boiſleduc*, which, he thought, would neceſſarily draw off the attention of the enemy, and interrupt, if it could not wholly ſuſpend, the operations againſt *Bergen-op-zoom*. But he was ſoon obliged to abandon the deſign from a variety of untoward accidents. As yet he was not reinforced by the *German* proteſtants under count *Manſveldt*, and the duke of *Brunſwic*. Theſe auxiliaries were arrived at *Sedan*; but before they could proceed, it was neceſſary to fight *Gonzales* with a ſtrong detachment. Upon this the count determined, and accordingly attacked the *Spaniard*, who received his charge with great intrepidity. After an obſtinate and bloody action, in which the duke of *Brunſwic* was dangerouſly wounded, victory declared for *Manſveldt*; the enemy retreated, and he was left to purſue his march unmoleſted. A. D. 1622.

SPINOLA had proſecuted the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and performed every thing which could be expected from an officer of experience and ability. All thoſe expedients which he had practiſed with ſucceſs at *Oſtend* were now repeated, and every ſtratagem of the military art exhauſted; but the length of the ſiege occaſioned great deſertion in his camp; his army was exceedingly diminiſhed, and the beſieged encouraged to a more ſpirited defence by the late advantage gained by *Manſveldt*, which they hoped would enable prince *Maurice* to give battle to the *Spaniards*. *Manſveldt* had brought a reinforcement of 4000 horſe and 3000 foot; and the prince had beſides ordered his brother prince *Henry* to join him with his whole army. He was now at *Emmeric* with a body of 8000 foot and 1500 horſe, oppoſing the deſigns of the count *de Berg*. Upon the union of all the different corps, the main army exceeded 20,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, a force more than ſufficient to compel the exhauſted, diſpirited *Spaniards* to relinquiſh the ſiege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. Accordingly *Spinola* broke up his camp on the approach of the prince of *Orange*, and

Spinola *raiſes the ſiege of* Bergen-op-zoom.

and retired in ſo good order, that *Maurice*, who well knew his capacity, apprehended that this motion was a feint, only to lull him and the garriſon into ſecurity. It proved otherwiſe, and *Spinola* had the mortification to ſee himſelf baffled, for the firſt time, in a ſiege which had coſt him the lives of 10,000 ſoldiers, of the flower of his army. On the fourth day of *October* prince *Maurice* entered *Bergen-op-zoom* with thirty troops of horſe, and next day he was followed by prince *Henry*, count *Erneſt de Naſſau*, and other officers, with whom he concerted the plan of their future operations.

SOMETIME before *Bergen-op-zoom* was inveſted, the governor of *Antwerp* laid ſiege to *Sluys* with 10,000 men, by expreſs order of the archduchеſs; but the ſtrength of the place, the valour of the garriſon, and the dreadful inundation in which they overwhelmed the country, by breaking their dykes, and opening the ſluices, rendered the enterpriſe fruitleſs, and obliged *Ignatio de Borgia* to decamp with great loſs and precipitation. Nor was this the only attempt in which the *Spaniards* failed, during the tedious ſiege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. They laid ſiege to *Haſſelt*, an inconſiderable town in *Overyſſel*, and would have reduced the place but for the vigorous and gallant conduct of the burghers of *Haerlem*, led on by the captains *Olican* and *Vander Camer*, who pierced through the enemies camp, entered the town, made a briſk ſally, and obliged the *Spaniards* to retreat with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of their artillery.

PRINCE *Maurice*, having accompliſhed his purpoſe at *Bergen-op-zoom*, retired to *Roſendal*, and ſent a detachment to inveſt *Steenberg*, which capitulated before the batteries were erected. *Spinola* too had retreated towards *Antwerp*, where he was joined by 6000 men juſt arrived from *Spain*, and the corps under the count *de Berg*. With this reinforcement he was ſuperior to the *Hollanders*; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince's camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, ſaying, *He had come to relieve* Bergen-op-zoom, *and reduce* Steenberg; *he had accompliſhed both deſigns, and was ſatisfied.* Upon receiving this anſwer, *Spinola* turned off towards *Bruſſels*, and *Maurice* marched to *Breda*. The enemy reſumed their operations, and the count *de Berg* was detached to lay ſiege to *Pfaffenmutz*, while prince *Maurice* was contriving the means of getting rid of his troubleſome ally, count *Manſveldt*, who with his undiſciplined troops, accuſtomed to violence and rapine, was deſolating the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At laſt the *Germans* croſſed the *Rhine*,

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and paſſed into *Weſtphalia*; when *Maurice* was in hopes that *Manſveldt* would have attempted the relief of *Pfaffenmutz*, the brave garriſon of which, after a moſt gallant defence, and ſuffering extreme hardſhips, was forced to capitulate. The count *de Berg* repaired the fortifications, put a ſtrong garriſon into the place, and changed the name to that of *Fort Iſabella*; but the works were ſoon after deſtroyed, in conſequence of a petition preſented to the emperor and diet at *Ratiſbon*, by the magiſtrates of *Cologne*.

Maurice *is diſappointed in his deſigns on* Antwerp.

AT the time prince *Maurice* declined the challenge ſent by *Spinola*, he was meditating an attempt upon the moſt conſiderable city in the *Netherlands*. *Antwerp* was the great object of his deſigns, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemies attention from this city. The ſcheme was ſo well laid, that, on taking leave of the ſtates at the *Hague*, he ſaid, *That God only could prevent the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe.* However, it miſcarried, through a train of unavoidable accidents, which human ſagacity could not foreſee. The fleet, aſſembled at the *Brille*, was locked up by a ſudden froſt; ſome of the veſſels which had put to ſea were loſt in a ſtorm; two regiments were ſhipwrecked; and thus the fineſt project that had been concerted during the war vaniſhed into ſmoke. *Flanders* and *Brabant* muſt have followed the fate of *Antwerp*, the loſs of which would have been a mortal blow to the *Spaniſh* affairs. Diſappointed in a ſcheme upon which he had ſet his heart, *Maurice* returned, greatly chagrined, to *Ryſwic*, where a conſpiracy againſt his life was diſcovered. The author was *William Barneveldt*, grandſon of the penſioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his deſign of aſſaſſinating the prince to his elder brother, the ſieur *Barneveldt* of *Groenveldt*, exhorting him to join in his reſentment, to aſſiſt in avenging the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whoſe ſole aim was to acquire the ſovereignty of the country, and ſubject the *United Provinces* to a more cruel ſlavery than they had ſuffered under the dominion of *Spain*. But *Groenveldt* received the propoſal with horror, and uſed every argument in his power to prevail upon *William* to drop an attempt which muſt terminate in the ruin and diſgrace of the conſpirators. His remonſtrance produced no effect; *William* was obſtinate and implacable; his violent ſpirit knew no bounds, and he reſolved to purſue his vengeance at the hazard of his own deſtruction. He engaged in the plot a number of *Arminians*, actuated by the ſame averſion to *Maurice*, and deſire of reſcuing their country from bondage,

A. D. 1623.

A conſpiracy againſt his life diſcovered.

bondage, as himſelf. It was determined to ſhoot the prince on his way from *Ryſwic* to the *Hague*, and the conſpirators had all their proper parts aſſigned them, the arms were purchaſed, and the day for execution fixed. Two of his aſſociates, ſtruck with remorſe, diſcovered the conſpiracy; the prince returned to the *Hague*, doubled his guards, and *Barneveldt* eſcaped to *Antwerp*, where he died ſome years after. Four of the conſpirators were ſeized, tried, condemned, and ſolemnly executed. *Groenweldt* likewiſe was taken into cuſtody, and condemned as a party, becauſe he had not diſcovered his brother's intentions. It was not ſufficient that he had endeavoured to diſſuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and conſidered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, and an innocent victim offered to appeaſe the reſentment of prince *Maurice* [c].

The perſecution renewed againſt the Arminians.

THIS opportunity was favourable to the *Gomariſts*, and they did not fail to embrace it to renew their perſecutions againſt the *Arminian* party. They gave out that the whole ſect was engaged in the conſpiracy; notwithſtanding the edict of the ſtates, which had forbid the revival of all religious diſputes, they began publiſhing bitter invectives againſt the *Arminians*; and even accuſed a little ſociety, formed for the ſupport of poor ſectariſts, of a deſign againſt the government. It was affirmed, that the *Arminian* miniſters, baniſhed the provinces, had returned in diſguiſe, and were exerting their utmoſt influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to ſo great a length, and were ſo powerfully ſupported by the prince of *Orange*, that, by an ordonnance publiſhed in the month of *February*, in the name of *Maurice* and the ſtates of *Utrecht*, the *Arminians* were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proſcribed afreſh, and a reward of 600 livres offered to whoever ſhould accuſe any of them of crimes and miſdemeanors againſt the government, or deſigns upon the prince of *Orange*; nor was the reward limited to conviction: the accuſer had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accuſation in ſome public court; and by this a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and perſecution. Armed with legiſlative power, the *Gomariſts* kept no bounds; they not only abuſed the *Arminians* from the pulpit, reviling them with the opprobrious names of traitors and parricides, but they proceeded to perſecute individuals, and to eſtabliſh courts as iniquitous and oppreſſive as thoſe inquiſitions which had originally occaſioned the defection

[c] Nuville Hiſt. de Hollande, tom. i. lib. v.

of

of the *Seven Provinces*. The *Arminians* preſented a petition, craving the protection of the ſtates general againſt ſuch unprecedented cruelty. They ſolemnly diſavowed all knowledge of the horrid conſpiracy with which they were charged; they remonſtrated on the injuſtice of perſecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared their having no relation, connection, or intereſt in the fate of the conſpirators, whom they deteſted and abhorred; they urged their ſervices to the ſtates; and preſſed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the uſual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous *Grotius* ſupported this petition with an apology for the *Arminians*, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this maſterly piece, inſtead of convincing, ſerved only to irritate the minds of the *Gomariſts*. The ſtates did not care to interpoſe, as the prince of *Orange*, and the province of *Utrecht*, had given ſanction to the perſecution. And thus the unfortunate *Arminians* were left a prey to the moſt implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the ſpirit of political and theological rancour.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed that the *Gomariſts* had ſome appearance of reaſon for their perſecutions, and that the prince of *Orange*, in particular, had cauſe for that implacable hatred he bore to the *Arminian* faction, who had long wiſhed to ſee the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conſpiracy were of this party; and *Statius*, an *Arminian* preacher of *Bliſwick*, now in cuſtody, and actually engaged in the plot, had confeſſed on the rack, that all the principal perſons of his perſuaſion were acceſſaries to the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Maurice*, and ſubverting the government. This evidence was extorted from him by the violence of the torture, and the hope given him of pardon; however, it left ſuſpicions injurious to the *Arminians* in the minds of ſeveral men extremely moderate in their ſentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared a mere tiſſue of malevolence and calumny. He was therefore condemned to death; and a libel he had publiſhed the preceding year againſt the prince of *Orange*, ordered to be burned by the ignominious hands of the executioner [d]. Several other perſons were beheaded at the *Hague* and *Leyden*, only becauſe they were *Arminians*, and conſe-

[d] Nuville, tom. i. lib. v.

quently ſuppoſed favourers of the violent meaſures upon which ſome turbulent, headſtrong, and bigotted perſons of the ſame faction had entered. The rigour of theſe proceedings was generally condemned; it was thought injurious to liberty, that attempts againſt the life of the prince of *Orange* ſhould be deemed equivalent to deſigns formed againſt the government, which was actually acknowledging that he was the head of the republic, and in a manner the ſovereign of the *United Provinces*.

Treaty with the ſtates of Barbary.

IN this manner was *Holland* torn with civil faction, while at the ſame time oppreſſed with an expenſive, bloody war, againſt the whole power of the *Spaniſh* monarchy; and her commerce diſturbed by the piracies of the *Barbary* corſairs, eſpecially thoſe of *Tunis* and *Algiers*. The ſtates complained, by their ambaſſadors, to the courts of *Fez* and *Conſtantinople*, under whoſe protection the *Barbary* ſtates ſkreen themſelves; but they could obtain no redreſs, becauſe ſeveral of theſe claim a kind of independency, under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely uſeful auxiliaries to the grand ſignior, and the emperor of *Morocco*. In order, therefore, to get rid of ſuch troubleſome foes, the ſtates entered into a kind of compoſition with the maritime cities of *Barbary*, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either ſhould be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchaſed by a ſum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was ſtruck up between the *United Provinces*, and the joint empire of *Fez* and *Morocco*. In conſequence, they committed hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*, in which they were aſſiſted by the *Dutch* and *Germans*; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the ſtates; for the emperor, without declaring openly againſt the *Hollanders*, maintained two formidable armies to aſſiſt their enemies, and, if poſſible, to reduce the *Netherlands* once more under the dominion of the houſe of *Auſtria*. One was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *German* catholics; it had been employed againſt the proteſtants of *Bohemia*, commanded by count *Tilly*, and was now ordered to advance into *Friſeland*. The other, conducted by *Gonzales de Cordova*, acted along the *Lower Rhine* in the duchies of *Juliers* and *Gueldres*, and was compoſed chiefly of *Spaniards*, under the direction of the emperor. It was propoſed to join theſe to *Spinola*'s army, in order to form ſuch a body of forces as ſhould, at one blow, cruſh the rebellious *Hollanders*.

A. D. 1624. SENSIBLE of what was tranſacting among the enemy, the ſtates endeavoured to ward off the impending ſtroke, by an artifice

artifice that ſucceeded. They again employed *Manſveldt*, and the biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, to make a diverſion; furniſhing them with money to begin new levies. With theſe auxiliaries it was reſolved to carry the war into *Liege*, *Cologne*, and the catholic part of *Weſtphalia*, in order to draw the attention of *Tilly* and *Gonzales* from the *United Provinces*. They likewiſe entered into an alliance with *Betlen Gabor*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, in open rebellion againſt the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in *Hungary*; and by attacking the court of *Vienna* in ſo many parts, diſtract her councils, and divide her forces. *Manſveldt* began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in *Eaſt Friſeland* and *Weſtphalia*. He ravaged, pillaged, and deſolated with the cruelty of a barbarian; reſpecting neither age nor ſex, and robbing without diſtinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his ſucceſs, the *Dutch* garriſon in the little town of *Lippe* made irruptions into *Weſtphalia*, levied prodigious contributions, and inſpired the ſtates with a high opinion of the ſcheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With reſpect to the biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, the *Spaniards* oppoſed his croſſing the *Weſer*, and placed ſtrong garriſons in *Hoxter*, *Hamelen*, *Rintelen*, and *Wecht*; but count *Stirum*, a few days after, took this laſt place by aſſault, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Theſe hoſtilities, and others, committed in *Lower Saxony*, produced an aſſembly of the princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The biſhop of *Halberſtadt* was choſen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the intereſt of *Manſveldt* and the *United Provinces*. His brother, the duke of *Brunſwic*, engaged to the emperor for his honour; and, in conſequence, *Tilly* had inſtructions not to penetrate into *Lower Saxony*. To theſe promiſes made by the duke the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He ſaw himſelf at the head of a fine army of 19,000 foot, and 5600 horſe; he deſpiſed the emperor's pardon, and drew upon himſelf the indignation of the court of *Vienna*, the allied powers of *Lower Saxony*, and the whole weight of count *Tilly*'s forces. In conſequence, he was defeated at *Statlo*, and his army entirely deſtroyed, except 6000 of the ſcattered remains, picked up, and retained in their ſervice, by the *Hollanders* [e].

Victory obtaind by count Tilly.

[e] Id. ibid.

UPON the biſhop's defeat, *Manſveldt* retired to *Eaſt Fri land*, a province at that time diſturbed by civil diſſentio In the city of *Embden* alone were no leſs than three partie one declared for the natural ſovereign, one for the empero and a third for the *United Provinces*. *Tilly*, who knew th ill treatment which the inhabitants received from *Manſveld* thought to profit by the averſion they entertained for th general and the friends of the biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, and fc that purpoſe to enter the territory of *Embden* in conjunctio with *Gonzales*. The *United Provinces* were appriſed of h deſign ſoon enough to prevent it, by ſending prince *Hen* and count *Erneſt Caſimir* of *Naſſau*, with a body of force towards the city. A garriſon of twelve complete compani was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put int a ſtate of defence, and the whole party for the emper baniſhed. This precaution deſtroyed all *Tilly*'s ſcheme and obliged him to retire to *Weſtphalia*, where he revenge the diſappointment on the towns held in that country by th *Hollanders*. *Sparemberg*, and ſeveral places of leſs conſide ration, felt the effects of his reſentment; after which h marched to inveſt *Lippe*, or *Lippſtat*, the only remainin town the *Hollanders* poſſeſſed in *Weſtphalia*, and a place c the utmoſt conſequence. The garriſon, compoſed of *Fren* and *Dutch* ſoldiers, was numerous, and well provide *Tilly* made regular approaches, battered the walls with gre fury, gave the aſſault, and was vigorouſly repulſed; bi finding that *Manſveldt* did not care to hazard a battle, th garriſon at laſt ſurrendered the place upon honourable cor ditions. As the winter approached, the armies of bot ſides retired into quarters; and fruitleſs negotiations we renewed in this, as in every other preceding ſeaſon. Befo we reſume the military operations by land, it will be n ceſſary to give a ſhort view of the naval tranſactions of th *United Provinces*.

Naval tranſactions.

SOON after the treaty with the ſtates of *Barbary*, the pr vinces experienced how little confidence ought to be plac in the faith of pirates, who judge of right by power and t ſword. Four *Dutch* ſhips were attacked on the coaſt *Genoa* by the corſairs of *Algiers*, and three were taken af a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determin not to fall into the hands of ſo cruel and perfidious enemy, fought deſperately; and the crew, finding all e deavours vain, ſet fire to the powder-room, and bl themſelves up, with ſeventy of the barbarians, who h boarded the veſſel. Nor was this the only loſs ſuſtair

t

this year; another of more importance happened, in conſequence of a well-concerted plan of the court of *Madrid*, whereby upwards of an hundred ſail of *Dutch* ſhips were ſeized in the harbours of *Spain* and *Portugal* (A).

But thoſe loſſes, conſiderable as they appeared, were amply recompenſed by the prodigious ſucceſs of the *Eaſt India* company. The trade was extended, the ſettlements eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſecure footing, the enemies colonies miſerably harraſſed, and their ſhipping entirely deſtroyed. Above ſixty rich veſſels were taken or ſunk, and the booty amounted to upwards of two millions ſterling, a remittance now made to *Europe*, to enable the provinces to ſupport the war with vigour, and extricate themſelves with honour out of a quarrel of which *Spain* grew heartily tired [f].

Succeſſes of the Dutch *in* South America.

The naval operations of *Holland* were not confined to *Europe* and *Aſia*, a ſtrong fleet was ſent to *America* under admiral *Hermit*, with inſtructions to penetrate to the ſource of thoſe vaſt treaſures, which the *Spaniards* drew from *Peru*, and their ſettlements on the ſouthern continent of *America*. *Wilkens* had been detached with a ſquadron to *Braſil* about four months before. When the viceroy of *Lima* underſtood that a *Dutch* fleet was upon the coaſt, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of *Callao*, on which he doubted not the *Hollanders* would make their firſt attack. *Hermit* was not diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of the enemy; they were more than double his force, but he boldly crouded ſail for the harbour, and greatly aſtoniſhed the *Spaniards* at his boldneſs, who were then preparing to give him chace, not expecting he would preſume to offer battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whoſe example was followed by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obſtinacy, until the *Spaniſh* admiral's ſhip, with

[f] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. x.

(A) It muſt be remembered, that, through the whole courſe of this war, the *Dutch* traded to the *Spaniſh* ports, as if they had been in entire friendſhip with the crown; than which nothing can furniſh a ſtronger idea of the attachment of the *Hollanders* to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to ſupply towns, with proviſion, that were beſieged by their own armies; and to furniſh the enemy with ammunition, and other neceſſaries; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by this means, kept in their own hands the profits with which other nations would be enriched.

800 men on board, was ſunk, and the vice-admiral's burned. The loſs of theſe two ſhips was ſucceeded by the deſtruction of nine more, ſix of which were ſunk, and three burned. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; *Hermit* purſued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the ſpace of an hour eleven *Spaniſh* men of war were ſunk, taken, and deſtroyed; and the conſternation was ſo great in *Lima*, that had the admiral purſued his blow, he muſt infallibly have taken the town, and gained poſſeſſion of the immenſe treaſures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to refreſh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time the viceroy had aſſembled a numerous army that rendered an attempt impracticable.

ADMIRAL *Willekens* arrived in *All-Saints* bay on the 8th day of *May*, and next day caſt anchor before the town of *St. Salvador*, the capital of the country, and the reſidence of the *Portugueſe* viceroy. His ſquadron conſiſted of nine large ſhips, manned with 1500 ſailors and 2000 marines. All the ſoldiers were put on board the four ſhips that compoſed the van, in order to perſuade the enemy that the other ſhips were equally crouded. *Willekins* landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the ſhore, and obliged them to hide themſelves behind the walls of the city; the vice-admiral, in the mean time, gaining poſſeſſion of a ſtrong battery that formed a kind of out-work, on a projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the gates ſet open; however, the garriſon ſtill continued in the caſtle, until finding that all reſiſtance would prove fruitleſs, they ſurrendered. The town was pillaged, and vaſt quantities of rich merchandiſe ſent on board, for the uſe of the *Weſt India* company; nor did the ſoldiers even ſpare the churches, from whence they carried vaſt quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel *Van Dort* was appointed governor of the town, and a ſtrong garriſon left to ſupport his government. His firſt act was, to publiſh a manifeſto, in the name of the ſtates, allowing liberty of conſcience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the *United Provinces*. He then hoiſted the *Spaniſh* flag, in order to deceive the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* ſhipping, and had the good fortune to ſeize eight rich merchantmen by the ſtratagem. *Willekens* diſpatched three men of war to *Europe*, with an account of the ſucceſs of the expedition. On their voyage they took ſeveral valuable prizes, and their arrival in *Holland* gave the

ıteſt ſatisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire queſt of the *Braſils* would be the conſequence [s].

The Spaniards miſcarry in an expedition to the provinces.

/HILE the *United Provinces* were thus victorious in *Ame-* the court of *Spain* was making great preparations to eſs them in *Europe*, and bring to an end a war which hitherto ſerved only to draw the treaſures of *Peru* and *ico* into *Holland*. The deſigns of the *Spaniards*, how- created leſs uneaſineſs to the ſtates, than the conduct ıeir allies, whoſe rapacity became more troubleſome their ſervices were uſeful. *Manſveldt*, deſtitute of y and proviſions, in *Eaſt Friſeland*, kept poſſeſſion of ıl fortreſſes, which he offered to ſell to the ſtates gene- ır 300,000 florins; a propoſal that was accepted, tho' mely unjuſt, becauſe his troops were expreſsly hired at ſervice. By this means the *Dutch*, who were al- in poſſeſſion of *Embden*, formed a good barrier on that againſt the incurſions of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. *veldt* now reſolved to penetrate into the biſhopric of *ter*; but, being defeated in ſeveral enterpriſes he had d, his troops deſerted ſo faſt, that he returned to *Hol-* with a number of officers, who profeſſed themſelves ly at his devotion, and rivetted to his fortune. The ty and duration of the froſt encouraged the *Spaniards* ered in *Cleves* to undertake two expeditions upon the They croſſed the *Yſſel*, entered *Velau*, and penetrated e province of *Holland*, in which they had not before ot for a number of years. By the other expedition it ıropoſed to invade the territory of *Drente*, and the ice of *Groningen*. Prince *Maurice*, hearing of the pre- ons at *Antwerp*, fruſtrated the deſign, put the for- into the beſt poſture of defence, and employed ſeve- ouſand men in breaking the ice at all the paſſages; yet not all his vigilance prevent the count *de Bergue* from ıg the *Yſſel*, with 40 troops of horſe and 10,000 infan- verwhelming *Dutch Guelderland* with conſternation, lvancing to *Arnheim*, a place to which he laid ſiege. garriſon had been ſeaſonably reinforced; it made a vi- s reſiſtance; but the exceſſive inclemency of the wea- ave greater obſtruction to the count's progreſs, than re and ſallies of the beſieged. He therefore dropped nterpriſe, and puſhed forward to *Eede*, where he re- l advice that the prince of *Orange* was arrived at ıt, with all his forces, and 40 pieces of cannon. This igence broke all his meaſures, and he began to think

[s] Le Clerc, Hiſt. Med. tom. xii.

of an expeditious retreat, from an apprehenſion he ſhould be ſhut up by the breaking of the froſt, and expoſed to famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repaſſed the *Yſſel*, abandoning all the great deſigns he had formed, with the loſs of near half his army, which periſhed by cold, hunger, or the ſword; the *Dutch* garriſons in *Arnheim*, *Zutphen*, and *Deventer*, ſallying out upon his rear, and making prodigious ſlaughter. Nor was the other expedition very ſucceſsful, though it bore the moſt promiſing aſpect; it ended in burning ſome villages, and taking priſoners a number of peaſants; the prince of *Orange*'s diligence entirely confounded the *Spaniards*, who thought to find the provinces defenceleſs, and lulled in profound ſecurity.

STILL the old quarrel continued between the elector of *Brandenburgh*, aſſiſted by the *Dutch* and the *German* proteſtants; and the duke of *Newburgh*, ſupported by the *Spaniards* and catholic powers, about the ſucceſſion to the duchy of *Juliers*. The wretched inhabitants of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *la Marc*, *Ravenſberg*, and *Raveſtein*, were equally oppreſſed by both parties; each of which endeavoured to ſupport their claims at the expence of the country. This gave birth to a negotiation between the elector and duke, whereby it was propoſed to compromiſe a difference, that tended only to deſolate the people whom both called their ſubjects. A treaty was ſigned, and the parties ſent the articles to the *Hague* and *Bruſſels*, to receive the ſanction of the ſtates, and the archdutcheſs. But neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Dutch* choſe to reſign the towns they poſſeſſed in the countries diſputed; and thus the whole negotiation was rendered fruitleſs, and the inhabitants kept in a ſtate of grievous oppreſſion.

Naval tranſactions.

A STRICT regard to their ſeveral intereſts, was the only particular in which the archdutcheſs and the ſtates of the *United Provinces* agreed. While that princeſs joined iſſue with the *Dutch*, in rejecting a treaty which would have reſtored peace to the territories of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, ſhe was taking meaſures to repair the loſſes lately ſuſtained on the ocean, and recompenſe the miſcarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view ſhe had collected a conſiderable naval force at *Dunkirk*, conſiſting of nine large men of war, and a great number of ſmall privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the *Dutch* commerce. Beſides a variety of other veſſels, fifty fiſhing-buſſes, and an *Engliſh* man of war of 50 guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, ſo formidable was this ſquadron, that the ſtates offered a reward of 10,000 florins, and the benefit

benefit of the prize, to whoever ſhould equip a force ſufficient to take one of the larger veſſels; the ſame reward was offered for each of the nine men of war; and a proportionable gratuity for ſingle privateers. Excited by theſe promiſes, a number of adventurers ſoon appeared; and, among the reſt, general *Lambert*; who, with a conſiderable force, gave chace to ſix men of war, as they quitted *Dunkirk*, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for ſeveral hours. He was killed by a muſket-ball in the heat of the action, a great number of his people periſhed, and the whole *Dutch* fleet was extremely ſhattered: but the enemy did not fare better; one of their ſhips, with the whole crew, went to the bottom; another was driven aſhore, and deſtroyed; and the four remaining men of war ſheered off in a wretched plight to the *Engliſh* coaſt. Though this engagement did not prove deciſive, it however checked the ardour of the *Spaniards*, who now ſlackened greatly in their cruiſes, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The *Dutch*, however, fully ballanced the loſſes ſuſtained here, by other more fortunate cruiſes on the coaſts of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Barbary*. Among other valuable prizes, they took a ſhip laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the conde *de Lemos*, viceroy of *Sicily*, eſtimated at 150,000 *l.* ſterling[h].

Treaty with France.

THESE, and other misfortunes, obliged the *Spaniards* to have recourſe to extraordinary methods to repair their marine; for which purpoſe ſeveral *French* ſhips were detained in their ports, and the crews and ſhipping employed in the king's ſervice. *France* remonſtrated upon this violence offered to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redreſs; and this furniſhed a pretext for a cloſer alliance between the *French* king and the provinces. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Paris*, and a treaty was concluded; whereby the ſtates agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negotiations of peace, or even a truce, without the conſent of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; to aſſociate the king's ſubjects in the trade to the *Eaſt Indies*; to allow the free exerciſe of their religion to the *French* ambaſſador, his domeſtics, and the king's troops ſerving in the provinces, provided this was done in ſo private a manner as to give no umbrage to the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion of the provinces; and to revoke their treaties with the corſairs of *Barbary*. At the ſame time the ſtates contracted an alliance with the crown of *England*, which never proved of any ſervice, unleſs we except

[h] NUVILLE, Hiſt. tom. i. lib. v.

cept the opportunity with which it furniſhed the *Hollanders*, of gaining poſſeſſion of ſome *Engliſh* ſettlements in the *Eaſt Indies*, by the moſt inſidious and barbarous conduct, which *James* was too indolent and puſillanimous to reſent [1].

Preparations of the Spaniards.

WHAT rendered the *Dutch* more eager to fortify themſelves by alliances, were the vaſt preparations making by the *Spaniards* and the archduchefs in the *Netherlands*, where it was reported an army of 50,000 men would open the campaign. One diviſion of this extraordinary force, was deſtined to act in *Brabant*, and to lay ſiege to *Breda*, under the conduct of *Spinola*. It conſiſted of 26,000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry. A ſecond corps of 9000 foot, and 3000 horſe, under the count *de Berg*, it was propoſed, ſhould attack the places held by the *Dutch* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, in the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the *Vaal* and *Meuſe*. The command of this camp was aſſigned to *Juan Bravo de Lagunas*. All that the ſtates could oppoſe to ſo formidable an army, was a corps conſiſting of 13,000 infantry and 4000 horſe, under the immediate command of the prince of *Orange*, and another of 6000 foot, and 18 troops of dragoons, conducted by prince *Henry*, but ſubject to the orders of *Maurice*. The former was deſtined to oppoſe *Spinola*, and the latter to cover the countries which the count *de Berg* was directed to invade. On the 16th day of *July*, *Spinola* quitted *Bruſſels*, and advanced with his whole army towards *Heuſden*, which alarmed *Breda*, though he had taken every meaſure to conceal his real deſign upon that city. *Juſtin Naſſau*, the natural ſon of *William* prince of *Orange*, was governor of *Breda*; he ſupplied the garriſon in the moſt plentiful manner with proviſion and ammunition, broke down the bridges and avenues to the city, ruined the ſurrounding mills, laid the adjacent country waſte, and deſtroyed whatever could prove uſeful to the enemy, or any way aſſiſt their approaches. Prince *Henry* uſed the ſame precautions for the ſecurity of *Rees* and *Emmeric*, and armed the peaſants to defend the paſſes. In the month of *Auguſt*, the count *de Berg* laid ſiege to *Mundeberg*, garriſoned by *Brandenburghers*, and obliged it to ſurrender. Thence he marched to *Cleves*, which ſo alarmed the garriſon, that, retiring to the citadel, they left the city open

[1] Vid. vol. x. Mod. Univ. Hiſt.

to

to the *Spaniards*, upon which the magiſtrates preſented the keys to the *Spaniſh* general, and put themſelves under the protection of the archdutcheſs. Soon after the citadel ſurrendered, after a feeble reſiſtance; and the victorious *Spaniards*, without regarding their promiſes to the magiſtrates, obliged the townſmen to purchaſe an exemption from being pillaged, at an enormous price. After taking an oath of fidelity to the archdutcheſs from the inhabitants, the count formed ſeveral unſucceſsful enterpriſes againſt *Raveſtein*, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in *Cleves*. However he found means to reduce *Griet* and *Genep*, before he marched to join *Spinola*, who had by this time inveſted *Breda*.

THIS city was among the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable places in the *Netherlands*, being fortified with the utmoſt caution and ability, by the late and preſent princes of *Orange*. The citadel, which formed the reſidence of the princes of that family, was ſurrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth and height filled with water, and a ſtrong wall, defended by three great baſtions. The arſenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vaſt quantities of arms and military ſtores it contained. As to *Spinola*, he was perfectly acquainted with the ſtrength of the place, and thought he ſhould expoſe his whole army to imminent deſtruction, ſhould he attempt an aſſault, before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even reſolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with leaſt danger to his army; and accordingly begun with drawing trenches round for the ſpace of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain diſtances. He eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at *Ginneken*, count *Iſſemberg* was poſted at *Haggen*, the baron *de Balançon* at *Teteringen* and *Terheiden*, while *Baglioni* had his quarters at *Conniberg*, extending along the deſcent of the river *Marck*, over which he had formed a bridge of boats. The redoubts ſituated between the quarters of *Spinola* and *Iſſemberg*, lying betwixt the rivers *Marck* and *Aa*, were defended by the *Italians* and the *Lanſquenets*; from thence to *Baglioni*'s quarters, by the *German* and *Iriſh* auxiliaries; along to the quarters of *Balançon*, by the *Flemings* and *Walloons*, and the remainder of the trenches quite to that of *Spinola*, were defended by the *Spaniards*. Such was the diſpoſition of the beſiegers; every thing was conducted with the utmoſt regularity, and the court of *Bruſſels* entertained the moſt ſanguine hope of ſucceſs. *Siege of* Breda.

ON

A. D. 1625. ON the other hand, the garriſon, conſiſting of 7000 fantry, and ſeveral troops of horſe, compoſed of *Engl* *French*, and *Dutch* ſoldiers, took the moſt vigorous m ſures for their own defence. The *Engliſh* were un the command of colonel *Morgan*, who had frequently tinguiſhed his valour in the ſervice of the ſtates; *French* directed by colonel *de Hauterive*, and the *D* troops were ſubject to the immediate orders of colo *Lohre*, though the whole received their inſtructions fr *Juſtin Naſſau*, the governor. The *French* were oppoſed the quarters of *Spinola*, the *Engliſh* to thoſe of *Bag* and *Balançon*, and the *Dutch* troops were poſted in t part of the city which was fronted by the quarters of count *de Iſſemberg*. In this manner did this memor ſiege commence. The firſt advantage was gained by *I* *lioni*, who ſeized a large convoy of proviſions and ſt coming up the river, converting the boats into a bri This loſs diſpirited the beſieged, and reduced them t ſtated allowance of bread; however they were encoura by the return of the prince of *Orange* to the *Hague*, a having retaken *Cleves*, and obliged the *Spaniſh* garriſon ſurrender at diſcretion. He now advanced to *Wer* and was contriving the means of diverting *Spinola*'s at tion from the ſiege of *Breda*, by a ſecond attempt on *twerp*, which likewiſe miſcarried, juſt as it was on point of execution, though planned with the utmoſt tion and ability. Already the *Dutch* cavalry had ga poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the city, the ditch filled with boats, and ſeveral ladders applied to the w in the night, when a *Spaniſh* centinel diſcovered the ſign. Immediately the alarm ſpread, the garriſon was der arms, and the governor had the addreſs to ord number of trumpets and warlike inſtruments to be ſo ed in different parts of the city, to apprize the *Holla* that he ſtood in his defence. By this the prince's tr were ſeized with a pannic, they conceived a whole encloſed within, they abandoned their poſts with precipitation, and were deaf to all *Maurice*'s intreaties menaces, until they got beyond the reach of da About ten days after, the prince prevailed upon his t to reſume the enterprize; but it was then too late, he perceived before he could approach the city, tha garriſon was prepared. This obliged him to withdra army, after which he retired to the *Hague*, where chagrin, and diſappointment, brought on a diſorder ended with his life, in the 88th year of his age, for

w

had been conſtantly employed in the ſervice of his
y. He was buried at *Delft*, in the tomb erected
father, regretted as the preſerver of his country,
lmired as the greateſt ſtateſman and warrior of his
Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, en-
ng and ſagacious, he united all the virtues of a
l and hero, with the knowledge of a ſcholar. Par-
y learned in the arts belonging to the cabinet and
d, he had alſo made great proficiency in thoſe more
y within the ſphere of the gentleman and the philo-

Prince Mau- rice's *death and character.*

He had a taſte for the fine arts, eſpecially draw-
l architecture; but his principal ſtudy was engineer-
rtification, and thoſe branches of the mathematics
relate to the military art. In theſe he was a maſ-
aving proved the ſpeculative knowledge by long
ſiduous practice. His camp was the ſchool of great
, where perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and the
ldiers in *France*, received the firſt principles of
on. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had
n into ſome violences inconſiſtent with the general
of his conduct, unpleaſing to his countrymen, and
deſtructive of liberty. He gave birth to a faction,
had more than once endangered his life, that, to
y, continues to divide the republic, and will proba-
the reſult, haſten the diſſolution of the government,
jection of the provinces to ſome foreign power, the
ſs of freedom, and that natural liberty for which
llanders had ſo long and ſo ſtrenuouſly ſtruggled.
bition, however, was the weakneſs of a great mind;
:times ſhaded, but never concealed his extraordi-
erit, his generoſity and patriotiſm; like a cloud be-
e ſun, it damped the ardour, but could not obſcure
ole radiance of his glory (A).

WHILE

When prince *Maurice* l to the *Hague*, he left y at *Roſendal*, with or- it prince *Henry* ſhould vith his corps, and the ies expected from *France*. :ructions to *Henry* were to : raiſing the ſiege of *Bre-* the junction of all his but this he did not live accompliſhed, and the :nſions he was under for this city, which compoſed a part of the family-eſtate, encreaſed his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars reſpecting his military conduct, which he wiſhed on his death-bed had been otherwiſe. He repented of having fought the battle of *Newport*, which though it added to his glory, produced no advantage

WHILE prince *Maurice* was buſied before *Antw* while he lay ſick at the *Hague*, and during the ger deſpondency that ſucceeded his death, *Spinola* proſecute ſiege of *Breda* with the utmoſt diligence and vigour. his puſhing his trenches near the baſtions, the beſi began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and ſuſta it with ſuch vehemence and obſtinacy, that *Spinola* w hopes they muſt ſoon ſurrender for want of ammuni But here he formed a falſe judgment of the prudenc *Juſtin Naſſau*, who finding he could not accompliſh purpoſe, by the moſt terrible firing that ever was kept reſolved to try the effect of water. With this view ſtopped up the courſe of the river *Marck*, and h formed a large baſon of water, opened the ſluices, ſ away men, horſes, and houſes in an inundation, and flowed the whole country. The chief force of the rent fell upon *Spinola*'s quarters, and he exerted his ut ability to remove the conſequences. He dug up pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the w but theſe being filled, and the whole ground covered ſo as to appear one uniform maſs of water, ſerved to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augm by the rains which happened to fall, only the cou *Iſſemberg*'s quarters remained ſufficiently dry for the i try to encamp in; a mortality among the ſoldiers horſes enſued, and of his whole army *Spinola* had ſ 12,000 men fit for ſervice by the month of *Dece* With theſe inconſiderable remains, lines of vaſt e were to be defended, the works were to be advanced ſallies from the garriſon repulſed, proviſions to be veyed into the camp, and all this to be effected, whil *nola*, who was the very ſoul of action, was confined ſick-bed.

Operations of the ſiege of Breda.

IN the garriſon, an epidemical diſeaſe and ſcarcity, wiſe prevailed; but the excellent regulations made ſtrictly obſerved, enabled the town to hold out thr four months beyond the time expected. The magi

advantage to the republic. He blamed himſelf for not following the counſel offered him when he reduced *Sluys*, of laying under water the towns poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, on the *Rhine* and *Meuſe*; and he taxed himſelf ſeverely, for not taking poſſeſſion of *Spinola*'s qu before *Breda*, at the tim ſiege was forming. E cannot inſtance ſo few er the conduct of any man acted at the head of an for the ſpace of forty yea

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bought the corn, ſold it to the bakers at a certain price, obliging them to ſell the bread to the inhabitants and garriſon at a price affixed, and returning the overplus of their pay to the ſoldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were eſtabliſhed by the magiſtrates and governor, ſuch as we do not find equalled by any inſtances recorded in hiſtory, upon a ſimilar occaſion, and all evincing the ſteadineſs, ſagacity, courage and ability of *Juſtin Naſſau*. A kind of rivalſhip appeared between him and *Spinola*, which ſhould beſt fulfil their ſeveral duties. The *Spaniſh* general had himſelf carried about the works in a litter, he inſpected and directed every thing, and diſplayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered ſeveral breaches in the lines to be repaired, which the *Hollanders* had made by ſap, with a view of introducing ſuccours to the beſieged, and drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could paſs. He made drains, to clear off the waters of the river *Marck*, ſucceeded in a great meaſure, and, by dint of perſeverance, vigilance, and conduct, ſurmounted the greateſt obſtructions. He was now reinforced with a body of 8000 foot, and 1500 horſe, many of the ſick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care, and his army again was formidable, amounting to 25,000 infantry, and 8000 cavalry. Nor was prince *Henry* idle, who now ſucceeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyſſel*. He preſſed *France* for aſſiſtance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count *de Rouſſi* and the marquis *de Rambures*. With this reinforcement, and a body of *German* infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and after an obſtinate conflict was repulſed. He advanced a ſecond time; but *Spinola*, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuſe to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, ſeized upon a convenient poſt, and obliged the prince a ſecond time to retire towards *Boiſleduc*. Finding no proſpect of being able to relieve the garriſon, he ſent a permiſſion to the governor, to ſurrender on the beſt conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was ſigned with no name, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, and *Spinola* ſent it open, by a trumpet, to *Juſtin Naſſau*, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor ſuſpecting the letter was forged, becauſe it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permiſſion was not

not an order to ſurrender; and that he ſhould better follow the prince of *Orange*'s intention, and ſhew his reſpect for *Spinola*, by continuing to defend the city to the laſt extremity.

By this time the garriſon was diminiſhed, by diſeaſe, fatigue, want, and hardſhip, to half the number; but *Juſtin* put on ſuch a countenance, as concealed his ſituation from *Spinola*. He frequently ſallied out upon *Baglioni*'s quarters, where the *Italians* were periſhing with cold and hunger, the whole ſubſiſtence of the beſiegers depending on the contributions raiſed in the neighbouring territories. This produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeaſed without applying violent remedies, and executing within ſight of the whole army the chief ring-leaders. One of the mutineers blew up *Spinola*'s chief magazine, valued at 200,000 livres. Urged more by neceſſity than compaſſion for the beſieged, *Spinola* ſent a meſſage to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to a brave garriſon; but *Juſtin*, with equal art and diſſimulation, anſwered, that *Spinola* was certainly ill ſerved by his ſpies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the ſtate of affairs in *Breda*, which was fully provided for a ſiege of ſeveral months, and defended by ſoldiers who preferred death to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. At that time the beſieged were not informed of the death of the prince of *Orange*, they flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſpeedy ſuccour, and were entirely ignorant of prince *Henry*'s late diſappointment. They wrote to the army an account of their miſerable condition; and *Henry* returned an anſwer, written with his own hand, and ſigned with his name, appriſing them of the death of *Maurice*, the unſucceſsful attempts made to raiſe the ſiege, and throw in ſuccours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, the death of king *James*, whereby he was diſappointed of a ſtrong reinforcement; concluding, that he left the city entirely to the diſcretion of the governor, and other principal officers. The contents of this letter ſtruck *Juſtin* like a thunder-clap. He had hitherto artfully concealed the total want of proviſion and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garriſon, except a few officers, and other perſons in whom he repoſed confidence. The colonels *Hauterive* and *Morgan* would liſten to no propoſitions, ſaying, that the honour of their ſeveral countries were concerned, and that they were reſponſible for the conduct of the *Engliſh* and *French* forces.

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They therefore required an expreſs order from the prince of *Orange* to ſurrender, notwithſtanding they pined under the united preſſure of fatigue, ſcarcity, and diſeaſe. *Juſtin* acquainted the prince with their reſolution, and he ſent back an order to ſurrender, threatening with capital puniſhment whoever ſhould diſobey; but he requeſted that the garriſon would firſt acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they ſhould be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had ſent a duplicate of the order by the other meſſenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, *Spinola* was now acquainted with the deſperate circumſtances of the beſieged. By this he likeweiſe diſcovered the myſtery of the eleven fires: a council of war was aſſembled to deliberate whether they ſhould ſtay the eleven days, and then oblige the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of ſo brave a corps. The *Spaniſh* officers were of the former opinion; the count *de Berg* and *Spinola* ſupported the latter. At laſt the marquis, determined to purſue the dictates of his noble generoſity, ſent ſuch terms as could not be refuſed. The count *de Berg* conducted the negotiation. Two ſeparate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garriſon, and the other for the city, and both the moſt honourable and advantageous that could be deviſed. They were accepted, and the garriſon marched out on the 6th of *June*, after ſuſtaining a ſiege for ten months, whereby they were diminiſhed two-thirds of the number of troops with which they began the ſiege; nor was the loſs inferior on the part of the inhabitants. *Spinola* drew up his army to ſalute them, and ſurrounded by his field-officers, paid particular compliments to the governor, the colonels *Morgan*, *Hauterive*, and *Lobre*. He diſtributed money among the ſoldiers, ordered the ſick and wounded to be treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs, conveyed the reſt in the manner moſt commodious for them to *Gertruydenburgh*, and diſplayed all the ſentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of prince *Maurice*, he reſigned the command after this memorable ſiege, ſufficiently contented with having ſet bounds to the conqueſts of that great general, upon whom fortune ſeemed to frown for the two laſt years of his life[*].

Breda *ſurrenders and* Spinola *reſigns.*

[*] Le Clerc, tom. i. Nuville, tom. i. paſſim. La vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 4to. p. 22.

THE ſurrender of *Breda* was matter of the higheſt ſatisfaction to the courts of *Madrid* and *Bruſſels*, rejoicings were made all over the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the archduchess, with her whole court, ſet out for the new conqueſt, into which ſhe made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by *Spinola* to the inhabitants; and appointing *Balançon*, ſurnamed Timber Leg, becauſe he had loſt that limb at the ſiege of *Oſtend*, governor, ſhe returned to *Bruſſels*. Such a profuſion of civilities were poured out on the inhabitants of *Breda* by *Spinola*, that the ſtates general began to be alarmed at his conduct, ſuſpecting he meant by his kindneſs to ſeduce other towns from their allegiance; but *Spinola* was actuated merely by motives of generoſity. He admired and rewarded their conſtancy and fidelity, and ſimply followed the impulſe of humanity, without a view to policy. However the ſtates prohibited their ſubjects from all intercourſe and commerce with *Breda*, which obliged the archduchess to renew former edicts, whereby all the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were ſtrictly enjoined to maintain no correſpondence, commerce, or connection with the *United Provinces*. The preſent edict differed only in one circumſtance. In all former ordonances, the *Dutch* were termed rebels and traitors; here they were ſimply called enemies.

Naval tranſactions.

WITH this ſiege ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*. The year was no leſs ſucceſsful in naval tranſactions, than in military operations by land. Here the *Dutch* were more ſucceſsful. After the affair of *Lima*, admiral *Hermit* purſued his courſe to the coaſt of *Chili*, with intention to amuſe the enemy, to perſuade them that he had dropt all further deſigns on *Peru*, and likewiſe to cruize for the plate-fleet, which he expected would ſet ſail by the month of *December*. Being diſappointed in this laſt project by the falſe information of a *Spaniſh* pilot, he returned to *Callao*, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen *Caracca* ſhips, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was diſcovered by the light of the fire from the ſhips. Above an hundred pieces of cannon were pointed againſt him, and plied with ſuch fury that he was forced to retreat. A ſecond attempt was made next day; but the ſtrong reinforcement ſent by the governor of *Lima* rendered it fruitleſs; and *Hermit* directed his courſe to *Guayaquil*, the moſt commodious harbour in *Peru*; where an immenſe treaſure is always lodged ready

ready to be ſhipped on board the galleons. Here he embarked his troops, defeated the *Spaniſh* army, took the town, and ſeized the treaſure; but, on his departure, unfortunately ſet fire to the place, which ſo incenſed the inhabitants, that, in deſpair, they took arms, purſued the admiral, killed 500 of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loſs of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if poſſible, to revenge this diſgrace, *Hermit* returned a third time to *Callao*, and planned ſuch a ſcheme as muſt have inevitably deſtroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating caſtle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the viceroy, by two *Greeks*, who deſerted to the enemy. Thus diſappointed of the main object of his purſuit, though upon the whole extremely ſucceſsful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died with chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral *John Hugues*, who contented himſelf with cruiſing for the plate-ſhips, between *Lima* and *Panama*, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

MATTERS went more untowardly in *Braſil*, where the *Dutch* fleet had been lately ſo ſucceſsful. The reduction of St. *Salvador* was eſteemed in *Holland* the moſt important acquiſition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conqueſt of all *Braſil*; but as the *Spaniards* placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could reeſtabliſh them in the poſſeſſion. At the very time when admiral *Willekens* returned to *Europe*, imagining he had fully provided for the ſecurity of St. *Salvador*, by leaving a ſtrong garriſon of 2000 men, ſix men of war, ſeveral frigates, and great ſtore of proviſion and ammunition; the *Spaniards* were equipping a ſquadron of 56 ſail, under *Frederic de Toledo*, to drive the *Hollanders* out of *Braſil*. This fleet, manned with 12,000 ſoldiers and mariners, arrived before the town about the cloſe of the year, and laid ſiege in form; *Toledo*, debarking with the land-forces, while *Juan Faxardo* was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garriſon made ſeveral briſk ſallies to obſtruct his approaches, but *Toledo* ſuſtained them with vigour, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great ſpirit and ability; and at laſt effected a breach, juſt as *Faxardo* had deſtroyed ſeveral ſhips, and reduced the marine to ſuch diſtreſs, that the ſailors mutinied. In theſe circumſtances *Van Dort* died of a fever, contracted from the exceſſive fatigue of the ſiege, and the heat of the climate. This encreaſed the diſorder in the fleet and the army. The *Dutch* ſailors marched in a body to lay ſiege to the new governor, becauſe

refuſed to ſurrender; which obliged him to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war; for *Toledo* had no idea of diſplaying the gallantry of *Spinola*. The garriſon were tranſported to *Holland*, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own miſconduct, occaſioned the miſcarriage of the moſt conſiderable enterpriſe formed by the *Weſt India* company. All the ſoldiers and mariners were diſmiſſed the ſervice, and whipped out of the army; ſeveral of the officers were caſhiered, rendered incapable of ſervice, and ſuffered to live in diſgrace and obſcurity; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perſeverance and ſteadineſs with which he adhered to his duty, under ſuch embarraſſing circumſtances; but his name is not recorded [l].

The ſtates aſſiſt in oppreſſing the French *proteſtants*

MEANTIME the ſtates concluded a treaty with the *French* king, whereby they agreed to aſſiſt him with a fleet to oppreſs his proteſtant ſubjects, and block up the ſea-ports held by the *Hugonots*. The prince *de Soubize*, and his brother the duke of *Rohan*, remonſtrated to them on the iniquity of aſſiſting a tyrant to oppreſs ſubjects of the ſame religion profeſſed in the *United Provinces*, whoſe ſole crime was, that they would not ſign articles againſt their conſcience, and profeſs a mode of faith, which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of *Rohan*, the towns of *Montauban*, *Caſtres*, and a variety of other places, ſent deputies to *Holland*, exhorting the ſtates not to enter upon a meaſure ſo inconſiſtent with conſcience, honour, charity, and every principle of humanity; they proteſted they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to accommodate matters, and only requeſted that the ſtates would refrain from hoſtilities, until the iſſue of the negotiations now on foot was decided. The catholic writers accuſe the proteſtants of tergiverſation; they alledge, that the prince *de Soubize*, while the treaty was depending, and after the ſtates general had conſented to defer hoſtilities, ſet ſail to attack the combined fleet of *France* and *Holland*. According to them, he puſhed thro' the *French* line, and attacked the *Dutch* admiral in the rear; who, after defending himſelf with great valour, had the misfortune to be blown up [m]. The truth is, the ſtates general were determined to gain the *French* king to their intereſt, by the moſt diſhonourable conceſſions. He had conſented to augment his army in the *Netherlands*; and they, in return, ſtipulated to employ their fleet againſt the *Hugonots*. They promiſed the proteſtant deputies every thing they required,

[l] LE CLERC, ibid.

[m] NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 18.

and

and had, at the ſame time, diſpatched ſecret orders to their admiral to join the ſieur *de Manty*, the king's admiral [n]. It was this junction, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince *de Soubize*, and occaſioned the breach of armiſtice of which he is accuſed. The ſtates laboured to vindicate themſelves, by throwing the blame on the *Rochellers*; but time has not been able to waſh out this ſtain on the reputation of a proteſtant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion.

NOR did this diſgraceful treaty end in the ſingle misfortune of a defeat. It was always diſliked by the populace in *Holland*, who generally puſh their notions of religion, honour, and friendſhip, to a greater degree of enthuſiaſm than their ſuperiors. The clergy in general, too, favoured the *Hugonots*. Some divines were ſo bold as to declaim from the pulpit againſt the late treaty with *France*. In particular, the miniſter of the *French* church at *Amſterdam* diſtinguiſhed his zeal, and ſo animated the people, that they ran in a tumultuous manner from church to the houſe of *Hautein*, the admiral, which they pillaged and deſtroyed. They next pointed their reſentment againſt the friends of admiral *Bruck*, a commander in the late engagement; many of whom they inſulted and beat in the ſtreets. Theſe diſorders were not oppoſed by the ſtates, who were therefore ſuſpected by the *French* of conniving at them; though, in fact, they were prevented from exerting their authority, from an apprehenſion of a general inſurrection. A. D. 1626.

THE loſs of *Breda*, and the powerful army maintained by the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, rendered it neceſſary to divide their forces, and ſupport *Manſveldt*, notwithſtanding he proved ſo troubleſome and expenſive an ally. Perceiving that his forces were daily decreaſing by numerous deſertion, the ſtates ſent commiſſioners to *Emmeric* to review the remaining troops. They were found to amount to 5000 foot and 1200 irregular horſe, which were to be augmented to a corps of 8000 ſtrong, to act, in conjunction with the troops of *Denmark*, againſt the imperial army in *Lower Saxony*. While *Manſveldt* was employed in making levies, the biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, with a detachment of four troops of horſe and 600 muſketeers, made a feint motion towards *Brabant*, and, wheeling ſuddenly round, ſurpriſed the town of *Ordinguen*, which he ſacked and pillaged. Soon after *Manſveldt*, having completed his corps, and received a reinforcement of 2000 *Hollanders*, traverſed *Weſtphalia*, ravaged Manſveldt's *incurſions*.

[n] Vid. Remonſt. de duc du Rohan,

the biſhopric of *Oſnaburg*, and deſolated the territories of the duke of *Lunenburgh*, becauſe that prince had declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of *Lower Saxony*. Afterwards, in conjunction with *Halberſtadt*, he cut in pieces a detachment of 500 *Croats*. From this time, to the eve of the ſucceeding year, *Manſfeldt* acted ſeparate from the *Dutch* forces. He found means, however, by the remittances of the ſtates, to augment his army to 12,000 men, with a train of 30 pieces of cannon; with which force he penetrated into *Upper Saxony*, took *Zerbſt* by eſcalade, and put the garriſon to the ſword. He then ſpread terror to the very heart of *Sileſia*; but his infantry being cut in pieces by *Walleſtein*, in an action near the bridge of *Deſſau*, he marched with his cavalry to the marche of *Brandenburgh*, where he began to recruit his army. All this while the biſhop of *Halberſtadt* was making a powerful diverſion on the *Weſer*, and harraſſing count *Tilly*, the *Bavarian* general's army, that great general being himſelf confined by ſickneſs. The biſhop profited by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the ſkirts of the imperial army, deſtroyed their forage, cut off their convoys, ſkirmiſhed with their detachments, and proved a very troubleſome enemy; when he was ſeized with an ardent fever, of which he died at *Wolfembuttle*, to the exceſſive joy of all the inhabitants of the ſurrounding countries, who regarded the prelate as the ſcourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Chriſt.

Revival of religious diſputes in Holland.

THE ſtates were forced to act defenſively during this whole year, which produced nothing memorable. The civil diviſions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partizan allies. Notwithſtanding the people already taſted the ſweets of prince *Henry*'s gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the *Arminian* party, animated by the death of *Maurice*, formed a deſign of revenging their late ſufferings; and by the exhortations of their baniſhed brethren, began again to revive, and ſhew their implacable hatred to the houſe of *Orange*. The more moderate among them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle meaſures, by ſoothing the prince, and requeſting that they might experience that favour which they had reaſon to expect from his repeated intimations. *Henry*, out of reſpect to his brother's memory, and from an apprehenſion of diſobliging the ſtates, paid little regard to their remonſtrances. He contented himſelf with general teſtimonies of eſteem for *Hugo Grotius*, then at *Paris*, and with releaſing from confinement *Hoogerbert*, penſionery of *Leyden*. It is even ſuppoſed that

he

he connived at the freſh perſecution commenced in *Amſterdam* and *Leyden* againſt this unhappy party. Here ſome perſons of conſideration in the government propoſed, wholly to ſuppreſs Arminianiſm, and by prohibiting even the private exerciſe of the worſhip profeſſed by the ſect, and obliging them to ſubſcribe to certain articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to cruſh a faction which had cauſed ſo much trouble to the republic[o]. Theſe meaſures were puſhed with violence; they were oppoſed by all men of underſtanding, as equally unjuſt and impolitic; yet poſſibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention been ſeaſonably diverted by a more important object.

THE great preparations of the *Spaniards* rendered it neceſſary, that the ſtates ſhould act with the utmoſt vigour and unanimity. The departure of *Spinola* from the *Netherlands* gave the prince of *Orange* great hopes he ſhould be able to retrieve the loſſes of the laſt campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the beſt footing, and had actually formed a corps of 16,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, which he commanded in perſon; together with another body of forces under the conduct of count *Erneſt Caſimir*, of 12,000 ſoldiers. With this force the count inveſted *Oldenzeel*, which he reduced in the ſpace of eight days, tho' defended by the famous *Monelé*, a native of *Franche Comté*, in whom the archduchеſs had the utmoſt confidence, as he was the particular favourite of *Spinola*. On his ſide, the prince of *Orange* encamped near *Cronenburgh*, made a motion as if he propoſed laying ſiege to *Weſſel*, and erected a fort near *Iſſelburgh*, to obſtruct the works carried on by the *Spaniards*, to cut a canal from *Rhimberg* to *Venlo*. His great deſign was, to reduce fort *Rieldrecht*, on the frontiers of *Flanders*; for which purpoſe, leaving the main army under the direction of count *Stirum*, he embarked a conſiderable detachment in 400 boats, collected on the *Vaal*, and ſet out on the enterpriſe, which was fruſtrated by the ſhallowneſs of the river, in conſequence of a great drought. This expedition was ſucceeded by another againſt *Linghen*, in *Weſtphalia*, which likewiſe proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppoſe with his whole army, the attempt to open a paſſage between the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*. During his abſence, however, *Stirum* was attacked, defeated, and taken priſoner, by the count *de Berg*, who with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advan-

[o] Vie du prince Henry.

tage the enemy could boaſt was, that they made the *Dutch* general priſoner; and retired from the *Dutch* camp without being purſued, with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of diſconcerting the prince's meaſures; it likewiſe encouraged the *Spaniards* to form another project, little leſs important than the ſurpriſing count *Stirum*'s camp. *Spinola*, who had not yet quitted the *Netherlands*, adviſed an attempt upon *Sluys*. Count *Horn*, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this buſineſs, with orders to ſeize upon the harbour, the fate of which muſt determine that of the town; as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garriſon to the neceſſity of ſurrendering; but the vigilance of the centinels diſconcerted the whole ſcheme, juſt on the point of execution. The ſoldier, firing his piece on the approach of the *Spaniards*, alarmed the garriſon; all flew to the ramparts; the count perceived he was diſcovered; but, determining to puſh his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there ſaluted with ſuch a volley of grape-ſhot as put his party in diſorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loſs amounting to four hundred men, killed on the ſpot.

The Spaniards *defeated in an attempt on* Sluys.

AT this time *Spinola* was at *Dunkirk*, waiting the iſſue of the attempt on *Sluys*. He was greatly mortified to find it had miſcarried, and ſpoke with reſentment of the raſhneſs of the count in expoſing his men to certain death, after he was diſcovered. This made him adviſe the *Spaniards* to moderate their joy on account of the prince of *Orange*'s late diſappointments, which had miſcarried through mere accident; their loſſes, he ſaid, aroſe from miſconduct [p]. It was here the court of *Spain* had erected an admiralty, of which *Spinola* was preſident. The new college, eager to diſtinguiſh its zeal, equipped a ſquadron, on occaſion of the rupture with *England*, attacked the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland*, deſtroyed four ſhips of war, and carried a great number of prizes into *Dunkirk*; but the *Dutch* ſoon repaired the loſs and diſgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war; and ſeveral advantages obtained over count *Philip de Manſveldt*.

THE more effectually to ſtop the courſes of the *Dunkirkers*, the ſtates provided a fleet of fifty cruiſers in *Holland* and *Zealand*, to which *Lewis* XIII. joined ſeven large men of war, the fineſt ever built in *France*. *Spinola* endeavoured to provide for the ſecurity of all the ports which he feared

[p] NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 30.

might

might be inſulted; and carefully concealing from the prince of *Orange* the ſcarcity of money, made ſuch efforts as greatly exceeded expectation, and encreaſed the reputation he already acquired for activity and addreſs in the moſt difficult conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the ſtates general for *Bergen-op-zoom*, *Grave*, and *Fluſhing*, into which they put ſtrong garriſons, ſupplying them with abundance of proviſion and military ſtores.

As ſoon as the rigour of the ſeaſon would permit, the prince of *Orange* advanced with his army between *Nimeguen* and *Arnheim*. This obliged the *Spaniards* to recall the prince of *Iſſemburgh*, after he had been detached with 2000 men to join count *Tilly*, in *Lower Saxony*, againſt the forces of *Denmark* and the circle. It was ſuppoſed the prince would undertake the ſiege of *Weſſel*; to prevent which the count *de Berg* approached to *Gueldres*. *Henry*, however, either had no deſign upon *Weſſel*, or he dropped it, in order to inveſt *Groll*, a town the moſt conveniently ſituated for the obtaining a clear, undiſputable frontier. Succeſs in the enterpriſe would likewiſe deprive the *Spaniards* of a place extremely conveniently ſituated for laying the adjacent territories of *Overyſſel*, *Drent*, *Twent*, *Groningen*, and *Friſeland*, under contribution. Thirty years before *Groll* had been reduced by prince *Maurice*; was retaken by *Spinola* ten years after; and now was beſieged by prince *Henry*, with an army compoſed of 168 companies of infantry, 55 troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the paſſes were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmoſt vigour. The garriſon conſiſted only of 200 men; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themſelves into companies, and performed excellent ſervice. Old *Dulken*, a ſoldier of great valour and experience, was governor; but age and infirmity confining him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon *Verreiken*, an officer who had already diſtinguiſhed his capacity. The count *de Berg* hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the beſiegers, and cloſely watched every opportunity of ſuccouring the garriſon, who ſhewed they were determined to act with the utmoſt ſpirit, by a ſharp ſally made on the quarter of *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*, which he repulſed after an obſtinate conflict, though ſupported only by 15 companies of infantry. The trenches were opened on the 20th of *July*; the ſiege continued to the 18th of *Auguſt*, when the garriſon, perceiving that their repeated ſallies anſwered no purpoſe but to weaken themA. D. 1627.

Prince Henry reduces Groll.

ſelves, and that they could expect no aſſiſtance from the count *de Berg*, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the ſhoulder, the demolition of the principal works, the diſmounting of almoſt all the artillery, and the great ſtrength of prince *Henry*'s lines, which were incapable of being forced, greatly diſheartened the garriſon. They ſaw the *Engliſh* and *French* auxiliaries puſhing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel *Hauterive* ready to ſpring a mine, which would open a vaſt breach; this determined them to ſend a trumpet to the prince, requeſting leave to give the count *de Berg* notice of their ſituation: this being refuſed, the brave garriſon renewed hoſtilities, made a vigorous ſally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceeding briſk, and nothing but the great ſuperiority of the beſiegers, and the prodigious ſtrength of prince *Henry*'s works, could have prevented this little garriſon from cutting their way through to the army. At laſt they capitulated upon the ſame honourable conditions that *Spinola* granted to the city of *Breda*. *Henry* indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the ſoldiers and inhabitants. Count *Stirum* was appointed governor, the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added[r].

SEVERAL enterpriſes which the *Spaniards* formed againſt *Zealand* miſcarried; *Groll* was reduced, and *Berg* now appeared as unfortunate as *Maurice* and *Henry* had been the three preceding years. The prince of *Orange* purſued his advantages, and by ſeveral ſpirited attacks, and judicious operations, diſlodged the enemy from all the poſts they had to ſecure the navigation of the *Scheld*. He likewiſe harraſſed them in *Weſtphalia*, in *Brabant*, and on the *Weſſel*. But in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes a rupture with *England* was apprehended. The *Engliſh*, on account of the depredations of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, had detained three *Dutch Indiamen*, which had put in by ſtreſs of weather into *Portſmouth*. To demand reſtitution, the ſtates ſent an ambaſſador to the court of *London*; and, to give weight to their negotiations, ordered a ſtrong fleet to be ſpeedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral *Orbel*. This produced the effect; a promiſe was given of making immediate reſtitution; and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more cloſe and intimate connection. The intention was to ſecure themſelves againſt the depredations of the *Dunkirkers*, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Chan-

Treaties with France *and* England.

[r] LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 157.

nel.

el. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of an hundred
:uiſers; but the terrible ſtorms that came on in the month
f *October*, and continued for ſeveral weeks, prevented the
:et from putting to ſea, damaged them in the harbours,
id diſſipated the whole ſcheme, from which ſo much was
:pected. The *French* king laboured to diſſolve this union
:tween the crown of *England* and the *United Provinces*, for
: was then buſied in reducing his proteſtant ſubjects, pow-
fully aſſiſted by *Great Britain*. The moſt expeditious me-
od of effecting his purpoſe was, to renew the treaty
hereby the ſtates engaged not to unite themſelves with the
iemies of *France*; nor was it difficult to procure this
iint, as the *Dutch* had now effectually anſwered the inten-
n of uniting with *England*, having had reſtitution made
the *Eaſt Indiamen*, and relinquiſhed the project againſt
e *Dunkirkers*. The king readily allowed that the ſtates
ould not commit hoſtilities againſt the *Engliſh*, notwith-
nding they were his enemies; and they, in return, en-
ged not to afford them any aſſiſtance, and even to refrain
m ſupplying the proteſtants of *France* with military
res. Soon after, however, the ſtates general, finding that
ir being reſtricted to conclude no peace, truce, or alli-
ce, without the concurrence of *Lewis*, was injurious to
ir ſovereignty, ſent an embaſſy to procure an extenſive
l more honourable conſtruction of that article of the
aty; which, after ſome difficulty, was granted.

WHILE *Spinola* remained at *Dunkirk*, he continued to di-
t the operations in the *Netherlands*. Already the *Dutch*
l found the happy effects of his not executing his ſchemes
perſon; and now they entertained the moſt ſanguine
pe of a fortunate iſſue to the war, as that celebrated offi-
was recalled to *Spain*, and his authority diſtributed
ong a variety of perſons, all unequal to him in point of
ius and application. The government, and civil affairs,
re entruſted to the cardinal *de Cueva* and don *Carlos Co-*
a; the count *de Berg* had the command of the army.
t while the ſtates were felicitating themſelves on the
ſpect this change preſented, they were alarmed by diſtur-
ces from another quarter, and the approach of count
y to *Eaſt Friſeland*, *Oldenburgh*, and the biſhopric of
nſter. Senſible of the inconveniencies that would reſult
m the vicinity of ſo troubleſome an enemy, the ſtates di-
ted that the chief poſts on the frontiers ſhould be well
ured. To ward off the impending blow with greater
tainty, a new army, of 12,000 foot and 5000 horſe, was
ſed; with which count *Erneſt* was ſent to oppoſe the count of

Count Tilly *advances towards the frontiers of the provinces.*

Anhalt

Anhalt, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of *Cologne*; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining ſome conſiderable advantages. The young count of *Eaſt Friſeland*, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an impetial garriſon into *Shikuſen*, and ſome other places, where the ſtates had formed conſiderable magazines. This ſucceſs elated *Anhalt* to ſuch a pitch, that he ſummoned all the towns of *Weſt Friſeland* to ſubmit; he levied contributions in *Groningen*, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to ſurpriſe *Embden*, in which the ſtates kept a ſtrong garriſon, but was diſappointed. Still more to alarm the ſtates, *Tilly* marched another body of troops towards *Weſtphalia*, and the duchies of *Berg* and *Juliers*. The count *de Berg* availed himſelf of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a ſtrong reinforcement into *Linghen*, threatened with a ſiege by prince *Henry*[a].

THE ſtates imagining that the imperial army had ſome other object than renewing the diſputes about the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, ordered a part of the army to file towards the *Rhine*, for the ſecurity of *Rees* and *Emmeric*. While the count *de Berg* was employed in *Weſtphalia*, they likewiſe made an attempt to ſurpriſe *Straſburg* fort, built for the defence of the new canal at *Venlo*; but they met with ſo warm a reception from the *Spaniards*, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterpriſe, though unſucceſsful, hurried the return of the count *de Berg* to *Guelderland*, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in ſuch a poſture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He alſo began two other canals towards the extremities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, in order to prevent the incurſions of the *Hollanders*, and particularly of the garriſon of *Bergen-op-zoom*, whoſe perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at *Saint-Vliet*. But what chiefly incommoded the *Spaniards* was the preſence of the prince of *Orange*, who continually paſſed from *Lillo* to *Bergen-op-zoom*, to cut off the communication betwixt *Saint Vliet* and *Antwerp*. With this view *Henry* conſtructed three conſiderable forts beyond *Lillo*, whence he often ſet fire to the new fortifications, and deſtroyed ſeveral valuable convoys of proviſion coming by water from *Antwerp*.

The various fortune of war.

IN all theſe expeditions and operations the *Hollanders* were ſucceſsful; but fortune ſeemed to abandon them in *Marſland*, where their forces were defeated by the count *de*

[a] Vie de prince Henry, p. 29.

Berg;

nor did they ſucceed better by ſea, the *Dunkirk* having taken above forty rich prizes ſince the com-ıent of the ſeaſon. At the *Hague* theſe loſſes were ed to the wretched ſituation of the finances, which ed the ſtates from keeping on foot a ſufficient land- and equipping the neceſſary number of cruiſers. ıliged them to make certain exactions in *Juliers* and under pretence of procuring payment of a ſum of lue to them from the elector of *Brandenburgh*. On er hand, the *Spaniards*, who ſupported the claim duke of *Newburgh*, oppreſſed the miſerable inhabi- th heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and l revenue, which they had a right to receive, while was ſupported at their expence. The people, oppreſſed by their friends and enemies, had recourſe nperor's protection; and the court of *Vienna* was d with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole n in ſequeſtration, and of uſing *Cleves* and *Juliers* own property, until one of the claimants ſhould be to cede his pretenſions. Mandates were imme- ubliſhed, declaring his imperial majeſty's intention, ıg all hoſtilities in the duchies, and requiring all fo- ıops to quit the duchies of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Berg*, their dependencies. This declaration was followed uctions to count *Tilly* to advance with his army to the emperor's intention. The firſt act of imperial y exerted, was the baniſhing the *Dutch* proteſtant out of *Dortmonde*, and reſtoring the catholic reli- The ſame was done in all the other places poſſeſſed ates, in truſt for the elector of *Brandenburgh*, where rialiſts found themſelves ſuperior in power. *Ravenſ-* ıe held out againſt the imperial commiſſaries, and againſt their authority, the magiſtrates declaring ıld ſtand the conſequences of a ſiege rather than *Tilly*, perceiving their reſolution, retired without ıg any thing againſt a little place which had ſhewn ate an attachment to liberty. *Emmeric* and *Rees* ımoned, *Tilly* threatening them with all the horrors nleſs the catholic religion was immediately reſtored; garriſon ſet him at defiance, and laughed at his perceiving that the prince of *Orange* and *Sti-* both ready to ſuccour them on the firſt motion nperialiſts. To ſhew the equity of their proceed- commiſſaries did not exempt the places in poſſeſſion *Spaniards* from their viſitations. Wherever there teſtant magiſtrates they were depoſed, without re-

Freſh differences about Cleves *and* Juliers.

gard

gard to the capitulation with *Spinola*; the catholic ſchools and preachers were reſtored; and the utmoſt violences committed in *Weſſel* before the people could be brought to ſubmiſſion. The duke of *Newburgh* lent his authority to thoſe meaſures; but he perceived they were puſhed too far, and that the people were more oppreſſed by the imperialiſts than they before were by the *Hollanders* and *Brandenburghers*. He complained to the court of *Vienna*, but obtained no ſatisfaction; and proteſtants and papiſts were left to bleed under the ſcourge of the moſt cruel tyranny.

A. D. 1628. THE elector of *Brandenburgh* equally ſuſpected the deſigns of the court of *Vienna*, and reſented her proceedings. To prevent therefore the troubleſome and dangerous conſequences of a ſequeſtration in the hands of an ambitious graſping power, the competitors entered into a proviſional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they ſtipulated jointly to oppoſe all who, under the maſk of friendſhip, violated their rights; and to ſtand by the partition that was made at the laſt negotiation. But, ſenſible that they could not force the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* garriſons out of the towns they poſſeſſed, ambaſſadors were ſent by both princes to *Bruſſels* and the *Hague*, requeſting that the archduchеſs and the ſtates would withdraw their troops, which would cut off all ſhadow of excuſe from the emperor for continuing his oppreſſions. The ſtates and the archduchеſs had too long taſted the ſweets of thoſe poſſeſſions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal anſwers, and thus, a ſecond time, fruſtrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reaſon to expect from ſo reaſonable a partition [r].

Several advantages obtained by the Dutch *garriſons.*

WHILE this affair was in agitation, the governors of *Groll*, *Breford*, *Rees*, *Emmeric*, and *Seeſt*, entered *la Mark* with a body of troops, to oppoſe the joint forces of the emperor and the king of *Spain*. Having thrown ſuccours into *Ravenſperg*, they attempted to ſurpriſe *Ham*, relying upon a correſpondence which they maintained with ſome of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from *Stirum* not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the ſcheme fell to the ground, and their friends in the town a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their confeſſion, had them hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors. The garriſon of *Groll* had better fortune; they ſurpriſed *Rattingen*, pillaged the town, and carried off ſome priſon-

[r] NUVILLE, lib. vi. cap. 12.

ers

rs of diſtinction, and conſiderable booty. The garriſon of *Grave* likewiſe ſeized upon a large convoy going from *Bruſſels* to *Maeſtricht*, in which were rich preſents from the archduchefs to the duke of *Modena*. Several other garriſons, encouraged by the example and ſucceſs of *Groll* and *Grave*, made inroads into the *Spaniſh* territories, levied heavy contributions, and returned laden with plunder. A detachment from *Emmeric* fell into an ambuſcade laid by the count de *Berg*, but determined to periſh rather than ſurrender; the ſoldiers fought with the utmoſt fury, and, after an obſtinate conflict, totally defeated and diſperſed the *Spaniards*. The ſtates had licenſed theſe depredations; the ſcarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of *Modena*'s complaints for the loſs of his valuable preſents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke ſhould be reſtored; and to gratify the garriſon, the ſum of 27,000 florins was given them, as an equivalent.

MEANTIME the new admiralty at *Dunkirk*, ſtrictly obſerving the directions given by *Spinola*, became every day more formidable to *Holland*. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in *Amſterdam*. Their loſſes drove the *Dutch* merchants and ſeamen to deſpair; which made them enter into a league never to ſtrike, but, if they found themſelves overpowered, to blow up their veſſels. To oppoſe the deſcents of the *Dunkirkers*, the ſtates ordered all the coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland* to be carefully defended, for which purpoſe the boors were armed. Four thouſand ſeamen were taken into the ſervice, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under ſevere penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A ſquadron of thirty ſhips was equipped, with orders to cruiſe along the *French* coaſt, and block up the harbour, while general *Van Dort* laid ſiege to the town of *Dunkirk*. A diviſion of eight ſhips from this fleet having fallen in with a ſquadron of ſix *Dunkirkers*, a bloody engagement began; and, after an obſtinate conflict, the *Hollanders* obtained a complete victory. One ſhip of the enemy was taken, and the reſt ſo miſerably ſhattered, that with the utmoſt difficulty they eſcaped. This ſucceſs cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound *Indiamen*, which otherwiſe would probably have been taken. The ſiege of *Dunkirk*, however, went on but ſlowly; and it was at laſt propoſed to block up the harbour by a chain of veſſels faced with ſtone, and thereby made as ſtrong as a wall; but, on trial, the project failed, and

Dunkirk *blocked up.*

and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The *I*
India company, however, lent their aſſiſtance to the gove
ment, to check the preſumption of the *Dunkirkers*;
joined to the fleet already ſtationed before that harbou
ſquadron of twelve fine men of war, which did not dimi
the number of ſhips ſent the following year to *Aſia*; fi
whence we may judge of the great opulence of the c
pany at this period.

Naval affairs.

THE meaſures of the *Weſt India* company were not vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. Thay taken a great number of rich *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* fir merchantmen; they had deſtroyed whole fleets in the p of *Liſbon*, *Corunna*, and *Cadiz*; and now their admi *Peter Adrien*, with a ſquadron of 12 ſhips, fell in wi *Spaniſh* fleet in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked enemy with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, drove their ſhips u the ſand-banks, and, after obliging them to ſtrike, took their valuable cargoes and the priſoners, ſet fire to prizes, and arrived ſafe with his booty in *Holland*, to great joy and emolument of the company. But the inſt ment deſtined by providence to remove the great diſord in the finances, to enable the ſtates to proſecute the v with redoubled vigour, and to raiſe the *Weſt India* comp to a rivalſhip with the company trading to the *Eaſt Ind* was admiral *Peter Heine*. This bold and active offi defeated and deſtroyed a fleet of *Spaniſh* merchantmen a men of war in the bay of *All-Saints*, bringing home ſo p digious a cargo of ſugar as leſſened the price of that co modity at every market in *Europe*. Encouraged by t ſucceſs, the company equipped a ſquadron of thirty-o ſhips, with deſign to intercept the plate-fleet. *Heine* w appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good f tune once deſert him through the whole courſe of the exp dition. In the month of *May* he ſet ſail for *Mexico*, del lating, as he went along, the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portug* He arrived at the *Havannah*, in the iſland of *Cuba*; wh he expected to fall in with the flota, part of which w driven off by a ſtorm to the coaſt of *Florida*, juſt as the ſhi were ready to put in to the *Havannah*. As to the fl from *New Spain*, it fell entirely into the hands of the *Du* admiral, after a faint reſiſtance, and was valued worth millions of livres, in cheſts of ſilver and rich merchandi This was the richeſt prize ever made by the *Hollanders*; t admiral therefore thought he could not be too cautious in affair which ſo nearly concerned the republic; for t reaſon he ſet ſail directly for *Europe*, and arrived in *Holla*

The Spaniſh *flota taken.*

wi

with the loſs only of one prize, and two of his own ſhips, that foundered in a ſtorm, which roſe juſt as he had entered the chops of the Channel. *Heine* was received with as much honour as the princes of *Orange* had been after the moſt ſignal victories. Bonefires were kindled in every town throughout the ſeven provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the ſhouts of the multitude. *Peter Heine* was publickly entertained by the prince of *Orange*, in company with the king of *Bohemia*, the elector palatine, and the ambaſſadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown, in gold, was wrought by the hands of the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* to adorn his temples; and he was raiſed to the dignity of admiral of *Holland*, in the room of *William* of *Naſſau*, killed at the ſiege of *Groll*, and with fuller powers than any of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed.

When the whole wealth of the flota was landed, an infinity of perſons of faſhion crouded to ſee the curioſity; which proved fatal to the prince palatine, and had almoſt been ſo to the elector, the barge in which they were being overſet, and the young prince drowned. After a minute calculation of the value of the cargo, the directors of the company divided fifty *per cent.* among the proprietors; a meaſure that was moſt bitterly cenſured by all judicious perſons, who wiſhed well to the eſtabliſhment. The money would have been better employed, as they thought, in eſtabliſhing ſuch a head-colony in *America*, as the *Eaſt India* company poſſeſſed at *Batavia*; and this was the more neceſſary, as the ſociety was now engaged in a bloody war with the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, without enjoying a foot of land in the *Braſils*, ſince the loſs of *St. Salvador* [s].

The public rejoicings, which continued at *Amſterdam* during the whole month of *January*, were at laſt interrupted by a tumult that aroſe, becauſe certain burghers refuſed to obey the magiſtrates, who happened to be *Arminians*. The prince of *Orange*, who perceived the conſequences to the ſtate of keeping up the old factions, reſolved to aboliſh all party-diſtinction, by ſupporting merit indiſcriminately in the purſuit of public offices; it was ſuppoſed that by his intereſt the preſent magiſtrates had gained their election. This gave great umbrage to the *Gomariſts*, who reſented to ſee a A. D. 1629. *Civil commotions at* Amſterdam.

[s] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

proſcribed ſet of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince's family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with thoſe who had always ſupported his intereſt. The whole mob of *Amſterdam* aſſembled to eſpouſe the cauſe of the citizens who had refuſed to obey the *Arminian* magiſtrates; and *Henry* detached a party of 1200 ſoldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into cuſtody. At the next aſſembly of the ſtates an ordonance paſſed, whereby the people were required to obey the magiſtrates, of whatever ſect or religion they happened to profeſs themſelves. The moſt riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mulcted in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and this ſeverity ſo irritated the *Gomariſts*, that great numbers retired to *Zealand*. *William Bogwert*, one of the moſt eminent, a perſon who was the tool of the *Gomariſt* clergy, going out of the city, to execute the ſentence of exile paſſed upon him, was met by 6000 people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their benedictions, and regarding him as a martyr to religion. On his approaching *Haerlem*, crouds of people went out to meet him as another *Stephen*, and a ſaint who had ſuffered for his faith; without reflecting that no true mode of religion can be contrary to the dictates of nature and moral virtue, which enjoin order, and a ſtrict regard to the laws of ſociety.

THIS ſedition was ſcarcely appeaſed, when another, of a more dangerous nature aroſe among the ſeamen who had ſerved under admiral *Heine* to the *Weſt Indies*. They complained that the company had not only refuſed to augment their wages, but to admit them to any ſhare of the immenſe wealth brought to the ſtate by their courage. Filled with reſentment at this uſage, they began forcing and pillaging the company's warehouſes, in which all the rich merchandiſe was lodged. A party of ſoldiers was immediately ſent againſt them, but this would have proved inſufficient had they not been gratified with a conſiderable ſum of money; after the diviſion of which they retired quietly, and again offered their ſervices to the company, to aſſiſt in manning the new ſquadron equipping for a freſh expedition. This fleet was compoſed of ſixty ſtout veſſels, and deſtined to reduce *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Braſils*; in a word, all that was valuable of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* poſſeſſions in *South America*. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large ſum to the ſtates, to enable them to purſue the war with vi-

gour,

gour, and raiſe an army with which the prince of *Orange* ſhould be able to make head againſt the enemy [t].

State of the Spaniſh *affairs.*

THERE could not be a more terrible ſtroke to the *Spaniards* than the loſs of the flota. Already their military operations were at a ſtand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to ſee the money, with which they hoped to be maſters of all the *Netherlands*, now employed to their deſtruction. The vaſt preparations making in *Holland*, ſince the month of *February*, threw the court of *Bruſſels* into deſpair. Many lords, and other perſons of diſtinction and influence, took this opportunity of expreſſing their diſlike of the meaſures of the adminiſtration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the preſent misfortunes upon the *Spaniards*. To their jealouſy they attributed *Spinola*'s reſignation, tho' he was the chief bulwark of the ſtate; they accuſed them of rapacity, profuſion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they ſaid, was oppreſſed, depopulated, and enſlaved; their bad policy excited the reſentment of the natives, merited the contempt of the enemy, and would ſoon produce the loſs of the *Netherlands*. They complained that all preferments were beſtowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loſs of *Groll*, and all the inſults received during the laſt campaign; by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country deſolated, and the court diſgraced. The *Spaniards*, they affirmed, refuſed to obey the prince of *Berg*, the only perſon of high condition among them, who was capable of conducting an army. It was the buſineſs of the prince of *Orange* to profit by theſe diviſions at the court of *Bruſſels*, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let ſlip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of *Brabant*, he reviewed his whole force at *Nimeguen*, including the troops of *France* and *England*; ſent his artillery and baggage to the *Meuſe*, and publickly confeſſed his deſign of laying ſiege to *Boiſleduc*. His army amounted to 32,000 men, divided into 43 battalions, and 3 large brigades, beſides a reinforcement of 6000 men, ſent afterwards by the ſtates, with a train of 60 pieces of cannon. The town was inveſted in the night of the 30th of *April*; though the governor *Anthony Schets* could not be perſuaded, till the next morning, that the enemy would be ſo raſh as to attack a place of ſuch

Prince Henry *inveſts* Boiſleduc.

[t] Idem. ibid.

ſtrength and importance. *Boiſleduc*, called the *Maid of Brabant*, becauſe it had never ſurrendered, though often beſieged, was ſo regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was ſcarce acceſſible on account of the dykes and marſhes with which it was ſurrounded, and required a large army completely to inveſt the vaſt extent of walls, fortified with ſeven ſtrong baſtions, defended by an immenſe wet ditch with canals and ſluices, by means of which the water might be admitted or excluded at pleaſure, and the whole country, if neceſſary, laid under water. A variety of ſtrong out-works obſtructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting, that art or nature could give, to render this the moſt impregnable town in the *Netherlands*. Prince *Henry* fixed his quarters oppoſite to the center of the town, at the village of *Vucht*, behind fort *Iſabella*. Under him ſerved immediately the *French*, and part of the *Engliſh* forces. Count *Erneſt Caſimir* was poſted to the north-eaſt, at the village of *Hintem*; count *William* of *Naſſau* had his quarters on the north ſide; the baron *Brederode* directed the ſiege to the ſouth-eaſt; count *Solms* was ſituated at the village of *Ingelen*, with the ſtores of proviſion and ammunition; while general *Pinſen* preſided at the operations carrying on to the weſtward of *Boiſleduc*[u].

ALL *Brabant* was overwhelmed with conſternation, and the court of *Bruſſels* in the utmoſt perturbation, upon advice that prince *Henry* had begun his approaches. The moſt preſſing meſſages were diſpatched to *Spain* for money, ammunition, and the requiſites for putting the troops in motion. *Schets*, tho' labouring under a thouſand diſcouraging circumſtances, deſtitute of officers, and a ſufficient garriſon, determined to make a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his truſt. With the prince of *Orange*'s permiſſion, he ſent away all the women, children, and others, who ſerved only to conſume proviſions; and placed his whole confidence in a garriſon not exceeding 2300 infantry, and ſix troops of cavalry; notwithſtanding ſeveral companies of burghers had formed themſelves under his banners. He omitted practiſing nothing which long experience had taught him was neceſſary for his defence, reſolving to maintain the great reputation he acquired by a ſeries of faithful, important ſervices. A ſeaſonable reinforcement of 800 men, from *Breda*, ſlipped in with much addreſs, on the fifth night of the ſiege, and greatly animated the garriſon and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all

[u] NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. 14,

future

ſuccours, and puſhed his works with the utmoſt
, aſſiſted by the peaſants in the neighbourhood.
days his camp was ſurrounded by a deep ditch, which
ed the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops
ſupplied with all manner of proviſions with eaſe and
ty. He began to build a great number of forts and
ies, in order to cut off the enemy from any commu-
on with the river, in which he ſucceeded beyond ex-
ion; turning the waters, intended for the defence of
wn, to the great inconvenience of the garriſon. For
days had the beſieged regarded the progreſs of theſe
without giving any conſiderable annoyance, from an
aenſion of exhauſting their ammunition. Great quan-
of powder had been damaged by the influx of the
s into the town; ſo that the firſt ſallies were made
-in-hand, without the uſe of firelocks. The governor,
vent the ſoldiers from being diſpirited, pretended that
was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great
of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportu-
of ſhewing their valour, always behaved with the ut-
gallantry (A). The batteries and trenches being
ed, prince *Henry* played with fury againſt the forts
a and St. *Antonio*. The mareſhal *Chatillon*, at the
of the *French*, drove the garriſon from their out-works,
e firſt day of *June*, and purſued them quite to the
of the town. Another body of *French*, commanded
auterive, lodged themſelves in the counterſcarp of fort
la, and were attacking the horn-work. The vif-
: *Turenne*, who was nephew to the prince of *Orange*,
at this ſiege, commanded a company of foot, and
iſed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner as at-
d the attention of the whole army. In every deſ-
attack, in every difficult ſituation, there the young
or preſented himſelf, with all the calmneſs of a
ſopher. To him it was owing that another corps of
nen, from *Breda*, had not entered *Boiſleduc*; with a
of 300 men he totally defeated the enemy, and conti-

(A) We are credibly informed that the gallant marſhal made uſe of the ſame ſtratagem, to conceal his want of ammunition, in that unfortunate action in which he was killed in the ſervice of his *Pruſſian* majeſty; and that it was attended with ſingular ſucceſs. When the ſword or bayonet are uſed, the ſoldier naturally imagines he has a better opportunity of diſtinguiſhing his addreſs and courage, than when the whole depends upon levelling a muſket.

nued the purſuit, notwithſtanding two painful wounds he had received. The *French* and *Engliſh* were rivals on this occaſion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a deſire of particularly diſtinguiſhing themſelves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy ſallied.

At laſt fatigue, and repeated ſallies, had greatly diminiſhed the number of the garriſon, when their ſpirits were ſuddenly revived, by the approach of count *Henry de Berg*, with an army of 25,000 men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the beſiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three ſucceſſive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great ſlaughter; upon which he retired to join *Montecuculi*, who had entered *Cleves* with an army of 14,000 foot and 3000 horſe. *Henry* found, by intercepted letters, that the deſign was to make a conſiderable diverſion; for this reaſon he ordered *Grave* to be put in a ſtate of defence, and directed the ſtates to ſecure all the paſſes and avenues to the provinces. He then puſhed his operations with ſo much ſpirit, that fort *Iſabella* ſurrendered on the 18th of *July*, and fort *Antonio* the ſucceeding day, after the beſieged had made two deſperate ſallies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. The garriſon, having done every thing that valour and conduct could effect, retired in good order to the town, and there ſeconded the endeavours of the brave governor. By the ſurrender of theſe two forts, reduced to heaps of aſhes, they were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly againſt the walls. *Schets*, who wanted men, powder, and proviſion, laboured to deſtroy his works. The moſt vigorous ſallies were made, but to little purpoſe; the great ſuperiority of the beſiegers repulſing every attempt[w].

Meantime count *Stirum* was detached with 4000 foot and 1200 horſe, to oppoſe count *Berg*, who was meditating an invaſion of the provinces. He croſſed the *Yſſel* without reſiſtance, but was vigorouſly attacked in the rear by *Stirum*. Not long after *Stirum* was reinforced by 3000 men, from the camp before *Boiſleduc*, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the *Yſſel*, to a corps of 10,000 *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Dulkens*, late governor of *Groll*. The action was bloody and obſtinate, for the ſpace of ten hours, when, moſt of the *Dutch* officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loſs. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes

[w] Vie de prince Henry, p. 142.

behind

behind him, by which means he obſtructed the enemies march into the provinces, overwhelmed with the terror of of an invaſion. On advice of *Stirum*'s defeat, the prince of *Orange* quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was ſoon joined by ſeveral corps of auxiliaries, troops drawn from the garriſons, and new-levied forces; ſo that his army amounted to 22,000 men, beſides the troops left to carry on the ſiege. The enemy made excurſions almoſt to the gates of *Amſterdam*; but they were ſoon thrown into deſpondency by the reduction of *Weſel*, which was ſurpriſed by the governor of *Emmeric*, and the garriſon put to the ſword, all except the governor, *Lozanne*, who was ſet at liberty, and ſoon after beheaded at *Bruſſels*, by order of the archdutcheſs, for having, by his remiſſneſs, occaſioned the loſs of ſo valuable a city. The reduction of *Weſel*, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Hattem*, abandon *Amersford*, evacuate the territory of *Velaw*, and repaſs the *Yſſel* with precipitation; joined to the diviſions among the general officers, it rendered fruitleſs the vaſt expence of raiſing an army of 30,000 men, the laſt effort of *Spain* againſt the *United Provinces*, and enabled prince *Henry* to puſh the ſiege of *Boiſleduc* without interruption.

STILL the garriſon of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, beſought the magiſtrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their diſtreſs, the magiſtrates reſolved to grant their requeſt, ſhould the governor remain obſtinate in refuſing honourable conditions. *Schets* paid little regard to the ſafety of the town; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make ſuch a defence as ſhould deſerve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had powder but for a few rounds, notwithſtanding his garriſon was quite ſpent, emaciated, and diminiſhed to a third of the number, he would have ſtood the conſequences of an aſſault, after ſeveral practicable breaches had been made, were not the magiſtrates reſolute to ſurrender the city. This obliged him to accept the advantageous propoſals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garriſon marched out, and was conducted to *Dieſt*; and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conſcience was permitted. Thus ended the ſiege of *Boiſleduc*, by which the reputation of prince *Henry* was raiſed to an equality with that of prince *Maurice*, and of the firſt

The Dutch *every where victorious.*

Boiſleduc *ſurrenders.*

generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the higheſt diſtinction; by whom his perſeverance, ſteadineſs, prudence, valour, and conduct, were publiſhed in every quarter of *Europe*. The conqueſt coſt the ſtates an immenſe ſum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were ſo great, as to abſorb every other conſideration.

PRINCE *Henry* was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of *Boiſleduc*, than he detached count *Erneſt Caſimir*, with 150 companies of foot, and 30 troops of horſe, to oppoſe count *John de Naſſau* and *Dulkens*; who, in conſequence of a reinforcement from *Tilly*, were preparing to make a freſh irruption into the provinces. *Erneſt* acquitted himſelf with ſuch diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the *Yſſel*, he was encamped on the oppoſite ſide, before the enemy had an idea they ſhould meet with any obſtruction. Reinforcing the garriſons of *Doeſburg* and *Keppel*, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count *Tilly*'s army; inſomuch, that, to avoid periſhing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the biſhopric of *Munſter*, and petition *Erneſt* for a ſafe conduct. Colonel *Hauterive* likewiſe paſſed the *Rhine* with 40 companies of infantry and 14 troops of dragoons; and, laying ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of *Ringelburgh*, took it by aſſault, in the ſpace of ten hours, putting the garriſon to the ſword. Thence he marched to *Yſſelburgh*, which he reduced in four days. With the ſame rapidity he ſubdued all the towns and forts which, from their ſituation, proved extremely troubleſome to the *Dutch* garriſon in *Weſel*, and filled the whole country with terror and deſolation. The new garriſon of *Weſel* were no leſs eager to diſtinguiſh their zeal and valour. Dividing themſelves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they ſallied out in queſt of plunder and glory. One diviſion attacked *Rhimberg*, and was roughly handled by the *Spaniſh* garriſon. The other was more fortunate. Having attacked *Duiſburgh* in the night, it ſurrendered before the morning to the *Hollanders*. All the other places poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, on the hither ſide the *Rhine*, and in the duchy of *Cleves*, ſoon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the *Spaniards* were every where defeated, diſpirited, deſponding; ſince the ſieges of *Boiſleduc* and *Weſel*, they ſcarce ventured to hold up their heads, face the enemy in the field, or refuſe complying with a ſummons, though ſecured behind walls. It was matter of ſurpriſe to ſee the ſtrong fortreſs of *Roeborte*, defended by a garriſon more numerous than the beſiegers, ſurrendering at diſcretion,

after

after having exchanged a few ſhot. This could only be accounted for from the univerſal panic that prevailed [x].

COUNT *William* of *Naſſau* was the ſoul of theſe ſpirited expeditions. On advice that the elector of *Cologne*, and the biſhops of *Munſter* and *Paderborn*, were taking meaſures to aſſiſt the enemy, he ſent them a peremptory order to deſiſt from theſe deſigns, otherwiſe they would oblige him to lay their territories deſolate. This menace produced the deſired effect; they dropped their project, and ſuffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced *Berg*, attacked *Solingen*, and carried the place ſword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. A variety of other places ſubmitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garriſons in his conqueſts; but this did not prevent his reducing the town of *Ongermunde*, the magiſtrates of which capitulated. *William*'s ſoldiers, inſolent with ſucceſs, and excited by their late plunder to deſire more, fell a-pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; which ſo incenſed the burghers, that they took arms, attacked the *Hollanders*, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count *William* arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to ſubmit to the capitulation. In conſequence of thoſe conqueſts, the whole duchy of *Juliers* was, in a manner, depopulated; the people deſerting their habitations in the country, and flocked in crouds to all the fortified cities. *Cologne*, *Munſter*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, were much in the ſame ſituation. But the *Hollanders* publiſhed an edict, whereby they declared their ſole intention was to oblige the *Spaniards* to evacuate the ſucceſſion of *Juliers*, and promiſing the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration reſtored, in ſome meaſure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their uſual occupations, and were not alarmed at the progreſs of the *Dutch* conqueſts, conſidering they could not ſuffer by a mere change of maſters, the *Spaniards* having treated them with great inſolence and tyranny.

William of *Naſſau's expeditions.*

To this rapid courſe of good fortune in the *Netherlands*, the *Dutch* added a variety of ſucceſſes in *Aſia* and *America*. Notwithſtanding the *Eaſt India* company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of *Java*, during which *Batavia* was twice beſieged, their returns were immenſe [y].

Naval affairs.

[x] NOUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 64.

[y] Vid. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. x.

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This induced them to rival the generoſity and public ſpirit of the *Weſt India* company, by making the government a preſent of 500,000 pounds weight of ſalt-petre. The laſt-mentioned company, determining to purſue their late good fortune, and to eſtabliſh a head-ſettlement in *South America*, which might vie with *Batavia*, ſent a powerful ſquadron to thoſe ſeas, under the conduct of admiral *Loncke*, the companion and the friend of *Heine* in all his expeditions. In the month of *February* A. D. 1630. he arrived on the coaſt of *Fernambuco*, the largeſt diviſion of *Braſil*, and detached *Vardenburch* with 16 men of war and 3000 land-forces, to inveſt *Olinda*, the capital; but the reſiſtance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to reunite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole ſtrength. *Vardenburch* retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three diviſions, under the conduct of the generals *Elts*, *Honcks*, and *Steincallefeld*, who repulſed the *Portugueſe* in three ſucceſſive attacks they made to obſtruct their landing. The *Hollanders* began their approaches towards the jeſuits quarter of the city, and ſoon took their college by aſſault, though ſtrongly fortified. In conſequence, *Olinda* ſurrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the whole diſtrict of *Fernambuco*, quite to cape *St. Auguſtine*. The *Weſt India* company acquired great reputation by this expedition; and they were already conſidered as in poſſeſſion of all *Braſil*, as general *Vardenburch* had in his letters extolled the great advantages of the reduction of *Olinda*, which, he ſaid, gave the *Hollanders* ſuch a footing, that the whole country might be reduced at a ſmall expence. The public hope was augmented by the further ſucceſſes of the armament. Leaving a ſtrong garriſon in *Olinda*, the admiral repaſſed the line, fell upon the town of *St. Martha*. and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged *Frederic de Toledo*, ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron and 5000 troops, to the ſuccour of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements; whom he defeated, after an obſtinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the *Spaniſh* admiral was, for ſeveral months, ſuppoſed to have periſhed. His ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt of the ſquadron in the engagement, foundered at ſea; and *Toledo* with a few of his crew were ſaved by a miracle. Such a flow of ſucceſs encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which ſet ſail, towards the cloſe of the year, to complete their conqueſts.

Farther operations in Juliers *and* Cleves.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, *William* of *Naſſau* renewed his expeditions againſt the *Spaniards*, who ſtill poſſeſſed ſome conſiderable places on the frontiers of the

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of *Juliers*. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attended with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The firſt project that failed was one he formed againſt *Duſſeldorp*. A party of ſoldiers was ſent in the habits of women, to ſeize upon that town, but they were diſcovered and diſappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to ſurpriſe *Mulheim*, garriſoned by a body of imperialiſts. The detachment of 5000 men, which he had ſent upon that buſineſs, was ſurpriſed and repulſed by 2000 of the enemy. Indeed all the count's ſchemes were ſo refined and ideal, as well as dangerous, that to ſucceed they required the utmoſt good fortune and addreſs. They were ſo connected with each other, that the failure of one occaſioned a general diſappointment; though it proved otherwiſe in the preſent caſe, for *William* was ſucceſsful on the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine*, though all his projects againſt *Duſſeldorp* and *Mulheim* had been baffled. The town of *Sichtelen*, and a variety of other places held by *Spaniſh* or *Auſtrian* garriſons, ſubmitted to the *Hollanders*. Theſe rapid victories, and ſo long a ſeries of proſperity, however, raiſed a powerful confederacy againſt the count of *Neſſau*. All the catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the *Dutch* wanted to penetrate as far as *Francfort*, and to throw themſelves into the palatinate, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages deſolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to reſtore *Frederic* V. deſpoiled of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himſelf particularly intereſted to obſtruct. The elector of *Cologne* and the biſhops of *Munſter* and *Paderborn*, though over-awed by *William* of *Naſſau*, privately ſolicited the emperor to oppoſe the ſtates of the *United Provinces*, and protect the catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which ſuffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to purſue, unmoleſted, a courſe of the moſt cruel tyranny and oppreſſion. His imperial majeſty lent a willing ear to the ſuggeſtions of the catholic princes; and fearing that the count *de Hanau* would declare for the *Dutch*, becauſe he refuſed admitting an imperial garriſon into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and *Hanau* to be in a manner beſieged by the imperial army. This obliged the count to admit the emperor's troops, who were a few months after driven out by the *Swedes*.

ALL this time the *Dutch* were employed in the entire reduction of the ſucceſſion of *Juliers*. On advice that the *Spaniards*

Spaniards were building a new fort on the canal between the *Rhine*, and the *Meuſe*; the governor of *Weſſel*, making draughts out of his own and the neareſt garriſons, detached colonel *Iſelſtein* to diſturb the works, and if poſſible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to 900 men, with which he ventured to attack count *John* of *Naſſau* with a body of 1500 foot and horſe, defeated and took him priſoner after an obſtinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the *Hollanders*, determined the duke of *Newburgh* to repair in perſon to the *Hague*, to ſolicit the conſent of the ſtates to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of *Brandenburgh*. The ſtates, perceiving that the *Spaniards* refuſed to evacuate *Orſoy* and *Sittart*, could not be prevailed upon to ſurrender *Emmeric*, *Rees*, and *Weſſel*, with their dependent towns and territories. At laſt the archdutcheſs conſented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; upon which the ſtates began to relax a little from their former rigour, condeſcending to cede all their conqueſts, except the three towns juſt mentioned[s]. With this conceſſion the duke of *Newburgh* was forced to reſt ſatisfied; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to *Germany*.

Propoſals for a truce.

It was immediately after this negotiation that the court of *Bruſſels* made propoſals for a truce between the archdutcheſs and the ſtates, for the ſpace of 34 years, upon the ſame conditions offered 21 years before. The remittances neceſſary for the ſupport of the war were entirely ſtopped at *Madrid*, and the catholic king ſeemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the *Netherlands*. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and proteſtant provinces, about this time, had ſomewhat diminiſhed that implacable animoſity which had for ſo long time ſubſiſted between them. This, with a variety of other circumſtances, the archdutcheſs hoped would diſpoſe both parties to liſten to the means of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the 17 provinces, after a bloody war of 60 years duration. It was well known at the *Hague* that neceſſity dictated the propoſals to the archdutcheſs; however they did not chuſe abſolutely to reject propoſitions, which might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a ſucceſsful war. After the conferences held at *Ruremonde* for the exchange of priſoners, the archdutcheſs's deputies proceeded to the *Hague*, becauſe the *Dutch* deputies had no inſtructions to enter upon the buſineſs of a truce. Opinions

[s] Nuvelle, ibid.

were

divided in the aſſembly of the ſtates general. Some aded themſelves that an accommodation with *Spain* ld incur the reſentment of *France*; they urged, that e the republic had nothing to fear, it was abſurd to ent to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time ecover their exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits; and that *ind* being now opulent by the wealth of the *Indies*, and erful by the reduction of *Boiſleduc* and *Weſſel*, the two arts of the *United Provinces*, ought in her turn to treat *Spaniards* with that haughtineſs and inſolence, of which were ſo profuſe in their proſperity. Thoſe of a con- opinion ſupported their ſentiments by a variety of ments, tending to evince, that a ſuppliant, humbled hy ought not to be deſpiſed; that the chance of war uncertain; and that thoſe who were this year at the pinnacle of fortune, might next ſeaſon be reduced to loweſt abyſs of diſtreſs. Theſe general reflections they oborated by the ſentiments of the late excellent patriot *neveldt*, who, with the conſent of the *French* king, had d pacific meaſures in 1609. They might poſſibly have ied their point, had not cardinal *Richlieu*, bent upon re- ching the power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, traverſed the otiation, by means of the ſieur *de Bougny*, ſent in quality mbaſſador to the *Hague* [a]. This artful miniſter prac- ſo ingeniouſly on the temper of the ſtates, that, in- of concluding a truce with *Spain*, they renewed the nce with *France*, then at war with the catholic mo- h. The treaty differed but little from that ſigned 627, but never ratified. Here, as in the former, the s conſented to enter upon no truce, treaty of peace, gement, or alliance, without the conſent of his moſt ſtian majeſty. They likewiſe promiſed to aſſiſt him troops, ammunition, cannon, *&c.* as ſoon as his army ld enter upon hoſtilities in *Artois*, *Hainault*, and the r countries belonging to the *Spaniards*; the king, on his , ſtipulating to pay a conſiderable ſubſidy to the ſtates, to employ the ſame number of forces in the *Nether-* , which he had hitherto maintained. All the meaſures n by *Spain* and the court of *Bruſſels*, to promote a truce, e diſconcerted. No regard was paid to the *Flemiſh* uties at the *Hague*; they were treated with the utmoſt ttempt, and in danger of being openly inſulted. An an- r to their propoſals was publiſhed, under the title of Anti-truce; in which the courts of *Spain* and *Bruſſels*

Treaty with France.

[a] Id. ibid. Le Clerc, tom. ii. ibid.

were laſhed with great ſeverity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this diſcourage the archduchefs from proceeding in her pacific deſigns. She had recourſe to the mediation of *England*, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the reſtoration of the elector palatine, brother-in-law to *Charles*, and nephew to the prince of *Orange*. The ſtates themſelves were likewiſe intereſted in ſeeing this unhappy prince re-eſtabliſhed in the electoral dignity and his dominions; however regard for the prince did not operate ſo powerfully as was expected. They ſuffered themſelves to be ſolicited for the ſpace of four months by the *Britiſh* ambaſſador, and at laſt returned for anſwer, that when they had any thoughts of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of *Great Britain* with their intentions. This put an end to the negotiation, and obliged the *Spaniards* to make the beſt preparations in their power for the renewal of hoſtilities.

Conferences for a truce broken off.

WHILE the prince of *Orange* was employed in the ſiege of *Boiſleduc*, the *Hollanders* ſupported a vigorous war againſt the new admiralty formed at *Dunkirk*, which had ſtruck ſuch terror ſince the reduction of *Breda*, and the excellent regulations made by *Spinola*. The loſſes ſuſtained by the *Dutch* merchants obliged the ſtates to encreaſe their marine, and ſend the merchant-ſhips under ſtrong convoys. Early this ſeaſon a powerful ſquadron put to ſea, under the conduct of the new admiral of *Holland*, *Peter Heine*, and next day fell in with three *Spaniſh* men of war on the coaſt of *Flanders*. An action enſued, and *Heine* was killed by a cannon-bullet at the firſt broad-ſide; but his lieutenant concealing his death carefully, the mariners continued to fight with ſpirit, and the three *Spaniſh* ſhips were taken, and carried into *Rotterdam*, where the admiral's death was firſt divulged (A). This laſt defeat gave a conſiderable

(A) The admiral's remains were conducted with great ſolemnity to *Delft*, where they were interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, in the great cemetery ſet aſide for the monuments of illuſtrious perſons, who have done their country important ſervices. Deputies from the ſtates general, and the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the directors of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* companies, all the different corporations at *Amſterdam*, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction, honoured the funeral with their preſence. A ſuperb monument, graced with the relation of his exploits, was erected at the public expence, and *Peter's* memory continues at this day to be admired, honoured, and eſteemed.

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check to the *Dunkirkers*, and diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent and mutiny through the *Spaniſh* army and garriſons; who could not but attribute to miſconduct, that the wealth intended for their maintenance ſhould be the means of their deſtruction; and thoſe very ſums deſtined for their pay, enriching their enemies, and purchaſing them all the conveniencies of life, while they were pining under all the miſeries of hunger and nakedneſs. Crouds of deſerters came over every day from *Breda*, and the other *Spaniſh* garriſons. Even the officers in the count *de Berg*'s army quitted the ſervice, and enliſted with the ſtates. The peaſants were oppreſſed with contributions, and the nobility incenſed at the inſolence of the *Spaniards*, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the clergy murmured, declaimed againſt the remiſſneſs of the government, and lamented the danger that threatened religion. All theſe diſorders, all theſe grievances, were charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument ariſing from places, penſions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, the eaſe, and the ſecurity of the people. The ſtates of the clergy and nobility aſſembled, to deliberate on the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppreſſions altogether unſupportable. Many perſons were for ſubmitting to the *Hollanders*, without regard to the proteſtant religion, which they had eſtabliſhed, and their declared oppoſition to the catholic faith; but others, touched with conſcience, and ſtrongly attached to the religion of their anceſtors, propoſed deputing the archbiſhop of *Mechlin* and the duke *d'Arſchot* to the archduchеſs, to repreſent to her the grievances of which the people complained; all of which had their riſe in the preference ſhewn to foreigners. They gave her to underſtand, that, on condition they were not ſaddled with the miniſters and officers of the *Spaniſh* court, they would willingly give up all the aſſiſtance in troops, and remittances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they ſhould be able to defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majeſty and the archduchеſs. The good princeſs heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and promiſed to do all in her power to redreſs them. With this view ſhe ſent the count *de Solre* into *Spain*; but the duke *de Olivarez* deſtroyed the effects of her remonſtrances. Diſappointed in this hope, the archduchеſs endeavoured to eaſe her ſubjects, by opening a free intercourſe of trade between them and the ſtates of the *United*

The miſerable ſituation of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

United Provinces[b]; and as the *Hollanders* and the prince of *Orange* ſhewed no diſlike to this project, ſhe miſtook their attachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but ſoon perceived that they were reſolved to purſue their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and firmer ſecurity, were procured for the republic.

Richlieu makes an attempt to ſeize upon the city of Orange.

SINCE the late treaty with *France*, cardinal *Richlieu* directed the counſels of the ſtates general, and ſoon diſcovered that all his good offices towards the republic, had their ſource in ſelf-intereſt. While he was careſſing the ſtates, and cajolling the people with the hope of powerful ſuccours from the *French* king, he was ſecretly contriving the means of ſeizing on the town of *Orange*, and the patrimony of prince *Henry*. For ſome time he had maintained a clandeſtine correſpondence with the ſieur *de Walkemburgh*, governor of the city, who, notwithſtanding he was the great favourite of the prince his maſter, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching ſolicitations of *Richlieu*, who of all men beſt underſtood the human heart, and moſt ſucceſsfully employed the talent of ſeduction. *Walkemburgh* conſented to ſurrender the place to the cardinal for the ſum of 400,000 livres in money, and an eſtate in *Provence* of 20,000 livres in value; but inſiſting upon being put in poſſeſſion of the whole, before he admitted a *French* garriſon, the negotiation was protracted, and the prince had ſome intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for *Walkemburgh*, broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the uſual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was beſtowed on *Knuyth* a *Zealander*, who purſued his inſtructions with great addreſs, aſſembled a body of troops with the utmoſt expedition and privacy, got poſſeſſion of the city, blocked up *Walkemburgh* in the houſe of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a ſcuffle that enſued on his refuſing to ſurrender, and then laid ſiege to the citadel, which the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of *Walkemburgh*'s death, and *Knuyth*'s commiſſion. This laid the foundation of that rivetted averſion, which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal, and oppoſition to the grandeur of the houſe of *Bourbon*, conſtantly ſhewn upon all occaſions by the ſucceeding princes of the family of *Orange*[c].

[b] NUVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 8. [c] LE CLERC, Hiſt. p. 170.

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THE prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince *Henry* had raiſed him to a higher degree of credit with the ſtates and the people, than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuſe his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they reſolved to teſtify their gratitude, by rendering the ſtadtholderſhip hereditary in his family, and raiſing his ſon to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. Theſe acts of acknowledgment were accompanied by particular demonſtrations of the joy of the people; and a ſolemn deputation from the ſtates general waited upon the prince with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their eſteem and gratitude. The young prince's commiſſion was preſented in a gold caſket, and compliments were poured in daily from the ſtates of all the provinces. But the attention required to theſe ceremonials did not divert *Henry* from the buſineſs of the ſtate; he reſolved to ſhew himſelf worthy of his new honours, by a double portion of diligence. Aſſembling his army near *Emmeric*, where he had formed vaſt magazines of corn imported from *Dantzic*, his great preparations alarmed the courts of *Bruſſels* and *Madrid*, as they ſtill entertained remote hopes, that the truce might yet take place. The archduchеſs, ſenſible that it was vain to flatter herſelf longer with this proſpect, exerted herſelf to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpoſe laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A proceeding ſo neceſſary when the treaſury was quite exhauſted, excited the clamours of the *Flemings*; and the ill-judged policy of the court of *Madrid*, increaſed their diſcontent, by appointing the marquis *de Santa Cruz* to ſucceed *Spinola* in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the *Netherlands*. To ſweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the *Flemings*, a report was ſpread, that the marquis was to ſerve under the cardinal *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduchеſs, who was to ſucceed her in the government. Count *Henry de Berg* was made mareſhal-general of all the troops in *Flanders*, and *Carlo Colonna* was raiſed to the rank of camp-maſter-general. A corps of 6000 men was deſtined to cover *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, under the conduct of *Zapeta*; the care of all the convoys was committed to *Lucas Cayro*, who had 4000 foot, and thirty troops of horſe under his command. As to the count *de Berg*, he took poſt near *Rhimberg*, for

The ſtadtholderſhip made hereditary.

the defence of the new canal, and of *Spaniſh Guelderland*, of which he was governor.

A. D. 1631. SUCH were the meaſures taken by the enemy, while the prince of *Orange*, dividing his army into three corps, took poſt upon the *Rhine*, at *Boiſleduc* and *Stuys*. Leaving count *Stirum* with a flying camp of 10,000 men at *Rees*, he embarked his troops at *Emmeric*, and attended by the duke of *Vendoſme*, made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of *Bruges*, paſſed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, conſtructed upon a new plan, ſurpriſed three *Spaniſh* forts, and advanced to *Ghent*; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the ſkirts of a wood in his way, he dropped his deſign, and returned, from an apprehenſion of falling into an ambuſcade. The *Spaniſh* army multiplied daily; troops were pouring in from *Germany* and *Italy*, and already a body of 29,000 foot, with 27 companies of horſe, had advanced to the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, on a ſuppoſition that the prince formed deſigns upon one of theſe cities. The archduchеſs perceived that the vigilance of the prince of *Orange* would baffle all her endeavours, in the uſual method of carrying on the campaign; ſhe therefore reſumed a ſcheme which had been propoſed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. For this purpoſe a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been conſtructed, but laid aſide rather for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the perſuaſion of a capuchin, and the ſon of the advocate-general *Barneveldt*, who lived in baniſhment at *Bruſſels*, the boats were again taken into commiſſion, a body of forces appointed to ſerve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to *John* count *de Naſſau*. The count ſet ſail from *Antwerp* with a fleet of 90 boats, having on board 5000 land-forces, and 1300 marines; but part of the prieſt's intelligence proving falſe, he was forced to alter the courſe preſcribed, re-enter the *Scheld*, paſs by *Remerſwall*, and coaſt along the iſle of *Tolen*, into which the prince of *Orange* had thrown a reinforcement of 9000 men. The barks loaded with his ammunition, proviſion, and cannon, having run on the ſand-banks, a whole tide was loſt before they were got afloat, which afforded the *Hollanders* time to collect a ſmall fleet of boats at *Bergen-op-zoom*; with theſe they attacked the enemy, and took ſeveral boats, 300 priſoners. At the ſame inſtant the fleet of *Zea-* commanded by admiral *Hollart*, fell upon the *Spa-*

A grand expedition prepared by the Spaniards.

niards in the night. Count *John* ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, and the capuchin performed wonders; but after an action of ſix hours, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only eleven officers eſcaped, in which number were count *John*, the baron *Balançon* governor of *Breda*, and the capuchin. Seventy-ſix boats and barks were taken, the reſt had been either ſunk or burned, and the number of priſoners exceeded 5000 men, moſt of whom enliſted in the prince's army, and were incorporated in different regiments. The victory was deemed in *Holland* among the moſt glorious with which it had pleaſed the Almighty to bleſs the arms of the republic; and indeed the conſequences were very important, as they entirely broke the ſcheme planned at the court of *Bruſſels*, of ſeizing all the *Dutch* iſlands quite to the *Brille*, and *Dordrecht*, while the marquis *de Santa Cruz* ſhould ſubdue the whole country along the *Meuſe*, as far as *Gertruydenberg*[a]. *The Spaniards defeated.*

THE defeat of this expedition threw the court of *Bruſſels* into conſternation. Equipping the armament had coſt the government large ſums, which were now entirely loſt, together with great part of the army. The archduchefs ſupported the misfortune with infinite ſpirit and moderation, exerting her utmoſt influence to appeaſe the clamours raiſed againſt the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, upon whom the blame of ſo ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the *Flemiſh* nobility. Something muſt be done to ſatisfy the people; accordingly the count offered the admiral *Jacob Janſe* a victim to their diſcontents, and ſent him priſoner to *Breda*; but *Janſe* was an *Italian*, and this proceeding ſerved only to encreaſe the public murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of *Dutchmen*, loaded with corn, ſeized by the *Dunkirkers*, brought the *Flemings* into better temper. Advice coming to the court of *Madrid* of the fate of the late expedition, the miniſtry had recourſe to their uſual artifices. They greatly diminiſhed the loſs, and magnified ſome petty advantages gained in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. They had little indeed to boaſt with reſpect to the latter, for the great armament deſtined for the recovery of *Olinda* was diſperſed in a ſtorm, and the greateſt part of the troops died of a malignant fever. *D'Oquendo* at laſt ſet ſail, with a numerous fleet, for *Braſil*, and in his voyage encountered the *Dutch* admiral *Pater*, with 17 ſhips, ten of which ſheer- *Naval tranſactions.*

[a] LE CLERC, tom. ii. ubi ſupra.

ed off before the engagement begun. *Pater* was too far advanced to retire with ſafety or honour, he determined therefore to ſupply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, ſunk four and burned ſix of their ſhips, before he could be ſurrounded. After having long kept victory in ſuſpenſe by dint of ſkill and intrepidity, he ſaw one of his fineſt veſſels blown up, with the crew, conſiſting of 300 men. This loſs was ſucceeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy. The powder-room of his own ſhip took fire, the flames ſpread in deſpite of his utmoſt endeavours, and *Pater*, with above four hundred brave ſeamen, periſhed in the flames. Five ſhips now only remained, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crouded with *Spaniards* who had boarded them, tinged the ſea with blood, and covered it with floating carcaſes. At laſt, perceiving they muſt ſink under the weight of numbers, they made one deſperate puſh, broke through the enemy's line, and, after having deſtroyed four ſhips, got clear, and ſteered their courſe unpurſued to *Olinda*. The honour of victory remained with the *Spaniards*; but they had purchaſed it ſo dear, that *d'Oquendo* was diſabled for that year from acting offenſively. Returning to *Europe* ſome time after, he was attacked by four *Dutch* men of war, and defeated with the loſs of 700 men, 22 officers, three ſhips and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of *Madrid* boaſted; but a falſe relation of facts ſerved for a time to blind the public, and appeaſe the clamours of the people [b].

WHILE *Spain* was buſied in preparing for the defence of the *Netherlands*, and the recovery of her loſſes in *Braſil*, the eyes of all *Europe* were turned upon the king of *Sweden*, whoſe irruption into *Germany* threw the whole empire into conſternation. In the ſpace of one year he
A. D. 1632. had conquered whole provinces, reſtored the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, to the dominions of which they were deſpoiled by the victorious imperial general *Walliſtein*, defeated the emperor's troops in divers rencounters, obtained the glorious victory of *Leipſic* over *Tilly*, the moſt celebrated commander of his age, croſſed the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, reduced above ſixty towns, fortreſſes, and cities, and was

[b] NUVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 10.

on

the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and ſub-
ting the grandeur of the antient houſe of *Auſtria*,
ich had long given law to *Chriſtendom*. Covered with
rels, and hedged in by victory, this glorious monarch
not think the ſtates of the *United Provinces* unworthy
his alliance. They had long laboured in the ſame
uſe, and with equal perſeverance and courage fought in
fence of liberty and the proteſtant religion. With this
w he ſent his chancellor *Oxenſtierne* to the *Hague*, where
was received with all the honours due to his own
rit, and the miniſter of ſo great a prince and hero.
treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, *Treaty with Sweden.*
ereby they ſtipulated to attack the *Spaniards* on the
ine, with all their forces, and by this means divide the
ſtrian army. The penſionary *Pauw* was ſent to the
g, to adjuſt further particulars [e].

To fulfil the treaty with *Sweden*, the prince of *Orange*
k the field at the head of 253 companies of infantry,
d 58 troops of cavalry. Several detachments were ſent
t to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering
niſh Guelderland, bent his courſe towards *Venlo*, ſeizing
on *Arſen*, a little fortreſs upon the *Meuſe*. Next day
ſummoned the garriſon of *Venlo*. The magiſtrates de-
d him to conſult the count *de Berg*; but *Henry*
rched his troops by two avenues, amidſt the furious
harge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a ſharp
y made by the garriſon. Before morning, the trenches
re advanced three hundred yards, notwithſtanding the
ieged gave all poſſible obſtruction. A battery of ſix
ces of cannon was erected, which played ſo briſkly
th ignited balls, that one ſide of the town was ſet on
. By the 3d of *June*, the inhabitants, ſeeing the enemy
proach the ditch, deſired to capitulate, on condition
t their privileges were preſerved, liberty of conſcience
mitted, and a church allowed for the public exerciſe of
e catholic religion. The garriſon, ſcrupling to ſubmit
the ſame terms with the burghers, defended themſelves
a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of
liers. This ſiege, though the firing was extremely briſk,
ſt the beſieged only two lives, which was attributed to
e prudent conduct of prince *Henry*, imitating the ex-
ple of his brother *Maurice*, in expoſing his troops to
nger, only in caſes of extreme neceſſity.

[e] PUFFEND. Hiſt. Generale, tom. vi. lib. vi.

The Prince of Orange *gains ſeveral advantages.*

HENRY was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of *Venlo*, than he detached count *Erneſt* with 6000 men, towards *Stralen* and *Ruremonde*, the former of which ſurrendered without reſiſtance to the ſieur *Truilleri*. *Ruremonde*, an epiſcopal town in *Guelderland*, was beſieged by *Erneſt* in perſon. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince of *Orange* arrived in the camp. His preſence wrought ſuch an effect on the inhabitants, that they ſurrendered next day, the 10th of *June*, on the ſame conditions granted to the magiſtrates of *Venlo*. The prince's moderation contributed no leſs to the ſudden reduction of towns, than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conſcience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardſhip than what is conſequent on a mere change of maſters and of government. The ſiege of *Ruremonde* proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of *Groningen* and *Friſeland*, who by a muſket-ball, the laſt ſhot fired by the garriſon, loſt their excellent governor, count *Erneſt Caſimir* of *Naſſau*. He was ſucceeded in his dignities by his ſon *Henry Erneſt*, and the ſtates general acknowledged their eſteem for the deceaſed, by making the ſtadtholderſhip of the two provinces hereditary in his family.

In the mean time *William* of *Naſſau* gained very conſiderable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thouſand men by the prince of *Orange*, to harraſs the enemy on the banks of the *Scheld*. Embarking his troops in a number of ſmall boats at *Ramekins*, he puſhed up the river to *Lillo*, made himſelf maſter of the important poſt and dyke at *Coweſtein*, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the *Scheld* to the territory of *Ryen*. Afterwards he took *Peckgat*, fort *St. Martin*, and all the works which covered *St. Vliet*. To oppoſe his progreſs, the *Spaniards* detached a body of 5000 men, compoſed of the garriſon of *Antwerp*, and the militia of the country, under the generals *Colonna* and *Feria*. A battle was fought near *Callo*, in which both ſides behaved with great valour; but the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* auxiliaries at laſt broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of priſoners, killed 400 men, among whom was the brave *Spinelli*, and obtained a compleat victory. So many advantages gained by the *Hollanders* determined the count *de Berg* to reſign his commiſſion, after he had faithfully ſerved the court of *Spain* for a great number of years, notwithſtanding he was nearly

The count de Berg *reſigns.*

allied to the prince of *Orange*, connected by ſtrong ties with

with count *Stirum*, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but ſo zealous a catholic that his conſcience would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the proteſtant government eſtabliſhed in the *Seven Provinces*. He retired to *Liege*, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deſerted, and denied a body of forces ſufficient for the defence of *Guelderland*; but it was generally ſuppoſed, he had concerted matters with the prince of *Orange*, being diſguſted with the preference ſhewn to foreigners. The ſudden retreat of ſo important a perſonage alarmed the court of *Bruſſels*. The archduchefs feared that ſo dangerons an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, diſſatisfied with the conduct of the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulſion of all foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. Filled with theſe apprehenſions, ſhe diſpatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to *Bruſſels*, and promiſing to redreſs all his grievances; but the count excuſed himſelf in an anſwer couched in the moſt reſpectful terms, for the princeſs. He was ſenſible of her goodneſs, but he knew her power was limited by *Olivarez*, and that her favour to himſelf would be matter of diſcontent to all the *Spaniards*. He hoped, he ſaid, that his faithful perſonal ſervices of 40 years, and the death of ſix brothers ſlain in the war, would give ſufficient teſtimony of his zeal for the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the ſufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cauſe, from the pride, avarice, and that contempt which the *Spaniards* affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the ſame time, a circular letter, in form of a manifeſto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the *Ten Provinces*, to juſtify his conduct with reſpect to the marquis *de Leganez*, and other *Spaniards* with whom he was at variance. In the reſult he entirely threw off the maſk, declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, againſt the oppoſition and tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

He declares againſt the Spaniards.

On the 18th of *June* the prince of *Orange* wrote a letter to the count *de Berg*, applauding his reſolution, and declaring that he ſhould not have ſeized upon the towns in *Spaniſh Guelderland*, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceleſs, the magiſtrates refuſing to furniſh the *Spaniſh* garriſons with money, which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of aſſiſtance and conſolation, in his own name, and that of the ſtates general, and requeſted he

he would rely upon their friendſhip and protection, againſt all his enemies. With reſpect to the catholic religion, in which he was ſo zealous, he might reſt ſatisfied, as the ſtates were determined to permit liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of the *Romiſh* religion in all their conqueſts, as was obvious from their conduct at *Venlo*, *Stralen*, and *Ruremonde*. The ſtates of *Liege*, apprehenſive that the declaration publiſhed by the count *de Berg* might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, publiſhed a proteſt of their having no ſhare in the count's deſigns; while he, on his part, confirmed their aſſeveration by a ſolemn act, acquitting the chapter and ſtates of all communication, intereſt, or connection, with his affairs, and the purport of his late declaration. Meaſures ſo deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of *Bruſſels*, that the count's reſolution had not been formed in a ſudden fit of diſguſt; the *Spaniards* inſinuated to the archduchеſs, that the invaſion of *Spaniſh Guelderland* was in conſequence of ſecret intelligence between him and the prince of *Orange*. This firſt determined her to prevent the conſequences of his deſertion by letters wrote to the three eſtates of the provinces, and then, by a perſonal declaration againſt the count, with an order to ſeize his perſon. So vigorous a reſolution terrified the count's party, and obliged him to return to *Aix*, in *Holland*, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of *Bruſſels*, and condemned to loſe his head upon a ſcaffold.

THE revolt however of the count *de Berg* did not produce all the expected conſequences. It was ſuppoſed that the *Flemiſh* troops would deſert, by which means the archduchеſs would be deprived of her greateſt ſtrength, and diſabled from oppoſing the conqueſts of the prince of *Orange*; but that princeſs had taken her meaſures ſo prudently, and was ſo univerſally beloved, that ſcarce any more than the uſual deſertion happened. It was notwithſtanding a terrible blow to the court of *Spain*, as ſhe was now deprived of a general to oppoſe prince *Henry*, and whoſe popularity in *Guelderland* might greatly aſſiſt the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, ſituated on the *Meuſe*, were reduced in the ſpace of eight days. By the 10th of *June*, the *Dutch* had their conqueſts quite to *Maeſtricht*, and pene- the fartheſt extremity of the duchy of *Limburgh*. it itſelf, the moſt commodious paſſage of the *Meuſe*, inveſted, after it had quietly remained in the the *Spaniards* ſince the year 1579, when it was taken

taken by the duke of *Parma*. The city was defended only by a garriſon of 2500 men, under the command of the baron *de Leda*, nephew to the count *de Meiery*, an officer of great experience, abſent when the prince of *Orange* formed the ſiege. That prince carried on his approaches with his uſual caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirſt of glory could inſpire. With his only troop of cavalry, he reconnoitered the diſpoſition of the *Dutch* trenches, maintained a ſharp conflict, and returned with a number of priſoners ſuperior to his whole party; a ſucceſs which ſo elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without diſtinction, even the clergy and women, determined to ſecond the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A ſally was made to burn all the ſurrounding houſes, which could any way aſſiſt the approach of the beſieged; but the garriſon was repulſed with great ſlaughter. All the batteries being finiſhed by the 14th of *June*, the reſt of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the beſieged endeavoured to obſtruct by a great number of briſk ſallies. Sometimes they proved ſucceſsful, and in one ſally they deſtroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage [t].

Maeſtricht *beſieged.*

MEANTIME the *Spaniards*, ſenſible that *Maeſtricht* was a town of the laſt importance, were collecting all their ſtrength for its relief, and not ſatisfied with their own forces, had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of their allies. *Gonzales de Cordova*, with a body of forces drawn from the palatinate, preſented himſelf before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorouſly repulſed by the *French* and *Engliſh* auxiliaries. The ſieur *d'Eſtiaux* particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this affair, purſuing the enemy acroſs the river, with ſuch impetuoſity, that he penetrated the *Spaniſh* camp, threw it in great confuſion, and retired with a conſiderable number of priſoners. *Gonzales* collecting his diſperſed troops, attempted to ſeize all the avenues leading to the *Dutch* camp, and thereby cut off their proviſions; but the prince of *Orange* took ſuch meaſures as effectually baffled the project of the *Spaniard*. Six weeks had now been conſumed in this ſiege, during which a variety of ſallies and aſſaults were made, which gave it ſo much reputation,

[t] NUVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 14.

that

th:t volunteers flocked from all quarters of *Europe*, to learn the art of war under prince *Henry*. On the 22d of *July*, the marquis *de Santa Cruz* arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a paſſage over the *Meuſe* at *Stocken*; but his troops were ſo roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the *German* auxiliaries under *Pappenheim*, one of the beſt officers in the emperor's ſervice. When the prince of *Orange* underſtood that this reinforcement had joined the *Spaniſh* general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed ſtronger guards at all the poſts, and ordered *William* of *Naſſau* to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of of *Nimeguen*. Nor had *Pappenheim* reaſon to be ſatisfied with the reception given him by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and the *Spaniſh* officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would run away with the whole honour of relieving *Maeſtricht*. To prevent this, he ſent the duke of *Newburgh*, with propoſals to the prince of *Orange*, for changing hoſtilities into a negotiation. *Pappenheim*, inceníed at the uſage, declared by a trumpet, that he was come with the imperial army to oppoſe the *Dutch*, and immediately advanced to force the prince's intrenchments. The *Hollanders* ſuſtained the attack with great firmneſs, and at laſt drove back the imperialiſts with prodigious ſlaughter. *Pappenheim* then entrenched himſelf oppoſite to count *Stirum*'s quarters, with intention to ſeize the firſt opportunity of throwing ſuccours into the town. To ſecond his deſign, the beſieged made a briſk ſally, furiouſly attacked the *Engliſh* quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above 400 *Britiſh* ſoldiers periſhed in this action, the principal of whom were the lord *Oxford*, and colonel *Williams* *.

AFTER *Pappenheim* had fully examined the poſts, the ſtrength and ſituation of the beſiegers, he diſpoſed every thing for a ſecond attack, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers compoſed the van, followed by all the infantry, with faſcines to fill up the trenches; the cavalry ſupported both wings. The attack was ſo impetuous, that notwithſtanding the trenches were choaked up with their dead, the *Germans* ſtill preſſed on, and obliged the *Dutch* to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obſtinately maintained for three hours, when the

* Vie de prince Henry, p. 102.

prince

rince of *Orange* arrived with freſh troops, conducted by he dukes *de Candale* and *Bouillon*, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the *French* nobility. They attacked the *Germans* in flank, with irreſiſtible fury; he ſcale of fortune was now changed, and the imperialiſts n their turn put in diſorder, defeated, and driven from he entrenchments. The brave imperialiſt was ſhocked, to ſee the *Spaniards* cool ſpectators of the ſlaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonſtrate that he could finiſh his buſineſs without their aſſiſtance (A). A ſecond time he returned to the charge; both ſides of the *Dutch* camp were attacked, and he forced a footing for his cavalry within the trenches. He ſuſtained the attack, from one till ſeven in the evening, the *Spaniards* all the while remaining quiet ſpectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, muſketry, granades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting diſcharge, and the clouds of ſmoke obſcured the light, and made it impoſſible for the combatants to diſtinguiſh each other. Prince *Henry*, the dukes *de Condale* and *Bouillon*, count *John Maurice* of *Naſſau*, and the *French* volunteers, oppoſed their utmoſt vigour to the fury of *Pappenheim*, who performed every duty of a ſoldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in deſpair to return to ~~return to~~ the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The garriſon finding ſuch aſtoniſhingly brave efforts made for their relief, reſolved to contribute their endeavours, and ſallying out vigorouſly upon the *Engliſh* quarters, made a conſiderable diverſion, but were at laſt repulſed with loſs, after an obſtinate engagement. The *Germans* were diſcouraged by the defeat of the beſieged. They had repeatedly come back to the charge, and were as often repulſed. Now they were fatigued, exhauſted, and broken, while the *Dutch* poured in freſh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had ſuffered. After one furious unſucceſsful attempt, *Pappenheim* retired in tolerable order, leaving

(A) *Nuville* reports, that when *Pappenheim* deſired that the *Spaniards* might march to his aſſiſtance, the marquis anſwered, that the king had employed 400,000 dollars to fill the ditch with *German* carcaſes. We muſt confeſs this raillery appears too indelicate for an officer of the marquis's merit and diſtinction.

two

two thouſand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded priſoners, among whom was lieutenant-general *Lindlock*, four colonels, and a great number of inferior officers, greatly chagrined at his defeat, and the conduct of the *Spaniards*, who regarded his diſappointment as a real victory gained by themſelves.

PRINCE *Henry* finding himſelf diſengaged from ſo formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the *Spaniards*, who ſeemed to lie encamped at a little diſtance, only to give teſtimony to his valiant exploits, his excellent conduct, and glorious triumph, puſhed the ſiege with redoubled vigour. The *Britiſh* troops ſprung a mine on the 20th of *Auguſt*, which deſtroyed great part of the raveline; the garriſon and burghers flew in crouds to the breach, where the baron *de Leda* fought in perſon with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the beſiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and extremely galled the aſſailants with their hand-grenades. Above 300 *Britiſh* ſoldiers, and about 80 of the beſieged, periſhed; ſeveral women likewiſe were ſlain and wounded. But this ſucceſs ſerved only to protract the ſiege; it could not determine the fate of the garriſon. The breach was ſtormed a ſecond time, and carried ſword-in-hand; which ſo alarmed the burghers, that in a body they beſought the baron to ſave their lives and effects by a capitulation. After uſing ſome fruitleſs arguments to perſuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he ſigned a capitulation, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions; thoſe reſpecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magiſtrates of *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*. Thus was the important city of *Maeſtricht*, in deſpite of the utmoſt efforts of three armies, that of *Spain*, under the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; of the palatinate, commanded by *Cordova*; and the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced *Pappenheim*; obliged to ſurrender. The ſtates loſt 6000 men in the ſiege; but the importance and glory of the conqueſt obliterated every other conſideration, and made the reduction of *Maeſtricht* be regarded as one of the moſt memorable events of a war abounding in battles and ſieges [f].

Maeſtricht *ſurrendered.*

HENRY having beſtowed the government of *Maeſtricht* on the duke *de Bouillon*, left a ſtrong garriſon in the town; and ſecured from all attempts from the imperialiſts

[f] Vie de prince Henry, p. 94. 96. Ibid. p. 103, 104.

on the ſide of the *Rhine*, ſent 70 large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the *Scheld*, to ſpread terror along the coaſts of *Flanders*. *William* of *Naſſau* advanced likewiſe with 8000 men to *Lillo* and *Saſſlingen*, by which means the catholic provinces were beſet by ſea and land. Count *Stirum* was likewiſe detached to reduce the few remaining towns of *Spaniſh Guelderland*, moſt of which ſubmitted rather to the influence of the count *de Berg* than to the arms of the *Hollanders*. The archduchefs apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance againſt the few towns held by the *Spaniards* in the duchy of *Cleves*. Unable to protect them with her own forces, ſhe wrote to *Pappenheim*, requeſting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places ſequeſtered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of *Vienna*, *Pappenheim* wrote to the prince of *Orange*, exhorting him to diſtinguiſh between the places in the duchy of *Cleves*, under the protection of the emperor, and thoſe held by *Spain*; but *Henry*, perceiving the artifice, returned for anſwer, that, provided his imperial majeſty would obſerve an exact neutrality, and prevail on the *Spaniards* to withdraw their garriſons, he was ready to comply.

WHILE this affair was negotiating, prince *Henry* detached lieutenant-general *Stakembroek* and colonel *Pinſen*, to inveſt *Limburgh*, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. *Stakembroek* then penetrated to *Namur*, and laid the whole ſurrounding country under contribution. Heavy contributions were likewiſe raiſed in the territories of the duke of *Newburgh* and the elector of *Cologne*, becauſe they had violated the neutrality, in aſſiſting *Pappenheim*'s expedition to *Maeſtricht*. In the month of *October*, *Orſoy*, a town in the duchy of *Cleves*, was ſurpriſed by a *Dutch* party; but the avarice of the ſoldiers, and their eagerneſs after plunder, expoſed them to the enemy, and occaſioned the loſs of their conqueſt. They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garriſon of *Rhimberg*. *William* of *Naſſau*, however, ſoon after recovered the place; with which the campaign, ſo glorious to the prince of *Orange*, and advantageous to the republic, concluded.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Containing propoſals for a truce between Spain *and* Holland; *propoſitions concerning the re-union of the ſeventeen provinces; the ſiege of* Breda; *and a variety of other military operations, to the death of the prince of* Orange, *and the treaty of* Munſter.

A. D. 1633. *Propoſals made by the court of* Bruſſels *for a truce.*

CONFOUNDED with the rapid conqueſts of prince *Henry*, and the progreſs of the *Dutch* conqueſts, the court of *Bruſſels* had no other reſource than the renewal of their negotiations for a truce with the ſtates general. Neceſſity rather than the love of peace dictated this meaſure. The *Spaniards* were not yet ſufficiently humbled to grant what the *United Provinces* required; but they were forced to temporiſe, and gain a little reſpite, by eſtabliſhing conferences, whoſe ſole object was to procraſtinate. It had been the policy of *Philip* II. to ſet negotiations on foot whenever he found his treaſury exhauſted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as ſoon as the flota arrived from the *Indies*, and he had recovered himſelf; this policy was imitated by his ſucceſſors. The archduchefs now diſpatched a deputation to *Maeſtricht*, with propoſals to the prince of *Orange*, which he tranſmitted and referred to the ſtates general. The ſtates declared they could enter upon no conferences with the *Spaniſh* miniſtry; but that they were willing to begin a negotiation with the catholic provinces, on condition they would detach themſelves from the *Spaniards*. This propoſal was accepted by the archduchefs, who accordingly ſent the archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, and the duke *d'Arſchot*, to the *Hague*, to open the conferences. Seven other deputies from *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*, aſſiſted. They were acknowledged as the ambaſſadors of the court of *Bruſſels* by the ſtates, and they declared they were come entirely in the name of the ſtates of the catholic provinces. As the ſtates general were bound by the treaties with *France* and *Sweden*, to enter upon no negotiations without the conſent and participation of their allies, they drew up a ſcheme of preliminaries ſo unreaſonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their inſtructions to give any anſwer. It is, however, ſuppoſed, that had the propoſals been more favourable, they muſt have made the ſame declaration: this

at leaſt is aſſerted by *Dutch* writers[a]. Upon this the
ities returned with more ample powers; and the prince
Orange, unwilling to be diverted from his military ope-
ons by conferences, the fruitleſs iſſue of which he fore-
, marched at the head of his army, and laid ſiege to
mberg. This town, ſtanding upon the *Rhine*, between
ſel and *Orſoy*, was regarded as a place of great import-
e to the *Hollanders*. It commanded the whole naviga-
and commerce of the *Rhine*, was a key to the *Spaniards*
Friſeland, and enabled them to levy contributions in the
ch territories on the hither ſide the *Rhine*. This import-
town the prince of *Orange* inveſted on the 11th day
May, pitching his head-quarters towards the ſouth-ſide.
ſdorff, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town,
ing under him a garriſon of 2000 men. He defended
ſelf with ſo much judgment, that notwithſtanding the
ce carried on his approaches with the utmoſt vigour,
nine ſoldiers of the garriſon were killed at the end of
month, but the fortifications were conſiderably damaged.
ſpirits were kept up by the proſpect of relief from *Mon-*
, who was marching to his aſſiſtance with an army of
000 men; hopes that were ſoon cut off by the judicious
ſures of prince *Henry*, who detached a body of horſe
foot to oppoſe the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and
raſs them in their march. The duke *de Bouillon* and
nel *Pinſen* commanded this detachment, and effectually
cuted their commiſſion; *Moncada* was unable to advance,
Dieſdorff, deſtitute of all reſource and expectation of
ef, his garriſon fatigued, and his proviſion and ammuni-
conſumed, ſurrendered the town upon obtaining the
ours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the
abitants.

Rhimberg *taken by the prince of* Orange.

THE reduction of *Rhimberg* was the moſt important ſer-
e that could have been performed, relative to the pro-
ces of *Friſeland* and *Groningen*, who were obliged, while
s place remained in the hands of the *Spaniards*, to main-
n large garriſons at a vaſt expence. It procured, likewiſe,
other advantage to the *United Provinces*, by diminiſhing
duties upon all merchandiſe going up or down the river.
a word, the place was deemed of ſuch conſequence by
court of *Bruſſels*, that *Dieſdorff* was ſent priſoner to the
adel of *Antwerp*, and afterwards caſhiered, for not having
ended himſelf to the laſt extremity. *Henry*'s expedition
Cleves diminiſhed greatly the public expectation from the

[a] LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 174.

conferences,

conferences, which ſtill were purſued. Though the *Flemiſh* deputies continued at the *Hague*, the archduchefs thought herſelf authoriſed, by the example of the ſtates general, to continue her hoſtile preparations. Levies were accordingly made in all the territories ſubject to the government; a conſiderable army took the field in three diviſions; and every thing promiſed that the campaign would be conducted with the utmoſt vigour. The count *de Mottery*, with one diviſion, marched into the diſtrict of *Liege*, to revenge the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and ſtates, ſhewn for the *Hollanders* during the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*; but he was twice defeated by the duke *de Bouillon*, and forced to abandon the enterpriſe. Prince *Henry* marched to *Brabant*, and encamping at *Botel*, was joined by 12,000 *Swedes*, under general *Melander*. Now was the moſt formidable army in the field, which the ſtates general had beheld ſince the origin of the republic; it was compoſed of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. *Spaniſh Brabant* regarded itſelf as already conquered, and the terror of the allied army had ſpread to the remoteſt extremities of the catholic *Netherlands*. After conferring with the *Dutch* deputies upon the operations of the campaign; after obſerving a ſtrict faſt, aud offering ſolemn prayers for the proſperity of his arms, the prince of *Orange* began his march, at the head of all his forces, towards *Endyhove*, in the month of *September*. A deluge of rain, which poured inceſſantly during the whole month, and the excellent diſpoſition made by the *Spaniſh* general *Moncada*, fruſtrated, however, all his deſigns. The country was deſtitute of forage, the lands were overflowed, ſickneſs appeared in the army, the peaſants deſerted their habitations, to avoid bringing proviſion to the *Dutch* troops, and every thing contributed to diſappoint the great projects of the prince of *Orange*, and the vaſt expectations of the ſtates general from ſo formidable an army [b]. Unable to penetrate farther, he retired, and diſtributed his troops in winter-quarters.

Twelve thouſand Swedes *join the prince of* Orange.

THE naval armament under count *William* of *Naſſau* was ſomewhat more fortunate, though greatly ſhort of expectation in point of ſucceſs. After alarming the *Spaniards* in different quarters, and keeping them in ſuſpence where the ſtroke would fall, he at laſt made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Flanders*, near *Cadſant*, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of *Sluys*, which he garriſoned. Perceiving that his progreſs was vigorouſly oppoſed by *Fontaine*, governor of

[b] Mem. de prince Henry, p. 179.

Bruges,

Bruges, he reimbarked his troops, and fell ſuddenly upon fort *Philippine*, near *Sas de Gand*, where he found abundance of ammunition, proviſion, and ſeveral pieces of beautiful cannon. To the fortifications of this place he made vaſt additions, ſtrengthening the counterſcarp, in particular, with ſeven great baſtions, and a variety of out-works, that rendered it almoſt impregnable, and formed a convenient inlet to the *Hollanders* into *Flanders*. While he was thus employed, his other conqueſt was loſt, owing to the miſconduct and cowardice of the garriſon. They ſurrendered after a faint reſiſtance, and upon their return to *Holland* were broke, and rendered incapable of farther ſervice. Some of the officers were baniſhed, and the name of *Cut Head* was given to the fort, becauſe it proved fatal to a variety of governors, *Spaniſh* and *Dutch*, who loſt their heads for not defending it with more vigour and obſtinacy. The *Spaniards* perceiving the effects of loſing fort *Philippine*, that, inſtead of laying waſte the territories of the ſtates, as uſual, their own dominions were now ſubjected to contributions to the very gates of *Ghent*, exerted their utmoſt endeavours once more to gain poſſeſſion of a place ſo important. The governor of *Antwerp* made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garriſons; *Colonna* joined him with a body of cavalry, and *Gonzales* with ſeveral companies of infantry. In a ſhort time ſuch a force was aſſembled, as extremely preſſed *William de Naſſau*, and obliged him to apply for a conſiderable reinforcement. However, by a ſtratagem, he forced the enemy to drop their deſign of attacking him, of retaking fort *Philippine*, and of returning the inſults they had lately ſuſtained. Ordering ſeveral boats, with a trumpeter in each, to land in the night, ſounding their warlike inſtruments, he perſuaded the enemy that a ſtrong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, proviſions, the utenſils brought for carrying on the ſiege, and ſeveral pieces of artillery.

With this tranſaction the campaign ended, upon which the negotiations for a truce were again reſumed. The conferences at the *Hague* had been interrupted by hoſtilities committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties ſtarted by the *Hollanders*, but not wholly broke off; for ſome of the deputies conſtantly reſided in *Holland*, while others went to *Bruſſels* for farther inſtructions. It was the intention of the court of *Spain* and the ſtates general both to amuſe; the archduchеſs alone was ſerious in her endeavours to reſtore tranquillity and the bleſſings of repoſe to the

Netherlands. Poſſibly ſhe might have effected this ſooner, had ſhe not been curbed, traverſed, and diſappointed by the intrigues of *Olivarez* and the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, who were too weak to execute their deſigns upon the *United Provinces*, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were reſolved to accept. Her wiſe conduct broke all the meaſures concerted by the *Hollanders* for procuring the reunion of the *Seventeen Provinces*, upon ſuch a footing as would entirely exclude the *Spaniards*. The count *de Berg*'s deſertion firſt ſuggeſted the idea of this reunion, to which great numbers of the *Flemiſh* nobility ſeemed well-diſpoſed. Indeed the people in general were not averſe to the ſcheme of a new republic, under the ſame laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conſcience ſhould be tolerated. The deſign was noble, but it was too vaſt for practice; ſo many perſons were intereſted to oppoſe it, that it was impoſſible it ſhould ever be carried into execution. The archduchess was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of reſpect to her wiſdom, and that general eſteem which her ſweet and amiable diſpoſition attracted; but unfortunately ſhe could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence repoſed in her by the court of *Madrid*. Some writers aſcribe the ruin of the project to the duke *d'Arſchot*, who betrayed the negotiation between the *Flemiſh* nobility and the count *de Berg*. The ſtates general perceived, that it was not with the court of *Bruſſels* they had to treat, but with that of *Madrid*; they altered their tone, ſpoke a different language, ſeemed more indifferent about the truce, but, however, did not poſitively refuſe to liſten to the propoſals, with which the deputies returned to the *Hague*. Cardinal *Richlieu* now interpoſed, and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, ſo neceſſary to the deſigns he had formed. With this view he ſent the baron *de Charneſſe* to the *Hague*, who acquitted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, promiſed ſo largely, and flattered the ſtates with ſuch agreeable proſpects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences, and intimated to the deputies the neceſſity of their immediate departure [c].

Negotiations for a truce broke off.

It muſt be confeſſed that this meaſure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wiſhed for a ſolid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the ſtates of *Zealand*, and the prince of *Orange*, in par-

[c] Nuvelle, tom. ii. p. 17.

ticular,

, entered ſo warmly into the intereſts of the *French* dador, and repreſented ſo ſtrongly the utility of con- g the war, that the ſtates general declared in their ; in deſpite of all the remonſtrances made by *Holland* *Weſt Friſeland*, the moſt concerned of all the provinces A. D. ng about a reſpite of the enormous expences of ſup- 1634. g large fleets, armies, and numerous garriſons. *Char-* ırmounted theſe difficulties by the gold which he pro- to ſhower down from *France*, and the powerful diver- ne king's troops would make, by an irruption into *n* and *Alſace*. The ſtates relied on the effects of theſe ſes, the people were brought into good-humour, and incided in the reſolution to proſecute the war with igour as ſhould compel *Spain* to ſue for peace, upon erms as *France* and the republic ſhould think fit to be. This determination was ſcarce formed, when *etherlands* were deprived of their moſt excellent prin- *Iſabella-Clara-Eugenia*, archduchess of *Auſtria*, infanta *in*, daughter to *Philip* II. of *Spain*, grand-daughter *ry* II. of *France*, and ſtill greater by her extraordi- nerit, than her elevated birth and connections. She it *Bruſſels*, on the firſt day of *September*, lamented by *Death of the arch- duchess.* rees of men, and equally eſteemed by the *Spaniards*, *gs*, and *Dutch*, for her prudence, moderation, huma- piety, and every other quality which could adorn her nd reflect luſtre upon her high dignity. To a capa- nd courage altogether maſculine, ſhe joined the ſoft- the tenderneſs, and amiable delicacy of the female; was her truly moral and rational piety that, of all her ies, ſhone with the brighteſt radiance: in her religion, the *Hollanders*, the enemies of her faith and perſon, ed ſhe was ſincere; though the catholics blamed that ation, which ſhe recommended, and always obſerved, ard to the reformed religion [d].

e death of *Iſabella* was an irrecoverable loſs to *Spain*; iſhed an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe ideal ſtrokes licy which ſeldom ſucceed, on account of their ex- refinement. We have ſeen *Philip* the Second's views rrying the princeſs to the cardinal archduke, brother e emperor *Rhodolph*. The *Netherlands* and *Franche* were her dowry; and the contract of marriage ſtipu- that the elder male iſſue ſhould ſucceed, and in caſe lure of ſuch iſſue, the oldeſt of the female line; but the provinces on no account ſhould be divided or

[d] Idem. ibid.

alienated. Now the whole ſcheme of *Philip* was fruſtrated, and the *Netherlands* again reverted to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, without producing any of the effects propoſed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archduchefs was found a commiſſion, ſigned in 1630, appointing the archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, and the duke *d'Arſchot*, don *Carlo Colonna*, and the marquis *d'Ayetone*, regents, during the abſence of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, brother to the catholic king, deſtined to ſucceed the archduchefs, not in the property, but the government of the *Netherlands*. The death of ſome, the abſence of others, and the contempt into which the duke *d'Arſchot* was fallen, ſo changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the marquis *d'Ayetone*. As the cardinal infant was deeply engaged in *Germany*, a new commiſſion was granted to the marquis, conſtituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the *Spaniſh* forces acting in the *Netherlands*.

Conduct of the marquis d'Ayetone, *the new governor of the* Netherlands.

He began his government with ſeizing upon the perſons of the nobility ſuſpected of holding any correſpondence with count *Henry de Berg*, and the ſtates general of the *United Provinces*. The prince *de Barbançon* was committed priſoner to the citadel of *Antwerp*; the duke *de Bournonville*, called likewiſe count *Hennin*, and the prince *d'Eſpinoi*, ſaved themſelves in *France*: an attempt was made to ſeize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their eſcape. Some however were carried priſoners to *Antwerp*, while others took refuge in the *United Provinces* and *Brabant*, with the counts *de Berg* and *Warfuſe*. As to the duke *d'Arſchot*, he fell under ſuſpicion, and was detained priſoner at the court of *Madrid*. Sentence of death was pronounced againſt the count *de Berg*, which greatly alarmed all the *Flemiſh* nobility, who had any way connived at his deſertion. The conſternation became ſo general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate inſurrection, the marquis *d'Ayetone* found himſelf obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publiſhing an amneſty of all that paſſed before the 16th of *April*. He ſaw the conſequences of the rigorous treatment of the duke of *Alva*, and that iron ſcourge which he held over the *Flemings*; a conduct to which may juſtly be attributed the loſs of the *Seven United Provinces*, and the union that took place at *Utrecht*.

NEXT he viſited the coaſts of *Flanders*, reinforced the garriſons of the frontier towns, built ſeveral forts, to reſtrain the incurſions of the *Hollanders*, and concluded a treaty, on the 12th of *May*, with *Gaſton de France*, duke of *Orleans*, and brother to *Lewis* XIII. in the name of his catholic

lic majeſty; whereby the duke engaged to declare war ſt the *French* monarch. This treaty was oppoſed to ew alliance formed between the king and the republic, hich the king ſtipulated to augment his forces in the e of the ſtates, to pay two millions yearly, and to de- war againſt the king of *Spain*, ſhould he attack the d *Provinces*. After his negotiation with the duke of *ns*, the marquis *d'Ayetone* ordered his army to file to- s the *Meuſe*, leaving the counts *de Fontaine* and *Feria*, nors of *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, to oppoſe *William de u*'s deſigns upon *Flanders*; to effect which they had a of 6000 foot, beſides a conſiderable body of cavalry. diately the duke *de Lerma* and the marquis *de Leda* detached to lay ſiege to *Argentau*, a place of ſtrength nportance, ſituated between *Maeſtricht* and *Liege*, and ed upon a rock waſhed by the waters of the *Meuſe*. ithſtanding its great ſtrength, *Argentau* ſurrendered the exchange of a few ſhot; the garriſon, conſiſting ſoldiers, not chuſing to wait for the expected ſuccours the prince of *Orange*. The governor, who was ſon to s the prince's ſecretary, was committed priſoner to *richt*, by order of the ſtates; but the chief blame fell e prince of *Orange*, juſtly cenſured for leaving a for- ſo important in a condition ſo defenceleſs.

OM *Argentau* the *Spaniards* marched to *Limburgh*, a f which they made ſure, in conſequence of a ſecret with the governor. He had agreed to admit the upon receiving 30,000 piſtoles; but his treacherous was diſcovered, and fruſtrated by the lieutenant- nor, who obliged him to take refuge among the *Spa-*. The diſappointment did not hinder the marquis inveſting *Maeſtricht* in the month of *July*. This ed the prince of *Orange*, who had hitherto been ſe- into a ſtate of inactivity, by the negotiations carried the ſtates with the *French* king, the *Swediſh* queen, the *n* proteſtants, the duke of *Newburgh*, and the male- its in *Flanders*. Now he advanced to the frontiers of *nt* and *Guelderland*, in ſuch a manner as to penetrate ither, as circumſtances might require. The duke *illon*, governor of *Maeſtricht*, apprehending that *one* formed deſigns upon that city, threw himſelf with men into the place, and made ſo furious a ſally on beſiegers, that they were conſtrained to convert the into a blockade. Upon receiving a ſtrong reinforce- the marquis again began to make his approaches. ittered the town with the utmoſt fury; but all his ef-

Maeſtricht *in vain beſieged by the* Spaniards.

forts gave no inquietude to the prince of *Orange*, who relied upon the courage of the garriſon, and the intrepidity and ſkill of the duke *de Bouillon*. Perfectly ſecure in this well-repoſed confidence, *Henry* did not quit the *Hague* before the month of *Auguſt*, contenting himſelf with ſufficiently reinforcing the garriſons of *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*. Now indeed he reſolved to inveſt *Breda*, rather to make a diverſion in favour of *Maeſtricht*, than with hopes of ſucceeding in the reduction of ſo well-garriſoned and ſtrong a city[e]. It anſwered his expectation: he had ſcarce begun to work upon the trenches, when *d'Ayetone* raiſed the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*, and marched with all his forces to *Breda*, upon which the prince retired on the 8th of *September*, leading his army in good order along the *Meuſe*, and cloſing the campaign with this tranſaction.

THOUGH the marquis *d'Ayetone* had been fairly overreached by *Henry*'s feint upon *Breda*, yet he aſſumed the air of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the preſſure of a cloſe ſiege. This policy was neceſſary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expences fruitleſsly beſtowed on the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*. It anſwered *d'Ayetone*'s purpoſe, the multitude being amuſed and dazzled with the public rejoicings, and bonfires kindled in *Breda*, to celebrate an imaginary victory. *Henry*'s prudence had cut off all poſſibility of gaining any real advantage, the garriſons being all put in a ſtate of defence, and the troops ſo judiciouſly cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This ſecurity of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to *Ayetone*, who hoped to ſignaliſe his government by ſome very important blow; and his uneaſineſs was augmented by the motions of the *French* army, under the marſhal *de la Force*, on the ſide of *Luxemburgh*. The duke of *Orleans* likewiſe broke his engagements with the court of *Spain*, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All theſe circumſtances involved the court of *Bruſſels* in the utmoſt confuſion, when the cardinal infant *Albert* arrived, to take upon him the government, to diſpel by his preſence the gloom that overſpread the face of affairs. At *Bruſſels* he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly ſhewn to *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. It was immediately publiſhed, that he meditated nothing leſs than the reunion of the ſeventeen provinces under his government, and the greateſt

The cardinal infant arrives in the Netherlands.

[e] NUVILLE, tom. ii. ibid.

hopes

i were entertained from a prince known to be of a
ke diſpoſition, and confeſſed by all to poſſeſs the talents
ſound politician.

IE cardinal's arrival announced to the ſtates general
ieceſſity of keeping ſtrict watch, and putting their
s and garriſons into the beſt poſture. They beheld
diſquiet and jealouſy the compliments that were paid
e cardinal by the neighbouring ſtates and princes;
ially the king of *England*, and the elector of *Cologne*,
were the earlieſt in their congratulations. It was
natter of great offence that the duke of *Newburgh*,
whom they had lately been upon terms of friendſhip,
d not be ſatisfied with meeting the cardinal upon his
but muſt eſcort him with a numerous train to *Bruſſels*.
r reſentment, however, againſt this prince was ſoon
d to compaſſion, when they ſaw his territories deſo- A. D.
on the one hand, by the duke of *Lunenburgh*, as the 1635.
f *Sweden*, and on the other, by the imperial general
Manſveldt. It was for this reaſon they ſent him a
ation, exhorting him to continue firm in his neutrality,
ſing, in that caſe, to afford him all poſſible protection.
extraordinary change at the court of *Bruſſels* deter-
d the ſtates to ſend an embaſſy to the court of *France*, Feb. 8.
ig the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the *An offen-*
to declare war againſt the *Spaniards*. The conſequence *ſive alli-*
the renewal of the ſame treaty, with this addition, *ance be-*
n offenſive alliance was now contracted between the *tween*
and the republic, from which the ſtates expected no- France
leſs than the entire conqueſt of the *Spaniſh Nether-* *and* Hol-
land.

A ſcheme of partition was actually drawn up,
:by the towns were to preſerve their privileges, and
eople their religion. The duchy of *Luxemburgh*, the
ms of *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Courtray*, *Artois*, and *Flan-*
as far as *Blakemberg*, *Damme*, and *Rupplemonde*, were
ed to *France*; while *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, the territory
es, the lordſhip of *Mechlin*, and all the reſt of *Flan-*
ſhould be annexed to the republic. We have ſince
period ſeen other equally unjuſt and unſucceſsful
ions of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, in which *France* and
d were to have been principal ſharers. Providence,
ver, did not wholly abandon the *Spaniards*, or ſuffer
mbitious, iniquitous deſigns of their enemies to take
. The vaſt projects and ſanguine hopes of the allies
diſappointed, chiefly by their own blunders, and by
ealouſy which the *Hollanders* entertained of the grow-

ing power of *France*, and the vicinage of ſo powerful a monarch as *Lewis*. The prince of *Orange* likewiſe was greatly inſtrumental in defeating the intention of the league. He could never forgive cardinal *Richlieu* the attempt made on the principality of *Orange*; and he ſought his revenge by embracing every occaſion to mortify that haughty prelate, and crafty miniſter.

LEWIS XIII. now wanted a ſpecious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of *Spain*, and declaring war againſt the cardinal governor of the *Netherlands*, as the firſt ſtep towards the execution of the treaty with *Holland*. The ſeizure of *Triers*, and the unjuſt detention of the elector, ſent priſoner to *Bruſſels*, and thence to *Vienna*, afforded the opportunity he wiſhed [f]. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his releaſe; and not obtaining it, he ſolemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald ſent to *Bruſſels*. It was concerted, that the prince of *Orange* ſhould enter *Brabant* with his forces, while a *French* army, of 20,000 foot and 7000 horſe, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be commanded in chief by the prince of *Orange*. It was the buſineſs of the cardinal infant to prevent this union: he accordingly detached prince *Thomas*, with the counts *Burgoi* and *Feria*, to give battle to the *French*. On the 20th of *May* the two armies met near the village of *d'Avein* in *Luxemburgh*. An engagement enſued, and the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, after an obſtinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was ſuſtained with aſtoniſhing intrepidity. They left 4000 dead upon the field, 800 priſoners were taken, and ſeveral pieces of cannon, with ſtandards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to *Maeſtricht*, to join the prince of *Orange*, who lamented that he was deprived of a ſhare in this glorious victory, and complained to the ſieur *de Pontis*, that the mareſhals *de Brezè* and *Chatillon* ſhould have preſumed to give battle without the orders of the generaliſſimo [g]. This is the inſinuation of *French* writers; we find not the leaſt blame thrown upon the mareſhals in the prince's own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on their valour, when they met at *Maeſtricht*. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that no great

The Spaniards *defeated.*

[f] Mem. de prince Henry, p. 199. NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii. cap. 3.

[g] Idem ibid.

harmony

harmony ſubſiſted, though this aroſe from motives more worthy of the prince of *Orange:* they related chiefly to his country; he ſeemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the conſequences of ſuffering the *French* king to eſtabliſh a footing in the *Netherlands*.

WHEN the armies of *France* and *Holland* were united before *Maeſtricht*, they exceeded 50,000 men, commanded by the beſt officers in *Europe*, and generals who had drawn their firſt breath in the camp, and been nurſed in the arms of *Bellona*. Such an armament was ſufficient to ſwallow up the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, already under the utmoſt conſternation, from the defeat at *d'Avein*. *Henry* paſſed the *Meuſe* above and below *Maeſtricht*, on the 1ſt of *June*, and penetrated into *Brabant*, accompanied with a train compoſed of 150 pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant was encamped at *Demer*, having ſecured all the paſſes in the beſt method he could, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to deſert all his works, and leave a free paſſage. In conſequence *St. Tron*, *Landen*, *Hallem*, and ſeveral inconſiderable places fell into their hands; and *Tillemont*, becauſe the governor and garriſon were intrepid enough to reſiſt, experienced all the horrors which the brutal incenſed ſoldiers could deviſe. It was ſummoned on the 8th of *June*, and *Franciſco de Bargos*, with a garriſon of 1100 men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince's eſteem by his conduct. He made the moſt vigorous defence, but the town was at laſt forced by eſcalade, the houſes pillaged, the churches deſtroyed, and the prieſts murdered; a barbarity which is entirely attributed to the *Hollanders*, and even to the prince of *Orange*, who did not take ſufficient precautions to reſtrain the fury of the ſoldiers. The *French* alledge, that the few who eſcaped owed their ſafety to a guard placed over them by the mareſchal *Brezé*; but the cruelty here charged upon the prince of *Orange* ſeems to be fully refuted by all his former conduct, which breathed nothing but humanity, and the moſt generous feelings for the unfortunate [h].

Tillemont taken by the Dutch.

ON the 10th of *June* the two armies ſeparated, the prince of *Orange* taking the route of *Bruſſels*, where the cardinal infant expected the ſuccours which *Piccolomini* was bringing from *Germany*, and the *French* directing their march towards *Dieſt*, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. They afterwards joined between *Louvain* and *Bruſſels*, and now that

[h] NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 8. cap. 6.

jealouſy

jealouſy betwixt the prince and the *French* mareſchals which, ſay the *French* writers, had its origin in the victory at *Anvein*, became more open and declared. Debates took place of action, and inſtead of profiting by the enemies conſternation, and beſieging *Louvain* at the time propoſed, ſeveral days were conſumed in fruitleſs altercation, and the proviſion neceſſary for the execution of the deſign was exhauſted. The garriſon had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of 5000 foot and 200 horſe. He entered the town in perſon, reſolving to defend it to the laſt extremity; and to draw him to *Bruſſels*, the prince of *Orange* moved towards that capital, as if he intended to beſiege it, which effectually anſwered his purpoſe. The cardinal, terrified for the ſeat of the wealth, the archives, and all that was valuable in the *Netherlands*, flew to *Bruſſels*, leaving 2000 men in *Louvain* under the conduct of the baron *Groobendenck*, and the allies made a ſudden turning, ſat down before *Louvain*, and broke ground on the 25th of *June*. By next day their batteries played vigorouſly on different quarters of the town, and all the generals ſeemed unanimous that the governor would make but a ſhort defence. He had however, ſince the reduction of *Tillemont*, been preparing for a ſiege, and had amaſſed great ſtore of ammunition and proviſion. The fate of that place determined him upon making the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; and his views were ſeconded by a brave veteran garriſon, accuſtomed to all the hardſhips and fatigues of a ſiege, who were admired by *Henry* himſelf for the intrepidity exerted at *Boiſleduc* and *Maeſtricht*. The ſkill and courage of the garriſon, joined to a certain languor and inactivity in the allies, protracted the ſiege. *Henry* is accuſed of an intention to ruin the *French* army. Proviſions grew ſhort in the camp; ſeveral parties of foragers returned without being able to find graſs or corn for their horſes, whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; diſſenſions aroſe, the *French* murmured, and ſoon complained openly that they were betrayed; diſeaſe ſwept off great numbers of the troops, *Piccolomini* was advancing to give battle with a fine army, and the reſult was the breaking up of a ſiege, which gave the firſt turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberleſs diſappointments. The armies now ſeparated, and the *Dutch* went to *Brabant*, where they found abundance of refreſhment; while the *French* unhappily quartered in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, in which nothing but hunger, diſeaſe, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above 6000 men died in the ſpace of a few weeks,

The allies beſiege Louvain.

and

and the camp was in ſo wretched a ſituation that it rather reſembled a hoſpital than the army of a powerful monarch ſent to extend his conqueſts [1].

ALREADY the enemy's affairs began to aſſume a more benign aſpect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and diſgrace had ſucceeded the death of the archduchеſs; but the want of harmony in the confederate army afforded the cardinal the faireſt opportunity and the happieſt proſpects. One army was now wholly deſtroyed by ſickneſs, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from *Germany*, joined to the army already formed in the *Netherlands*, compoſed of *Spaniards*, and the beſt troops of the provinces. The reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of *Schenck* was the firſt fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's ſituation. *Adolphus d'Embolt*, a lieutenant-colonel of the *Walloon* guards, formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe the garriſon, and ſucceeded by dint of vigilance, addreſs, and intrepidity. He was rewarded with the government of the fort, a gold chain preſented by the cardinal's own hands, and a preſent of 50,000 livres. The ſtates-general regarded fort *Schenck* as the key of the *United Provinces*; they were alarmed at the loſs of a place ſo important, and immediately ſent inſtructions to the prince of *Orange* to uſe his utmoſt art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conqueſts a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to purſue every method to obſtruct the return of the allies. To ſucceed in the recovery of fort *Schenck*, it was thought neceſſary to reunite the *French* and *Dutch* armies. Accordingly the prince of *Orange* pitched his quarters on the ſide of *Betau*, while the mareſchals *Brezè* and *Chatillon* encamped towards *Emmerick* and *Cleves*; however the neceſſary preliminaries for conducting the ſiege could not be got ready before the month of *Auguſt*. To ſhorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince *Henry* formed a plan to ſurpriſe the garriſon; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the firſt ſcheme of operations. It was ſettled that the *Dutch* ſhould carry on the approaches, while the *French* ſhould cover the ſiege, and oppoſe the enemy's ſuccouring the garriſon. This they performed with great intrepidity, obliging the cardinal after a ſharp action to retire, notwithſtanding their numbers were greatly diminiſhed, and the army in general in a wretched

The Spaniards *ſurpriſe fort* Schenck, *which is retaken by the* Dutch *after a tedious ſiege.*

[1] Mem. de prince Henry, p. 201.

con-

condition (A), owing chiefly to the exceſſive heat and drowth of the ſummer-ſeaſon, and the deluges of rain that poured down for the whole autumn. So miſerable indeed was their ſituation, that the mareſchals were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to *France*, while the prince of *Orange* continued the ſiege with invincible perſeverance, and in deſpite of all the rigours of a ſevere winter. The *Spaniards* were no leſs obſtinate in the defence of *Schenck*, they exerted their utmoſt diligence to throw in ſuccours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garriſon to ſubmiſſion. At laſt the *Hollanders* took the caſtle of *Billand* by aſſault; they ruined all the outworks of the beſieged, except the halfmoon, which was defended with incredible intrepidity; the intrepid *Emholt* was ſlain by a muſket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the *Spaniſh* territories was cut off, the garriſon was greatly reduced and diſpirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a criſis favourable to the beſieged, when the cardinal determined to ſend baron

A. D. 1636.

(A) The picture drawn of this army by *Nuville* is extremely affecting. After the battle of *d'Avein* it was augmented to 40,000 men, all well cloathed, vigorous, and eager for action: now, ſays he, by the artifices of the prince of *Orange*, it was reduced to a third of the number, naked, ſtarving, and covered with ſores, or emaciated by coughs and conſumptions. Under pretence of feeling for their misfortunes, the prince aſſigned them quarters in *Holland*; but ſuch as completed their misfortunes. Even the officers were forced to ſell their cloaths for bread, and to beg their way back to *France*; inſomuch that cardinal *Richlieu*, incenſed at *Henry*'s treachery, would have declared immediate war againſt the ſtates-general, if he had not been deterred by the circumſtances of the court, and other weighty conſiderations. But M. *Nuville* equally diſplays his groſs partiality and ignorance. The mortality in the *French* army aroſe ſolely from the nature of the climate, which later experience has fully demonſtrated will ever prove fatal to *French* ſoldiers. Scarcity of proviſion and bad cloathing likewiſe contributed; but this proceeded not from the treachery of *Henry*, but the poverty of the *French* court, unable to remit the ſums neceſſary for ſupporting ſo numerous an army. This much we thought neceſſary in vindication of a prince vilely traduced, only becauſe he firſt penetrated the ambitious views of *France*, and predicted the conſequence of giving them a footing in the *Netherlands*. It is certain he oppoſed the late treaty, it is allowed he deteſted *Richlieu*; but it does not appear from any authentic proofs that he acted contrary to the duty of a great commander.

bendenck, who had ſo ſucceſsfully defended *Louvain*, to ceed *Emholt* in the government. The prince of *Orange* ided the buſineſs of the ſtates at the *Hague*, leaving the luct of the ſiege to *William* of *Naſſau*, who performed nat could be expected from courage combined with con-, and ardor tempered by prudence and judgment. He his meaſures ſo well, that he greatly augmented his y, and obliged prince *Thomas*, detached with a ſtrong of forces to raiſe the ſiege at the hazard of a battle, to ain a tame ſpectator of his ſucceſsful operations, giving neral aſſault, and becoming maſter of a place which ſo much blood and treaſure, without granting a capitu-n to the garriſon [k]. He concluded the campaign with other advantages obtained in the territory of *Cleves*, f which however were inſufficient to ballance the con-ences of the retreat of the *French* army, and the number ldiers loſt by keeping the field for almoſt a whole ri-us winter.

THE remainder of this year paſſed in mutual expeditions each other's territories, which produced nothing de-e. The *Spaniſh* arms were chiefly employed in *Picardy*, er the conduct of prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini*. As to *Hollanders*, they ſtruck their moſt important blows on r own proper element, the ocean, having defeated a fleet *Dunkirkers* in ſight of *Dieppe*. In this engagement the *ch* were commanded by *Evertzen*, who began already to nguiſh himſelf; the *Spaniards* had two ſhips ſunk, one it, and two taken, with their admiral *Antonio Collardo* oard. In conſequence of this victory, the commerce of provinces was ſecured, and trade flouriſhed extremely, withſtanding it had ſuffered greatly by the enemy's pira-the ſucceeding year. The chief advantages however obtained by the *Eaſt India* company, who extended their far beyond what it ever before attained, and made ſuch rns as aſtoniſhed *Europe* and enriched the provinces. As he *Weſt India* company, it was leſs fortunate. All the mpts of the company had lately miſcarried in *Braſil* and he coaſt of *Africa*, where the *Portugueſe* were greatly ſu-or in numbers. Chagrined with diſappointment, they lved to commit their affairs to ſome general, whoſe eſta-ed reputation, valour, prudence and experience, might ieve their loſſes, and extend their ſettlements in *Braſil* and *Weſt Indies*. No perſon appeared more likely to anſwer their purpoſes than count *John Maurice de Naſſau*, who

Maurice de Naſſau *made governor of* Braſil.

[k] Idem. ibid.

had

had for many years faithfully and eminently ſerved his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of *Braſil* and *South America*; an employment which the count accepted with the conſent of the ſtates-general and the prince of *Orange*. His authority was directly the ſame veſted in the governor-general of *Batavia*, a fleet of 32 ſail, twelve of which were men of war, with 2700 land-forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the *Texel* on the 25th day of *October*, having already conquered in imagination the whole *Portugueſe Braſils*.

Of the fourteen provinces into which *Braſil* was divided, four were ſubject to the *Hollanders*, *Fernambuco*, *Temerata*, *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*. Since the year 1630 the court of *Spain* ſuſtained incredible damage by the efforts which the *Dutch* made to eſtabliſh ſettlements in *South America*. Of 800 ſhips fitted out by the king of *Spain* for that ſervice, 543 fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt or deſtroyed, the loſs amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The *Dutch* had ſeized upon the iſland of *Curacao* on the northern coaſt of *America*; they had pillaged the opulent town of *Truxillo* in the gulph of *Honduras*, with a variety of ſmall ſettlements on the coaſt of *Mexico*; they had defeated in divers engagements, the *Spaniſh* generals *Albuquerque*, *Bagniola*, and *Lewis de Rocca de Bergia*; they had by force and fraud gained over to their intereſt ſeveral nations, who ardently wiſhed for the expulſion of the *Portugueſe*; but at the time *Maurice* was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitleſs, and *Chriſtopher Artichoffi*, a *Poliſh* ſocinian, of all their officers, met with any degree of ſucceſs. When the count arrived at *Braſil*, his firſt ſtep was to relieve all the garriſons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and ſeaſoned to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to 3700 men, he led againſt *Porto de Calco*, the garriſon of which had almoſt entirely cut off the communication betwixt the *Dutch* ſettlements. *Bagniola*, the *Portugueſe* general, marched with a ſuperior army to oppoſe him; a battle was fought, and the *Portugueſe* totally defeated, *Bagniola* ſaving himſelf and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river *Porto Calco*, and fortified in ſuch a manner that it commanded all the adjacent country. *Maurice* purſued, and immediately inveſted the fortreſs. The *Portugueſe* general defended himſelf bravely, but was in a few days forced, for want of proviſion, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Flushed with conqueſt, the count marched againſt *Openada*, a town ſituated upon the ſame river, within ſix miles of its

its opening into the ocean. This place ſurrendered with little trouble, *Maurice* ſtrengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the *Spaniards* on both ſides to take ſhelter in *Seregippa del Rei*, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with *Artichoffi* for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to *Reciff*, to eſtabliſh the government and religion of the *United Provinces*, in all the country ſubject to the republic, treating however with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He alſo equipped two ſquadrons, one of which he ſent ſouthwards under admiral *Lichthart*, beyond the bay of *All Saints*; the other ſailed north-eaſt to the coaſt of *Africa*, under colonel *Coine*, whoſe exploits and reduction of *St. George de la Mina* we have ſeen in a former volume[1].

WHILE theſe conqueſts were making in *Africa* and *America*, the plan of a general pacification was laid in *Europe*. The pontiff, as the common father of all chriſtians, offered his mediation between *France*, *Spain*, and the empire. The ſtates-general rejected an umpire whom they juſtly ſuſpected of partiality to the court of *Spain*; however he ſtill continued to preſs the other powers to accommodate matters, ſenſible that the public would not long chuſe to ſupport a war ſingly againſt the power of the houſe of *Auſtria*. Cardinal *Richlieu* did not fail to make his advantage of the diſpoſition of the ſtates-general, notwithſtanding the grudge he bore the prince of *Orange*. He urged the ſtates-general to continue the alliance with *France*, and his remonſtrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty *Lewis* engaged to ſupply the ſtates with a yearly ſum of 500,000 livres, over and above the uſual ſubſidy of 2,000,000, on account of the great expences of the former year, ſpent chiefly in the reduction of *Schenck*, and oppoſing the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*. Two days after the ſtates-general renewed their ancient alliance with the elector of *Brandenburgh*. A. D. 1637.

THE ſtrong connections between *France* and *Holland* convinced cardinal *Richlieu* of the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing his own perſonal diſlike to the prince of *Orange*, the better to promote the intereſts of his ſovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendſhip of prince *Henry*. He knew his influence in the republic, and was ſenſible that the operations of the field could never prove ſucceſsful, unleſs he *The prince of* Orange *and cardinal* Richlieu *reconciled.*

[1] Vid. Hiſt. of the coaſts of Africa, vol. xvii. Un. Mod. Hiſt.

concurred heartily with the views of the *French* court. For this reaſon it was that he directed *Charnaſſe*, the ambaſſador, always to beſtow the title of *Highneſs* upon the prince, inſtead of that of *Excellence*, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly underſtood the character of *Henry*, and that though he was ſuperior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour; yet he was not inſenſible to the irreſiſtible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and eſtabliſhed a perfect harmony, to all appearance, between the king and the ſtates-general, and between himſelf and the prince of *Orange*. Both ſides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the loſſes conſequent on the former diſcord that ſubſiſted. *Henry* never loſt ſight of *Breda*, in the reduction of which he was eſpecially concerned, though the conqueſt would likewiſe prove of the laſt conſequence to the common cauſe, and to the republic in particular. He planned a ſcheme which he hoped would greatly facilitate the ſiege.

The prince lays ſiege to Breda.

Near 4000 boats of different burthens were collected in the port of *Fluſhing*; an armament which gave great diſquiet to the *Spaniards*, who believed it was deſtined againſt *Bruges*, *Dunkirk*, or ſome of the maritime towns in *Flanders*. In this ſtate of uncertainty, and not knowing where the ſtorm would break, the cardinal infant aſſembled all his troops, and diſtributed them round the frontiers of *Flanders*, and in all the places which he thought moſt expoſed. This was preciſely what *Henry* deſired, who immediately advanced to *Breda*, when the *Spaniſh* army was removed to a convenient diſtance. By the 23d of *July* the ſiege was formed, which happened to be the ſame day on which *Landreci* and *Hanau* ſurrendered to the *French*. *Omer Fourdin*, an officer who had ſignalized himſelf on every occaſion, eſpecially at the defence of *Schenck*, when the *Dutch* themſelves admired his conduct and valour, was governor. He had a garriſon of 3000 men, whom he ſo animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory, and every ſoldier chearfully offered to lay down his life in the ſervice of his country, and for the honour of his beloved commander. *Fourbin* poſſeſſed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency, generoſity, liberality and thoſe other qualities of true greatneſs, which the moſt powerfully operate on the minds of the multitude, and in a particular manner on the ſoldiers. He punctually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inſpected their proviſion, ſaw them properly cloathed, and whenever remittances happened to fail, generouſly

/ diſtributed his own money, coined his plate, and ſold his horſes and apparel, to ſupply the wants of arriſon.

HE prince of *Orange*, accompanied by his ſon prince *im*, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince pa-, afterwards elector, puſhed the ſiege with all imagi- vigour, to finiſh their work before the cardinal ſhould time to aſſemble a ſufficient army to give battle. prince, however, had detached count *John* of *Naſſau*, a body of 5000 foot, and 2000 horſe, to throw him- ito *Breda*. He had orders to attack that quarter of mp commanded by his couſin count *William de Naſ-* out he found the works ſo exceedingly ſtrong, that opped the attempt, and wrote to the cardinal that ince's camp was impregnable; at leaſt to force it require the whole *Spaniſh* army. While he lay at liſtance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with portunity of throwing 300 men with bags of corn he city. The garriſon had made a vigorous ſally, e count ſo well managed the occaſion, that, in deſpite diligence and courage of the beſieged, he introduced uccours as helped to protract the fate of *Breda*. hole *Spaniſh* army advanced to *Rhimberg*; but every id poſt was ſo ſtoutly guarded, that after fruitleſs ts to draw the beſiegers out of their lines, the car- was forced to retire, and confide ſolely in the valour beſieged. However he found means to reduce nd *Ruremonde*, publiſhing at the ſame time a report *rmeguen* was taken by ſurprize, *Knotſemburgh* by aſ- nd that he had forced the prince of *Orange* to raiſe ge of *Breda*. Rejoicings were made in every town *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which ſo aſtoniſhed *Maurice*, e ſent a meſſage to *Fourbin* governor of *Breda*, de- to know the foundation of theſe reports. *Fourbin*'s became the ſincerity and honour of a ſoldier. had rather, he ſaid, the reports had been true and publiſhed, than falſe and reported with ſo much oſten- n."

URBIN'S courage did not abandon him on the of the *Spaniards*; he ſuſtained the redoubled efforts enemy with his uſual vigour. A variety of briſk were made, in one of which fell, among other con- e perſonages on the ſide of the beſiegers, the baron ſe, ambaſſador from the *French* king. The inceſ- e and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches

under cover; which though more ſlow and expenſive, ſ the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at laſt to rive at the foot of the walls. This at length ſhook the ſtancy of the brave *Fourbin*, who ſaw himſelf deſtitut powder and proviſion, without hope of ſuccour, his riſon diminiſhed to a third of their original number, the remains broken, fatigued, and exhauſted. He beſides teazed with the clamours of the townſmen, preſſed with a malignant fever, that ſwept the peopl by hundreds. All theſe circumſtances determined hi propoſe a capitulation; he ſent it to the prince of *Or*

Breda *ſurrenders.*

and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, th the prince's generoſity and regard for the brave ga occaſioned loud clamours againſt his conduct. The vernor and ſoldiers were allowed all the honours of and the officers of the city placed on the ſame footi in the year 1625, before it was reduced by *Spinola*. *bin* paid his compliments ſealed in a letter to the pri he was received graciouſly, loaded with praiſes and nours, and diſmiſſed with valuable preſents, which re ed equal credit on the generoſity of the prince, an valour of the governor [m].

THE conqueſt of *Breda* was attended by conſequ the moſt important to the ſtates-general. It ſecured merce on the coaſts of *Zealand*, and frontiers of *Hol* it delivered the provinces from the incurſions of enemy, quite to the gates of *Bergen-op-zoom* and *Boiſl* it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of republic; it depreſſed the ſpirits of the *Spaniards*, di certed their projects, gave freſh courage to the *Dutch*, greatly augmented prince *Henry's* reputation. To p valuable an acquiſition beyond all danger of being loſt, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and ment the fortifications, in which he ſo happily ſucce that *Breda* might be deemed one of the ſtrongeſt then in *Europe*; for as yet *Vauban* and *Coehorn* had appeared to raiſe the art of defence and attack t height of perfection.

THE rejoicings made for the reduction of *Breda*, ha moſt proved fatal to *Rhimberg*. The *Spaniſh* garriſon i city of *Guelders*, appriſed of the vaſt conſumption of der at *Rhimberg*, in firing cannon and giving magnif exhibitions, and imagining that amidſt the joy and r public rejoicings, the defence of the town might p

[m] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 218.

bly be neglected, formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe the place, and introduce a body of *Spaniſh* forces. That part of the walls where the enemy approached, was guarded only by one centinel, who immediately diſcharged his piece, and thereby alarmed the garriſon. The governor was gone to the *Hague*, to be cured of the wounds he received at the ſiege of *Breda*, and *John Weeckens*, his deputy, had but a handful of ſoldiers. Reſiſtance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls; he bethought him therefore of a ſtratagem, which was to deſert with 17 men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a poſture of defence. The project was wild, but it partly ſucceeded. *Weeckens* was well received; his ſtory was plauſible, and he related it with ſuch diſcretion, and gave ſo ſtrong reaſons for deferring the attack, that ſeveral hours were loſt: however, being at laſt diſcovered, he was forced to fight his way back, ſuſtained the whole weight of the enemy, and diſappointed their deſign, by this equally bold and extraordinary meaſure. When they returned to the attack on *Rhimberg*, the garriſon received them with ſo much bravery, as obliged them to abandon the enterpriſe [n].

As the *Spaniards* were not ſufficiently ſtrong on the *Meuſe* to act openly, and lay ſiege to the towns lately taken by the *Dutch*, they made ſeveral attempts to ſurpriſe the garriſons. A deep deſign upon *Maeſtricht* was happily diſappointed, on the point of execution; all the reſt of their projects, moſt of which were extremely refined, had the ſame iſſue. At ſea they were more fortunate. The *Dunkirkers* attacked a fleet of *Zealanders*, under convoy of a ſingle man of war, which they took after an obſtinate battle, during which the merchantmen eſcaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to 40 ſail, and attacked a *Dutch* ſquadron of 40 ſail, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the loſs of one *Dutch* man of war, all the reſt having eſcaped ſafe to port. Towards the ſpring hoſtilities were renewed on ſhore. Prince *Henry* reſolved now to make uſe of the large fleet detained for the whole preceding autumn, in the road of *Fluſhing*, by adverſe winds and the vigilance of the *Spaniards*. He meditated the reduction of *Antwerp*, and, to facilitate this ſcheme, advanced his cavalry to *Boiſleduc*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and *Lillo*, leaving A. D. 1638.

[n] NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii.

Henry de Naſſau, count of *Friſeland*, with a ſmall army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The infantry was embarked in thirty tranſports, under count *William de Naſſau*, who arrived on the 23d day of *June* before *Fort Perle*, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding 6000 men, he laid ſiege to *Fort St. Mary*, and ſecured the whole country to *Fort Iſ bella*, which immediately communicates with the city of *Antwerp*; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other croſs accidents, obliged him to content himſelf with blocking up *Fort St. Mary*, and directing his chief ſtrength againſt *Fort de Verre Broeck*, about a league diſtant from *Calloo*. Meantime the cardinal arrived at *Antwerp*, and with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot croſſed the *Scheld*. The *Hollanders* were immediately drawn from their poſts before *St. Mary*, and count *William* having taken *Verre Broeck*, and received a reinforcement from prince *Henry*, aſſembled all his forces near *Calloo*, where he made a ſtand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with an army double his number; but he defended himſelf with ſo much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both ſides the loſs was conſiderable; but the *Dutch* chiefly regretted the death of the young count *Maurice de Naſſau*, who had in an extraordinary manner diſtinguiſhed all the virtues of a long line of heroic anceſtors.

An unſucceſsful attempt on Antwerp.

THOUGH the *Spaniards* were repulſed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor diſpirited. A freſh attack was made in the count's quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the ſame time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the *Dutch* in the utmoſt danger of being totally defeated, when the night ſeaſonably interpoſed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was purſued; and his rear, compoſed entirely of *Scotch* regiments, cut off, after a brave reſiſtance. Great numbers endeavouring to gain the ſhips, plunged into the river and were drowned, while the *Spaniards* purſuing their victory, entered *Callo*, and made priſoners the *Dutch* garriſon. Fort *Verre Broeck*, ſurrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors, the prince of *Orange*'s whole ſcheme was defeated, and the ſtates were extremely mortified at the ſevereſt blow they had received ſince the cardinal came to the government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* °.

Dutch *defeated.*

° Mem. de Prince Henry, ibid.

PRINCE

PRINCE *Henry* was poſted at *Bergen-op-zoom*, exerting his utmoſt diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. *Sfondrato* was detached, with 24 troops of horſe, to attack his intrenchments. He ſurpriſed the centinels, and threw the *Dutch* camp into confuſion; but the prince poured out his troops with ſuch impetuoſity, as entirely diſconcerted the *Spaniards*, and repulſed them with great loſs, the priſoners amounting to 400 men, among whom were ſeveral officers of diſtinction. Two days after, when the *Dutch* imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity, their camp was a ſecond time attacked at *Wowen*, with ſuch vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the *Spaniards* began pillaging. In this ſituation, the *Dutch* having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. Being ſuperior in forces, the *Spaniards* reſolving to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near *St. Vliet*, the conteſt was warm, and the advantage diſputed; certain it is, that near a thouſand men fell upon each ſide. It was after theſe ſharp actions, that the prince of *Orange* made an unſucceſsful attempt on *Guelders*, and that the *Spaniards* reduced *Kerpen*, with which tranſaction and ſome other leſs conſiderable loſſes on the ſide of the ſtates, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

Affairs in South-America.

NOR were the *Dutch* more fortunate in *South America* than in *Europe*. A fever that brought the life of count *Maurice* into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to their affairs in *Braſil*. After the reduction of *Porto Cavallo*, the *Portugueſe* general *Bagniola* had aſſembled a conſiderable army, with which he fell upon the *Dutch* conqueſts, and deſolated the country, putting all the natives to the ſword, who had acknowledged the ſovereignty of the republic. Colonel *Schruppen* marched againſt him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As ſoon as count *Maurice* recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid ſiege to *St. Salvador*, to which purpoſe he received expreſs orders from the directors of the company. He had firſt, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's ſtrength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external moleſtation. But the vigorous conduct of the garriſon, and their firſt ſally, ſupported by 400 men, boded an unfortunate iſſue to the enterprize. In this ſharp ſkirmiſh the count loſt near three hundred men, ſome of his beſt officers, and the only perſon

ſon who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were inſufficient completely to block up the beſieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in ſuccours, he broke up his camp, and retired with ſome precipitation, and great chagrin. This diſappointment was ſucceeded by a fruitleſs attempt on the plate-fleet, made by admiral *Jol* in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked the enemy with great fury, but was deſerted by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and left with three ſhips to encounter the whole force of the *Spaniards*. After extricating himſelf with great valour, he again collected his ſhips, puniſhed ſome of the delinquents, animated the reſt, and returned a ſecond time to the attack; but with the ſame ſucceſs. Juſt as victory was ready to declare for him, his cowardly officers, whom neither ſhame, honour, nor intereſt, could influence, ſheered off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midſt of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to join his own ſquadron. Apprehending that his former ſeverity might have alienated the minds of his captains, *Jol* had now recourſe to arguments and entreaties. He ſet before them the vaſt riches in view, the infamy conſequent on their cowardice and diſobedience, with every other topic that could move their paſſions, or convince their reaſon. A few were drawn back to their duty; and ſupported by theſe, *Jol* determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had ſhifted in favour of the *Spaniards*. In deſpite of all difficulties, the brave *Dutchman* bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus after the nobleſt exertions of courage he loſt his prize, but acquired a reputation which will tranſmit his name to poſterity, enrolled in the long liſt of heroes produced by the republic. All his preſent ſatisfaction conſiſted in puniſhing the cowardly, and after having them ſuperſeded, ſending them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of *Holland* for cowardice and mutiny[p].

Bravery of admiral Jol.

A. D. 1639. THE diſgraces of the preceding campaign determined the ſtates to make the moſt vigorous efforts to recover their loſſes. Early in the ſpring the prince of *Orange* was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppoſe the cardinal's deſigns, and the vaſt projects entertained by the *Spaniards*, who were highly elated with their victory at *Calloo*, the re-

[p] LE CLERC, tom. ii. NUVILLE, ubi ſupra.

duction

duction of *Kerpen*, and *Henry*'s diſappointment before *Gueldres*. Leaving a body of infantry at *Lillo*, and a few ſquadrons of horſe at *Bergen-op-zoom*, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diverſion in *Flanders*, and engage cardinal *Richlieu* to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel *Alverdt* was left with ſeventeen companies of foot, to oppoſe the enemy on the *Scheld*; and the prince went in perſon to *Nimeguen*, where he was joined by 4000 *Heſſians*, under general *Melander*. With this force he propoſed renewing the ſiege of *Gueldres*; he had even detached part of his forces to inveſt the city, but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful ſuccours, he dropped the deſign, and removed to *Venlo*.

Van Tromp's riſe and victories.

GREATER expectations were entertained from the fleet ſent under *Martin Harpert Van Tromp*, lieutenant-admiral of *Holland*, and one of the beſt naval officers that *Holland*, fruitful in good ſeamen, ever produced. *Tromp* had accompanied the famous *Heine* in all his expeditions, was the great favourite of that admiral, and fought by his ſide at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he had ſo diſtinguiſhed his intrepidity and conduct, that the ſtates raiſed him to his preſent dignity under the prince of *Orange*, the higheſt officer in their navy. Having advice that a *Spaniſh* ſquadron, compoſed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, had quitted the port of *Randyke* on the 18th of *February*, *Tromp* immediately went in purſuit, came up with the *Spaniſh* admiral off *Graveline*, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which laſted ſix hours. The *Spaniſh* admiral, and three more great ſhips, were driven on the ſands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ſhip was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*. Four frigates were beſides taken, and the *Spaniards* were reported to have loſt near two thouſand men, of whom ſeven hundred were made priſoners.

THE moſt important conſequence of *Tromp*'s victory was, that four thouſand men on board the *Spaniſh* ſquadron were deſtined for a grand armament equipping at *Cadiz* and *Corunna*, the moſt formidable that had been ſeen ſince the armada prepared to invade *England*. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vaſt fleet. *England* and *France* imagined the court of *Spain* intended, in conjunction with the king of *Denmark*, to attack *Sweden*; while the ſtates general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the catholic king had his own immediate

ne attacked it in the night with ſuch fury, that the
were wholly diſperſed, every ſhip crouding all the
could make, to get out of the reach of *Tromp*'s ca
Next morning *Oquendo* came up with the reſt of the
and immediately engaged *Tromp* yard-arm-and-yard
After a violent conflict the *Spaniard* was forced to
his flag; his ſhip was ſoon after ſunk, and four mor
taken; but the *Dutch* were prevented from purſuing
advantage by a thick fog, which effectually conceal
enemy. Before the weather cleared up, *Tromp* was ſt
reinforced, which enabled him to purſue the enemy
Downs, where they had taken ſanctuary under the w
the *Engliſh* admiral. It is probable he would have de
the whole but for the partiality evidently ſhewn in
of the *Spaniards*. *Tromp* remonſtrated upon the ki
England's conduct as a breach of the treaty ſubſiſting
Holland. To the *Engliſh* admiral's conduct he aſcribed the
of the enemy; his intelligence had miſled the *Dutch*
his motions had covered the *Spaniards*; but no redre
obtained. At length another reinforcement arrived,
rendered *Tromp* ſo powerful, that he reſolved to fa
enemy in the *Downs*, and even to give battle to the
rather than be diverted from his purpoſe. It was upo
reſolution, ſay the *Dutch* writers, that the king of *E*
ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection fro
Spaniards, perceiving that otherwiſe he muſt come
open rupture with the *Hollanders*. Thus it was that
after having for a month blocked up *Oquendo* with

defeated, with the loſs of 14 men of war, burnt, ſunk, taken, or driven aſhore, among which were the vice-admiral of *Spain*, the admiral of *Galicia*, and the great galleon of *Portugal*, 1400 tuns burthen, mounting 80 guns, and carrying 800 men, all of whom periſhed by the water or the ſword. Twenty-one of the enemies ſhips put back to the *Downs* in a wretched plight; fire-ſhips were ſent to deſtroy them; but the *Engliſh* again interpoſed, contrary to their neutrality, and the expreſs injunctions of the ſovereign. That day thirteen ſhips more fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*, of which eleven only could be carried off, ſo miſerably were they ſhattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached *Dunkirk*. *Oquendo*'s own ſhip was ſo much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate ſent to his aſſiſtance by the generous *Van Tromp*. Eight thouſand men were killed, four thouſand wounded, and two thouſand taken priſoners, and carried with the reſt of the ſpoils in triumph to the *Texel*, *Brille*, and *Fluſhing*. All *Europe* admired the ſkill and intrepidity of *Van Tromp*, and the naval power of *Holland*. The ſtates decreed him the ſame honours conferred upon admiral *Heine*, and the *French* king ſent him particular marks of his regard; among the reſt a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of *France*[q].

A. D. 1640. *Prince Henry invades Flanders.*

HAVING entirely ruined the maritime power of *Spain*, the moſt vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal ſucceſs. With this view prince *Henry* took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of *May*, he entered the biſhopric of *Bruges*. He encamped at *Maldeghem*, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to *Ghent*, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithſtanding all the paſſes were in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, and ſtrictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himſelf into *Ghent*, in expectation that his preſence would encourage the garriſon, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. The effects correſponded; every where the *Spaniards* ſeemed invincible, driving before them the *Hollanders*, and defeating them in every encounter. *Henry*, however, was not diſpirited by the unfortunate iſſue of ſkirmiſhes, which produced nothing deciſive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a laſt effort of

[q] La Vie de Tromp, p. 96. LE CLERC, tom. ii. NUVILLE, lib. ix.

deſpair,

deſpair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his deſigns, without ſuffering himſelf to be diſconcerted by accidents, which neceſſarily eluded human foreſight. He laid ſiege to *Damme*, and declined fortifying his camp in the uſual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But he could not ſucceed, nor did the reduction of the garriſon prove a matter of ſo little difficulty as he imagined; the reſiſtance within indeed was ſo obſtinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without ſo perpetual, that *Henry* abandoned the deſign, quitted *Flanders*, and diſappointed the great expectations of the court of *France* and the ſtates general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into *Artois*, and take meaſures for ſuccouring *Arras*, then beſieged by the *French* army.

WHILE the cardinal was employed in *Artois*, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his abſence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterpriſe againſt *Hulſt*, which he began with ſtorming fort *Naſſau*. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the *French* troops led on by the marquis *de Hauterive*. The ſurrender of the fort ſtruck terror into *Hulſt*, and even ſet the city of *Antwerp* upon arming the townſmen, and preparing againſt a ſiege. *Sfondrato* and *Cantelmo* with a body of troops flung themſelves into the city, and the garriſons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortreſſes, the better to ſecure *Antwerp*. *Henry*'s object, however, was *Hulſt*; to this place he laid ſiege, drew his lines, and gave the aſſault to fort St. *Anne*, during which his cavalry was attacked by a ſtrong body of horſe, under *Sfondrato*. After a ſharp action the *Spaniſh* cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by *Saavedra*, ſuſtained the fire with admirable conſtancy, and at laſt repulſed the *Hollanders* with the loſs of the brave *Henry Erneſt de Naſſau*, governor of *Friſeland*; a loſs more regretted by the ſtates general than the 200 men who periſhed in this unfortunate action. This repulſe evinced *Henry* that he had committed a fault in amuſing himſelf by an attack on a little out-fort, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up *Hulſt*. By this means he afforded the cardinal leiſure to draw his troops from *Artois*; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had aſſembled a ſuperior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the ſiege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign [r].

[r] La Vie de prince Henry, p. 222.

FORTUNE,

FORTUNE, which ſeemed, upon the whole, to favour the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, was leſs propitious to them in *America*. *Philip* had ſent the count *de la Torre*, with a ſtrong armament, the preceding year, to *Braſil*. On his arrival on the coaſt of *Africa*, the troops were ſeized with a peſtilential diſeaſe, which ſwept off three thouſand men before the fleet reached St. *Salvador*. The number that remained did not exceed two thouſand ſoldiers, all of whom were too ſickly to enter upon action. It was not doubted but the count *de la Torre* muſt have diſpoſſeſſed the *Hollanders* of every foot of land they poſſeſſed in *Braſil*, as his fleet amounted to 46 ſail of large ſhips, 27 of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every neceſſary. Had this armament arrived ſafe, *Maurice* muſt neceſſarily have quitted the country; but the wretched ſituation of the land-forces and ſailors, and the long ſtay made in *All Saints* bay for the recovery of the men, enabled the *Dutch* to make all poſſible preparations. In a ſhort time their fleet amounted to forty-one ſail of armed ſhips of diffetent dimenſions and ſtrength, while *la Torre* uſed ſuch diligence, that he collected ninety-four ſhips, tranſports and men of war, having 12,000 men on board, including the *Braſil* forces. His intention was, to fall upon the *Dutch* ſettlements; which count *Maurice*, and his admiral *William Looff*, uſed all their diligence to prevent. *Looff* came up with the enemy between the iſland *Tamaraca* and the river *Gojana*, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unfortunately killed by a cannon-bullet. His death animated his ſeamen with a deſire of revenge; vice-admiral *Huygens* took the command, and renewed the battle next morning, with the utmoſt intrepidity. He knew ſo well how to make his advantage of the ſize and ſwiftneſs of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving conſiderable damage, as they could only bring their chace-guns to bear. Before night ſeveral *Spaniſh* men of war floated like uſeleſs wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with ſoldiers. *Huygens*, however, kept cloſe all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more ſucceſs, notwithſtanding ſeveral of the enemies ſhips that had been the moſt damaged, were towed away to the *Rio Grande*. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the *Spaniſh* admiral making all the ſail he could to the northward; but next day *Huygens* came to cloſe quarters, and ſo admirably ſerved his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loſs, on his ſide, of

Affairs of the Weſt India *company in* Braſil, *and on the coaſt of* Africa.

ſcarce an hundred ſeamen and ſoldiers, while the enemy, by their own confeſſion, had four thouſand killed and wounded. Ten of their largeſt ſhips were driven upon the ſands, where they periſhed with their whole crews. The reſt of the fleet was prevented from putting into harbour to refreſh, in conſequence of which a peſtilential diſeaſe appeared on board, and deſtroyed more than half the ſoldiers. Some of their ſtraggling veſſels were every day falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable armament, which had once terrified count *Maurice* into the notion of evacuating the *Braſils*. Yet no important conſequences reſulted; *Maurice* contented himſelf with driving the *Spaniards* at a diſtance from the *Dutch* ſettlements, and deſolating the country round the bay of *All Saints*. Admiral *Jol* cruiſed off the iſland of *Cuba* for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly ſhattered in a ſtorm, and reduced to the neceſſity of throwing himſelf upon the clemency of the *Spaniards*.

THE ſignal revolution that now happened in *Portugal*, produced great alterations in the affairs of *Braſil*. The *Portugueſe* having thrown off the *Caſtilian* yoke, count *Maurice* doubted not but all the natives of that country in *South America* would follow the example, ſeparate themſelves from the *Spaniards*, and conclude a truce with the *Hollanders*. Meantime he determined to ſeize the happy occaſion which the quarrel between *Spain* and *Portugal* afforded. With this view he repaired the ſquadron under admiral *Jol*, with the utmoſt expedition, and reſolved to puſh the *Dutch* conqueſts not only in *South America*, but on the coaſts of *Africa*. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing *Seregippa del Rey*, and the province of *Ceriji*, *Jol* was ſent to the coaſt of *Angola*, to ſecure the negro trade to the *Dutch* company. His force conſiſted of 21 ſhips, 900 mariners, and 2200 ſoldiers, commanded by colonel *Henderſon*, who likewiſe acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the iſland of *Loanda*, on the coaſt of the kingdom of *Congo*, and immediately he inveſted the capital, called *Santa Paolo*. The negroes flew to the aſſiſtance of the city, gave battle at the foot of the mountains to the *Hollanders*, and were defeated. Nor was *Meneſes*, the *Portugueſe* governor, more ſucceſsful. With a conſiderable body of *Europeans* he engaged *Henderſon*, made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and diſputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was

abandoned

abandoned to the conquerors; all had deſerted it beſides the aged and infirm; the booty was conſiderable, conſiſting of 29 pieces of braſs cannon, 69 of caſt iron, great quantity of warlike ſtores, and 30 ſhips lying in the harbour, many of them ready to ſail with negroes to the ſettlements in *America* and the *Weſt Indies*.

ADMIRAL *Jol* no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the capital, than he reſolved to make it a place of ſtrength, for which purpoſe he built one large citadel, and two upon a more confined place, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct aſtoniſhed the *Portugueſe* governor, who hitherto imagined that the *Dutch* only wanted booty, and would directly quit the iſland as ſoon as that purpoſe was anſwered. Perceiving the admiral propoſed gaining poſſeſſion of the whole iſland, he alledged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between *Portugal* and the republic; *Jol* denied his knowledge of any treaty, a ſecond time defeated the governor, drove the *Portugueſe* out of *Loanda*, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the ſtates, which they kept, until it was ſurrendered to *Portugal* ſeven years after. A. D. 1641.

FROM *Loanda* admiral *Jol* directed his courſe to the iſland of St. *Thomas*, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This iſland was before reduced by the *Dutch* in 1610, but retaken ſoon after by the *Portugueſe*. *Jol* debarked his troops near *Pavoſan*, ordered them to march ſtrait up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hoſtilities unleſs they were attacked, which ſoon happened. The negroes and *Portugueſe* fell upon them tumultuouſly, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a *Dutch* ſhip with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceleſs; they conſequently fell an eaſy prey. *Jol* had ſcarce ſettled the government of his new conqueſt, when he was ſeized with that endemial fever, which had before ſwept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his ſoldiers, the directors of the company, and the ſtates *.

THESE expeditions on the coaſt of *Africa* were ſucceeded by another undertaken by count *Maurice* againſt the province of *Maranhaan*, to the north of *Braſil*. The company earneſtly wiſhed to gain poſſeſſion of a province ſo fertile in ſugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, ſo rich in gold, and ſo conveniently ſituated to annoy

* NUVILLE, lib. ix. cap. 5.

the *Spaniſh* trade to the *Antilles*, the *Caribbees*, and all the iſlands in the neighbourhood of the gulph of *Mexico*. *Maurice* detached colonel *Coane* and admiral *Lichtirdt* upon this enterprize, in which they ſucceeded with little difficulty. Having taken the iſland *Marignan*, and the capital *St. Lewis*, the reſt of the provinces ſubmitted, and thus half the *Braſil* acknowledged the ſovereignty of the ſtates general. Three provinces however revolted ſoon after, and gave much trouble to the company and vexation to count *Maurice*. At preſent a truce with *Portugal* was concluded. *John* IV. on his acceſſion reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts of *Spain*, by re-eſtabliſhing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the *United Provinces*; for which purpoſe he ſent *Don Mendoza Hurtado* to the *Hague*, to propoſe a ceſſation of hoſtilities. It was no difficult matter for *Mendoza* to demonſtrate that the inveterate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the deſired truce; it therefore was ſigned on the 14th day of *June*, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either ſide the equinoctial. Accordingly hoſtilities were to ceaſe in *Braſil* as ſoon as the truce was publiſhed in that country, and the *Portugueſe* and *Hollanders* were to join in the total expulſion of the *Spaniards*. Notwithſtanding the truce extended to the *Eaſt Indies*, the *Dutch* never loſt ſight of their own intereſt, and ſeized this opportunity of chaſing the *Portugueſe* out of *Japan*[t].

THE principal tranſactions relative to the republic in *Europe*, were the marriage of *William*, the young prince of *Orange*, with the princeſs *Mary Stewart*, daughter of the king of *England*; a match brought about by *Mary de Medicis*. The ſiege of *Gennep* was the next conſiderable occurrence. No ſooner were his ſon's nuptials celebrated, than prince *Henry* led his troops to the territory of *Cleves*, laid ſiege to *Gennep*, puſhed his works with great vigour, and exerted himſelf ſo effectually that his trenches were finiſhed, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the *Meuſe* and *Niers*, in the ſpace of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the ſtrength of the place, the numbers of the garriſon, and the courage of the governor, *Preſton* an *Iriſhman*, attempted to ſurpriſe *Ardenberg* in *Flanders*; but failing in his deſign, he turned his whole attention to the relief of *Gennep*. Withdrawing the garriſons from all the towns in *Flanders* and

[t] Mod. Hiſt. vol. ix. NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 9. cap. 6.

Bra-

ent, he detached almoſt his whole army under the
t *de Fontaine*, and the marquis *de Leda*, together with
ly of 3000 imperialiſts, to harraſs the camp of the beſie-
throw in ſuccours into the town, and, if occaſion of-
, to give battle to prince *Henry*. After all, this nume-
army gave leſs diſturbance to the *Dutch* than the garri-
which behaved with great gallantry. *Preſton* made the
ſpirited ſallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the
hes, and deſtroying the works of the beſiegers. This
peated daily, notwithſtanding his troops were greatly
niſhed and fatigued; but perceiving that the *Spaniſh*
undertook nothing, that the place was laid in aſhes by
ɔs, that the courſe of the *Niers* was turned, that the
ı-ditch was dried up, that ſeveral mines were ready, and
a practicable breach was effected, he ſurrendered on
ɜ allowed the honours of war.

EANTIME *Cantelmo*, elated with his victory at *Calloo*,
inued in the territory of *Waes*, the theatre of his glory,
ɔf all the trivial advantages he had gained over the *Hol-*
rs. He now attacked colonel *Alnaerdt*, and defeated him
conſiderable ſlaughter. Next he ſurpriſed count *Til-*
t, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loſs on
ɔwn ſide. To put a ſtop to his inſults, the prince of
ge aſſembled an army near *Hulſt*; but *Cantelmo* joining
rmy under *Fontaines*, broke all *Henry*'s meaſures, and
a corps of 8000 men obliged him to decamp, at the
of 26,000 choſen troops, and drop the deſign formed
ying ſiege to the city. With this tranſaction ended the
ɔaign, about which time the cardinal *Ferdinand* yielded
is laſt breath, with the reputation of a wiſe, moderate
mild governor. The adminiſtration came into the
s of don *Franciſco de Mello*, who with the marquis *de*
la oppoſed the *French*, while the count *de Fontaine*, go-
ɔr of *Bruges*, commanded in chief againſt the *Hollan-*

The death of cardinal *Richlieu* ſoon followed; and A. D.
gh it made no alteration in the treaty between *France* 1642.
he republic, it greatly obſtructed the military operati-
ɔf this year, and prevented the prince of *Orange* from
rtaking any enterpriſe important enough to merit no-
in a general hiſtory. A new treaty indeed was ſigned
ıe 8th of *March* between the two powers, whereby the
ɜ conſented to maintain a ſquadron of 30 men of war
uize before *Calais*, and to grant the king's troops a free
ge over the *Rhine*, the *Weſel*, and the *Meuſe*, into *Ger-*
; in conſideration of which the king was to pay them

A. D. 1643. a ſubſidy of 1,200,000 livres. Before the treaty was ratified *Lewis* XIII. died.

THE chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce *Cantelmo* to give battle, which he always had the addreſs to decline. He now retired under the cannon of *Antwerp*, where he watched an opportunity of again inſulting the *Dutch* territories with impunity; but prince *William*, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and maſterly ſtroke, drew him into an ambuſcade, attacked him with impetuoſity, and after a ſhort engagement defeated him, leaving 900 men dead upon the field, and carrying off 600 priſoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five others of inferior ſtations. *Cantelmo* himſelf was once taken, but ſoon after reſcued by the bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the *Hollanders*. This action, the firſt in which prince *William* ever commanded in chief, ſpread his reputation, and convinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned anceſtors.

Prince William *defeats a body of* Spaniards.

THE truce with *Portugal* having ſtopped all hoſtilities in *Braſil*, count *Maurice* ſent admiral *Brewers* with a ſquadron to attack the *Spaniards* on the coaſt of *Chili*; but the moſt important conſequence of this expedition was, that the admiral diſcovered a more ſafe and eaſy paſſage to the *South Sea*, than either by the ſtraits of *Le Maire* or *Magellan*, ſince called by his name, but ſcarce ever frequented. *Maurice* having now nothing further to tranſact in *Braſil* that required his preſence, obtained leave from the company to return to *Europe*. He arrived in *Holland* on the ninth of *May* 1644, brought home a fleet richly laden, had particular honours conferred on him by the company and the ſtates, and was appointed to the government of *Weſel*, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry by the prince of *Orange*. The year 1633 was diſtinguiſhed by the memorable but unſucceſsful attempt, to find a ſafe paſſage to *Europe* from *China* and *Japan* by the northern coaſt of *Tartary*; and by the diſcovery of *New Holland*, and other parts of the *Terra Auſtralis*, or ſouthern continent, of which we have already given a particular account [a].

A. D. 1644. NEGOTIATIONS for a general peace began about this time to be ſet on foot at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*. The ſtates general were ſenſible that now muſt be decided their title to ſovereignty, and the iſſue of all thoſe bloody wars, which they

[a] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xv.

ſuſtained

ıſtained againſt the whole force of *Spain* for little leſs than
century paſt. To gain the other powers, it was neceſ-
ıry to link their intereſt inſeparably to that of *France*; for
hich purpoſe, they concluded a new treaty with that
ourt, the object of which was to cement the contracting
ırties in a ſtill cloſer union. The fruits of this treaty was
reſolution of the ſtates to aſſiſt *France* in the ſiege of *Gra-*
ſine. A ſquadron under *Van Tromp* was detached to block
p the harbour; and he performed his inſtructions with ſuch
ligence and conduct, as greatly facilitated the reduction
f the place. The prince of *Orange* had likewiſe directions
o co-operate with the *French*; with which view he pene-
ated into *Flanders*, and was advancing to *Bruges*, where
e was ſtopt by the count *d'Iſſemburgh*, and forced to retire
o *Maldeghem*. This retreat, though involuntary, proved
rtunate; it enabled the prince to lay ſiege to *Sas van*
hent, and carry the town before *Iſſemburgh* with all his di-
gence could come to the aſſiſtance of the garriſon. Don
ndrea de Petrada, the governor, made a gallant defence;
ut he was forced to capitulate on the 7th of *September*,
fter a ſiege of ſix weeks. This conqueſt was thought of
o great importance to the ſecurity of the provinces, that the
ates ſent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifica-
ions with all poſſible expedition.

No ſooner were the negotiations opened at *Munſter*, than the ſtates found themſelves greatly embarraſſed with reſpect to two points; the one regarded the honours to be demanded at the congreſs by their ambaſſadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty with *France*, whereby they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of truce or peace, with any power, particularly *Spain*, without the conſent and participation of the *French* court. Don *Franciſco de Melo* was at this very time urging them to conclude a ſeparate peace with *Spain*; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions might be obtained, ſhould they give ear to his propoſals. His moſt chriſtian majeſty laboured to divert them from this meaſure. Cardinal *Mazarin* gave them to underſtand, that their deputies ſhould have the ſame honours paid to them as the ambaſſadors of the republic of *Venice*. He likewiſe ſtrenuouſly exhorted them not to depart from their own intereſt, by renouncing their alliance with *France*, as nothing could be more uncertain than the iſſue of conferences which might hold for years, and at laſt vaniſh in ſmoke. He aſſured them, that *Spain* deſired nothing more than to diſſolve the confederacy betwixt *France* and *Holland*, and to ſtop the courſe of the prince *Negotiations at Munſter.*

prince of *Orange*'s conqueſts. Their propoſals had no other object, and that once gained, the ſtates would hear no more of advantageous offers made, merely from ſelfiſh motives. The ſtates aſſented to the cardinal's arguments, and in conſequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war againſt *Spain* on the uſual footing. Accordingly the *French* penetrated into *Flanders* on one ſide, while the prince of *Orange* opened a way on the other. His deſign was to lay ſiege to *Antwerp*, a city of which he had long earneſtly wiſhed making a preſent to the
A. D. 1645. ſtates. He ſpoke of it to *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* miniſter, and aſſured the mareſchals *Gaſſein* and *Rantzau*, that if they aſſiſted him with 3000 cavalry to oppoſe the enemy's horſe, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprize. This propoſition occaſioned an interview, but the mareſchals would not join with the prince's opinion; each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vaniſhed. The *French* generals however advanced a few ſquadrons and battalions to diſengage the prince's army, cooped up between *Ghent* and *Bruges* by general *Beck* and count *Piccolomini*. With this reinforcement *Henry* was enabled to croſs the canal and the *Lys*, oblige *Piccolomini* to retire, and viſit the duke of *Orleans* near *Courtnay*, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general *Beck* oppoſed his paſſage over the *Scheld*, was repulſed, and defeated with great ſlaughter, the general himſelf receiving a wound in the ſhoulder, and narrowly eſcaping being made priſoner. *Henry* was in expectation that the mareſchals would now have aſſiſted him in his favourite project; but the ſiege of *Antwerp* was inconſiſtent with the meaſures of their court, and they excuſed themſelves, by pleading the expiration of their commiſſions.

HENRY, though diſappointed in his great purpoſe, reſolved to employ the reſt of the campaign to the beſt advantage, and in performing the engagements into which the ſtates general had entered with the *French* court. With this deſign he paſſed the *Lys*, though oppoſed by the *Spaniards*, and detached prince *William* with the cavalry to inveſt *Hulſt*, a place deemed one of the keys of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and among the ſtrongeſt fortifications of that country. By the 5th of *October*, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts *Naſſau* and *Verrebroeck* with ſuch impetuoſity, that they ſurrendered at the firſt aſſault. *Spinola*'s fort, connected by four great baſtions to *Hulſt* and *Verrebroeck*, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewiſe attacked, and carried after a ſharp

diſpute

ute that laſted for the ſpace of five hours. Having thus uced all the out-works which could any way moleſt his rations, he battered the town on every ſide, without be- at the trouble of entrenching himſelf with his uſual ſo- tude. The garriſon, conſiſting of 3000 foot, and two ps of horſe, kept up a perpetual fire, and made three ited ſallies; but the dryneſs of the ſeaſon deprived them he benefit they might otherwiſe expect from the canals marſhes with which the place was ſurrounded. Gene- *Beck* was, ſince his late defeat, in no condition to offer n ſuccours, and *Piccolomini* was fully employed in oppo- the *French* army. On the 7th of *November*, they ſaw prince preparing for a general aſſault; to amuſe him, a chin was diſpatched to the camp, with propoſals of peace truce. He preſented his credentials; by which he was authoriſed to terminate all differences between *Spain* the *United Provinces*; but he could not deceive *Henry*, was not to be perſuaded, that the catholic king would uſt an affair of ſo much importance to the management n ignorant prieſt: yet as the impoſture could not be cted, the capuchin was ſent back, the reſolution of ming the town reſumed, and every thing got in readi- for that purpoſe. Upon this the garriſon deſired to tulate; all their propoſals were granted, except the ar- reſpecting religion, the prince determining, that only proteſtant religion ſhould be publickly tolerated in all future conqueſts. The court of *France* reſented this re- tion, the queen-regent having the good of the catholic extremely at heart. *D'Eſtrades* had orders from car- l *Mazarin* to remonſtrate upon this head to the prince *range*, who excuſed himſelf, by alledging that the lenity ad ſhewn upon former occaſions had incurred the ſuſpi- of the ſtates, and given breath to a report, of his be- inclined to favour the doctrines of the church of *Rome*[t].

Hulſt *taken by the* Dutch.

IMMEDIATELY after the ſurrender of *Hulſt*, prince *Henry* cked fort *Moerſpeye*, ſituated between *Hulſt* and *Ghent*, nded by four ſtrong baſtions, well provided, and filled ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding this he carried it by aſſault, a bloody action that continued ſix hours; and by conqueſt, the laſt of his life, ſecured to the republic territory of *Waes*, a barrier againſt *Spaniſh Flanders*, from to *Sluys*, and a great number of ſtrong forts ſituated in ain, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. With this

[t] La vie de prince Henry, p. 242.

tranſaction ended the campaign on the ſide of the *Netherlands*.

It was otherways in *Braſil*, notwithſtanding the *Hollanders* imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity by the late truce concluded with *Portugal*. They did not reflect that this was a meaſure dictated by the new king's neceſſities, and that the *Portugueſe* in general bore with ill-will the temporary ceſſion made to the *Dutch* of their conqueſts in *Africa*, *America*, and the *Eaſt Indies*. The *Portugueſe* ambaſſador at the *Hague* complained, that ſince the crown of *Portugal* had been ſeparated from *Caſtile*, and the truce concluded with the *United Provinces*, the *Dutch* governors had committed divers hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his moſt faithful majeſty; but the *Dutch* deputies, far from giving him any ſatisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and aſſerted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in diſpute, both on the coaſt of *Africa*, and in *Braſil*. Nothing could be obtained beſides a proviſional treaty, in which it was ſtipulated, that the parties ſhould mutually reſtore all their conqueſts made ſince the 12th day of *June* 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The inſtructions however ſent to the governors of their conqueſts were not expreſs; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well ſatisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the laſt year of *Maurice*'s government, all *Braſil* taſted the bleſſings of tranquillity and repoſe. The truce was rigidly obſerved, and the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* lived in perfect amity. The ſame harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and ſuch was the confidence the *Hollanders* repoſed in the fidelity of the *Portugueſe*, that they ſuffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admiting thoſe who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without ſcruple ſupplying them with arms and ammunition, for the ſake of the exceſſive price they paid, without reflecting upon their deſigns, to uſe them to their deſtruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonſtrances were calculated merely to palliate ſome ſcheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they conjectured. *Antonio de Silva*, viceroy of *Portugueſe Braſil*, meditated a project for expelling the *Dutch* out of the country, and ſeized the opportunity of the count's abſence, the weakneſs of the *Dutch*, and their confidence in the *Portugueſe*, to execute his purpoſe. He carried on a clan-

The war reſumed in Braſil.

deſtine

deſtine correſpondence with all the *Portugueſe* under the *Dutch* government, and readily drew them over to his ſentiments, particularly in the province of *Fernambuco*. The viceroy nominated *Fernandez Vieta*, a perſon of fortune, influence and diſtinction, chief of the enterpriſe; and *Vieta* embraced the offer with the more readineſs, becauſe, if the project ſucceeded, he ſhould by that means clear off an account of 200,000 crowns with the *Dutch* merchants. A body of 1500 ſoldiers were ſecretly ſent on board a galleon and ten tranſports, to ſurpriſe *Reciff*, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the *Hollanders*. Other detachments were made to ſeize upon *Serinhaam*, *Nazareth*, and all the ſtrong holds in the hands of the *Dutch*; while *Vieta* and other *Portugueſe* emiſſaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the *Dutch* governors with all the appearances of the moſt ſincere friendſhip and hearty good-will and eſteem. They had been invited on the day appointed for the inſurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a *Portugueſe* lady; and while they were ſitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in *Europe*, which gave them the firſt intimation of the conſpiracy. All their addreſs was ſcarce ſufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed ſituation: with admirable preſence of mind, they framed an excuſe for retiring a few minutes, ſo plauſible, that it even deceived the *Portugueſe*. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conſpirators finding they were diſcovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourſe to open hoſtilities, and the war was renewed with redoubled animoſity. The *Dutch* fired at the treachery of the enemy, and the *Portugueſe* reſented their diſappointment with as much rancour as if they had ſuſtained a real injury. In the firſt engagement the *Hollanders* were worſted; but they ballanced this loſs by a victory at ſea, in which the enemy loſt two of their beſt ſhips, and 500 mariners and ſoldiers. Upon the whole the *Hollanders* loſt ground. Cape *St. Auguſtin*, *Reciff*, and *Olinda*, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, ſtratagem and maſſacres, paſſed between the two nations. The news came to the *Hague*, and the people roſe tumultuouſly to demoliſh the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador's houſe. Incenſed at the inſidious conduct of the court and people, they would have have torn him limb from limb, if the prince of *Orange* had not interpoſed. The ambaſſador proteſted, that the court of *Portugal* had no ſhare in the inſurrection, and that they would ſeverely puniſh the conſpirators; but the ſtates, well informed

formed to the contrary, carried their complaints to the court of *France*, and repreſented to the moſt chriſtian king the perfidy of his *Portugueſe* majeſty [z].

By theſe means was laid the foundation of a new truce between *France* and *Holland*. Cardinal *Mazarin* reproached the *Dutch* with treating privately at *Munſter* with the *Spaniards*, and ſaid, that their ſufferings in *Braſil* was the juſt puniſhment of their treachery and diſregard of ſolemn treaties. At the ſame time, he promiſed them all poſſible aſſiſtance to revenge the inſults received from the *Portugueſe*, and encouraged them to uſe their utmoſt diligence in defence of their ſettlements in *Braſil*. This was propoſed with a view to gain the entire confidence of the ſtates. However, it was accepted in the literal ſenſe, and accordingly a fleet of 52 ſail was equipped under admiral *Banchart*, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in *Braſil*, the *Weſt Indies*, and the coaſt of *Africa*, having *Sigiſmund Schuppen* to aſſiſt him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the further ſide the line, which after raging without remiſſion for the ſpace of ten years, ended with the expulſion of the *Hollanders* out of *Braſil*, and the almoſt total overthrow of the *Weſt India* company.

During the whole winter the congreſs ſat at *Munſter*, without making any conſiderable progreſs in the ſcheme of a general pacification. The *French* king, perſuaded that the *Spaniards* raiſed numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, reſolved, by the advice of the queen-regent his mother, to proſecute the war for another campaign; for which purpoſe he continued the uſual ſubſidy to the ſtates general, on condition they ſhould maintain an army of 20,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, to lay ſiege to ſome important fortreſs in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and a ſquadron to block up the *Spaniſh* ports in *Flanders*. When the treaty was ſigned, the cardinal diſpatched a meſſenger to the prince of *Orange*, to induce him to undertake the ſiege of *Ghent*, the reduction of which would facilitate the deſigns on *Antwerp*. It was propoſed to march two *French* armies under the dukes of *Orleans* and *Enguihen*, the one to aſſiſt the prince, the other to inveſt divers other places; but *Henry* was ſo afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other diſeaſes, that it was not poſſible for him to give a direct anſwer to the cardinal's propoſitions.

[z] Nuvelle, p. 19. cap. 13, 14.

Mean-

MEANTIME the marquis *de Caſtil Rodrigo*, governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, until the arrival of the archduke *Leopold*, having notice of the new treaty between the court of *France* and the republic, and the deſigns formed upon *Ghent*, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the ſtates general, demanding a ſuſpenſion of arms, during the conferences at *Munſter*. Theſe letters anſwered one eſſential purpoſe; they augmented the diſſenſions among the provinces, ſome of which were for detaching the republic from *France*; but the ſtates wrote back, that notwithſtanding they were perfectly ſincere in the negotiations at *Munſter*, they could not grant the ſuſpenſion required, conſiſtently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of *Orange*'s illneſs, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of *Antwerp*; but that was likewiſe fruſtrated by *Henry*'s diſeaſe, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed ſuppoſed that he grew jealous of the power of *France*, and adviſed the ſtates to haſten the negotiations at *Munſter*. Beſides, he retained ſome of the old prejudices harboured againſt *Richlieu*, and convinced himſelf, that the new miniſter purſued the ſame ſyſtem, and bent his whole policy to procure a ſecure footing in the *Netherlands*. As to what ſome writers mention of his jealouſy of his own ſon, prince *William*, and his diſlike to ſeeing him at the head of an army, it is too improbable, and injurious to the character of prince *Henry*, to deſerve credit. Certain however it is, that the *Spaniſh* faction daily augmented in *Holland*, that the alliance with *France* was in the decline, and that *Tromp*'s blocking up *Dunkirk* while the *French* army beſieged the town by land, was the laſt inſtance of friendſhip that paſſed between the chriſtian king and the republic. *Venlo* indeed was inveſted by prince *William*, but the ſiege was ſoon raiſed, by order of the ſtates, under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced. A. D. 1646.

DURING the whole winter, the prince of *Orange* lingered under a variety of chronical diſorders, any of which were ſufficient to render his life miſerable, and his death certain. The gout, the ſtone, and dropſy, had reduced him to a ſkeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had paſſed ſeveral months, not only made his temper harſh and peeviſh, but even affected his intellects. To this the *French* writers aſcribe his falling off from the intereſt of *France*, though this meaſure may truly be regarded as a proof of his foreſight, penetration and policy. At length, *Henry* yielded up his laſt breath, on the 14th of *March*, in the 57th year of his age, and *Death of the prince of* Orange. A. D. 1647.

and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that aſſiduity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he purſued the intereſts of the republic. No prince of *Orange* was ever more univerſally or deſervedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all ſuſpicion of deceit, and that duplicity ſo much affected by ſtateſmen, he was juſtly eſteemed the beſt politician, and greateſt warrior in the *United Provinces*. He loved virtue, cheriſhed ſcience, rewarded merit, maintained the utmoſt harmony among the provinces, ſet his ſoldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We ſpeak not of the two laſt years of his life, in which ſickneſs and diſappointment would ſeem to have entirely ſoured his diſpoſition, and changed his character. In juſtice therefore to his memory, we draw a veil over what prejudiced writers relate of his conduct during this period.

William II. *prince of* Orange

THE ſame day on which his father died, prince *William* attended the ſtates general to take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince *Henry*. Some of the provinces deferred acknowledging him ſtadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the biaſs of his policy, as he was ſuppoſed inclinable to continue the war, and the alliance with *France*. It was propoſed in the ſtates of *Holland* and *Weſt Friſeland*, to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negotiations at *Munſter*, and detach the republic from the *French* intereſt; but ſome of the more prudent members, apprehended leſt ſuch rough meaſures might incenſe a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people: they therefore adviſed the ſtates to content themſelves, with ſending a reſpectful meſſage, requeſting that he would not traverſe the conferences at *Munſter*, or any way obſtruct the negotiations carrying on with *Spain*. *William* no ſooner conſented, than they acknowledged him ſtadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed by the acclamations of the people ſtadtholder of ſix provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by ſea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the ſame powers veſted in his father and uncle.

ALL this time the *United Provinces* were labouring to effect a ſeparate peace with the *Spaniards*, which was conſtantly obſtructed by the vigilance and addreſs of the *French* plenipotentiaries. Beſides the deputies of the ſtates general,

ral, and of the particular provincial ſtates, the body of nobility was repreſented by eight deputies. It was now that the ſovereignty of the ſtates general, and the rights of the ſeparate departments of the republic, were eſtabliſhed. No other terms would be accepted, than an abſolute independence on the houſe of *Auſtria*, and an univerſal acknowledgement of all the powers concerned in the negotiation, that the *United Provinces* ſhould henceforward be regarded as a free and ſovereign republic. The conceſſions made in 1609 were but proviſional; they were indeed acknowledged by *France*, and other powers, whoſe intereſt it was to keep well with the provinces; but *Spain* retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other ſtates might follow the example, as ſoon as any difference aroſe with the republic. The *French* miniſter at the *Hague* remonſtrated to the ſtates, on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give *Spain* an opportunity of accompliſhing her views, by fomenting diviſions among the allies. This obliged the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles, upon which they might agree with the *Spaniards*, unleſs they were ſanctified by the concurrence of their allies. The moſt chriſtian king, however, ſtill doubted their intentions. In order to keep the ſtates ſteady, he diſpatched M. *Servien* to the *Hague*, where he was coldly received, and indeed affronted with the ſuperior attention ſhewn to the *Spaniſh* miniſter, who was ſent to ballance his influence. *Servien*, nevertheleſs, ſupported the dignity of his character with great addreſs; but he could not alter the diſpoſition of the ſtates, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies *Knuyt* and *Paauw*, with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors at *Munſter*. At length, after abundance of altercation between the plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, after the darkeſt intrigues had been carried on, and the ſources of the deepeſt policy drained, the following articles of peace were concluded between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. That his catholic majeſty ſhould renounce all right and ſovereignty, over the lords the ſtates general of the *United Provinces*, who were henceforward declared a free independent republic. That both ſides ſhould remain in the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of what they ſeverally held, at the ſigning of the treaty. That the ſame regulation ſhould take place in *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, as in *Europe*, with reſpect to the conqueſts made ſince the expiration of the armiſtice. In the ſixth article it was ſtipulated, that the *Spaniards*

Peace of Munſter. A. D. 1648.

A. D. 1648. *Treaty of Munſter.*

niards ſhould not attempt the extenſion of their co... to the *Eaſt Indies*, and that the *Dutch* ſhould form ... terpriſes againſt the poſſeſſions and ſettlements of th... jects of that crown in *Aſia*. This obligation indeed reciprocal, and ſufficient time allowed for tranſmittin... treaty to thoſe diſtant colonies. Thus the ſovereignt... the republic was at laſt acknowledged, and for ever ... tabliſhed, by that power who alone diſputed it, at the ... pence of her blood and treaſure, with an obſtinacy, ha... to be paralelled in hiſtory [y].

The French king reſents the ſeparate peace ſtruck up by the republic.

FRANCE, however, accuſed the republic of in... titude, for defeating the intereſts of a nation, the ch... inſtrument of her preſent felicity, opulence, and indepe... dence. The *Dutch* were upbraided with a groſs violat... of their engagements, to accept of no ſeparate terms, un... the demands of their allies were fully ſatisfied; but they juſtified themſelves, by demonſtrating the neceſſity of a peace; the private views of cardinal *Mazarin* in protract... ing the war, and the frivolous difficulties raiſed about *Lorrain*. The ambaſſadors of the ſtates waited upon the *French* plenipotentiaries, and aſſured them, that had they one day longer deferred ſigning the treaty, *Spain* was reſolved to break off the negotiation; but this would not appeaſe their clamours. They inſiſted, that the republic ought, at leaſt, to have waited the return of the courier diſpatched to *Madrid*, by the count *de Pignaranda*. To remove this load of calumny, the ſtates uſed all their influence to reconcile the two crowns; but they were told by M. *Severein*, that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majeſty now thought himſelf at liberty to act without conſulting the republic, whoſe conduct had abſolved him from his engagements. He ſaid, the mediation of the provinces would be ſuſpected, and the only reparation of their error now poſſible, was to refuſe ratifying the treaty, until the court of *France* had time to demonſtrate that all the obſtructions to a general pacification aroſe from the delays and intrigues of the *Spaniſh* miniſtry. *Spain* offered to ſubmit the diſpute to the arbitration of the ſtates; but this the *French* plenipotentiaries declined, which ſerved the more to confirm the republic, in the rectitude of her own meaſures, and the ambitious deſigns of the moſt chriſtian king. Returning to the *Hague*, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the ſtates general, for the perſeverance, vigilance, and ability, with

[y] BASNAGE, Hiſt. p. 125.

which

they had conducted the whole negotiation. Soon
their arrival, two letters from the *French* king were
ed to the aſſembly, wherein he reproached the ſtates
perfidy, and the infraction of the moſt ſolemn en-
ents with the greateſt benefactor of the republic.
remonſtrances produced however no effect. The
imagined that *Spain* was now ſufficiently weakened,
t was their buſineſs to prevent the *French* from grow-
oo powerful, and extending their dominions on the
of the *Netherlands*. In vain therefore did *Lewis*'s am-
dors ſolicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty;
in did they endeavour to excite diviſions, and foment
rd among the members of the aſſembly: the ſame
y which had hitherto induced the *Dutch* to continue
war, amidſt their civil diſſenſions, and under the preſ-
of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them
atify the treaty lately ſigned. Accordingly the 15th
May was appointed for the exchange of ratifications,
ch was performed with the uſual ſolemnities, to the
t ſatisfaction of all the parties, except the king of
e. On the ſame day, of the enſuing month, the peace
proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious ne-
ation of *Munſter*, by which tranquillity was again re-
d to the *United Provinces*, and that ſovereignty eſta-
ed, for which they had ſtruggled for near a cen-
[2].

Letters from the king of France.

ARCE was the peace of the republic reſtored, when
was almoſt involved in freſh difficulties with the elec-
of *Brandenburgh*, who demanded reſtitution of certain
s in the duchy of *Cleves*, now ſequeſtered in the
ds of the ſtates general. He ſent ambaſſadors to the
e, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with
provinces, but in fact to make a demand, by no means
eable to the *Hollanders*. The elector procured the
tor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The ſtates
mptorily refuſed complying with the demand, becauſe
claim of the duke of *Newburgh* was not yet adjuſted,
they muſt be reſponſible for the places entruſted to
r care. This was only a plauſible pretext, as *Spain*
now wholly relinquiſhed the intereſt of that prince,
was too weak of himſelf to ſupport his pretenſions,
now ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of alone ſup-
ing a war againſt the whole monarchy of *France*. De-
ed of the aſſiſtance of the emperor on the one hand,

[2] Le Clerc, tom. ii. ſub. Ann.

he

he, however, found his enemies proportionably diminiſhed on the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambaſſadors loitered away their time at *Munſter*, without renewing their efforts to finiſh a ruinous and diſgraceful war. But *Philip* was now ſketching out the rudiments of a more extenſive project. He flattered himſelf that the *United Provinces*, having incurred the diſpleaſure of the *French* king, would at leaſt furniſh him with money, and ſuffer him to levy troops in the *Netherlands*, by which means he might be able to reduce *France* to reaſonable terms of accommodation. He even went ſo far as to propoſe an alliance; and when this was rejected, his miniſter at the congreſs, the count *de Pignaranda*, propagated ſuch reports as rendered it neceſſary for the *Dutch* deputies to give *Severien*, the *French* plenipotentiary, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly diſpoſition with reſpect to his maſter. *Pignaranda* reſented his diſappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with *France* by the provinces; declaring that the court of *Madrid* determined to have ſatisfaction. With this view the *Spaniards* ſtopped the *Dutch* ſhipping in the port of *Oſtend*[a]. The ſtates general immediately took this delicate affair into conſideration; but were greatly perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refuſed to ſatisfy the demands of the *Spaniſh* court, they apprehended their ſhips would be condemned as lawful prizes; and in forbidding a reciprocal trade with *France* the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

Intrigues of the court of Spain.

WHILE the ſtates were temporiſing, in hopes that a peace between *France* and *Spain* would remove all difficulties, cardinal *Mazarin* played every engine of the cabinet, to induce the prince of *Orange* to engage in his intereſt, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of *Madrid*. It is well known that the *Orange* party always oppoſed the late peace; but whether the prince liſtened to the propoſitions now made, is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak ſide; he applied to his paſſions and his ambition; but the republic was ſo circumſtanced, that the negotiation proved fruitleſs. Meantime after the defeat of the *India* company's forces in *Braſil*, the cardinal acted as mediator between the *Portugueſe* and the republic, in hopes that if a peace was concluded between them, *Portugal* would then proſecute the war againſt *Spain* with redoubled vigour. It was ſoon, however, perceived that the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador wanted

[a] Mem. Siri, tom. xiii.

only

amuſe the ſtates, while he pretended to accept of
ropoſitions; but the want of unanimity among the
and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed
ion. Some were for avenging the late diſgrace in
; while others, leſs ſanguine in their expectations,
it it better to put up with a ſmall part, than run
izard of loſing all footing in this rich and fertile
y.

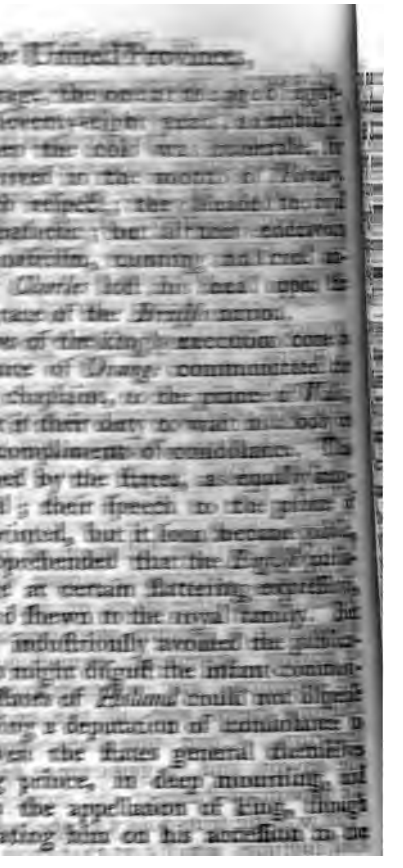
SECT. X.

*ming all the material tranſactions in which the re-
lic was concerned, until the ſecond rupture with*
gland *in* 1665.

CH was the ſituation of affairs in *Holland*, while A. D.
happy *England* was torn with civil wars; her ſoil 1649.
d with the blood of her children, and her king *The republic ballances with great addreſs during the wars in* England.
to an ignominious death upon a ſcaffold. The re-
had hitherto maintained a ſtrict neutrality with re-
the factions in *England*, notwithſtanding the cloſe
between the unfortunate *Charles* and the houſe of
It is true indeed that queen *Henrietta*, forced to
e kingdom, paſſed over to *Holland*, but ſhe could ob-
ſuccours except the money raiſed upon the crown-
The prince of *Orange* had taken ſome meaſures in
of the royal party; but they were of little conſe-
, and detached from the politics of the republic.
however, we ſee the ſituation of the ſtates more de-
and the provinces reduced to the neceſſity of denying
to the ſhattered remains of the royaliſts, or of com-
a rupture with the parliament of *England*. *James*
of *York*, having eſcaped from his confinement, took
at the *Hague*, where his preſence conſiderably em-
ed the ſtates general. Their perplexity was encreaſed
arrival of the prince of *Wales*, who ſolicited the in-
rſion of the republic for the king's life, and repreſent-
ſuch lively colours the danger of his majeſty's being
to an infamous death, that the ſtates reſolved to
mbaſſadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs.
Joachimi, and *Joachimi*, the latter of whom had long re-
in a public character at *London*, were appointed to this
te truſt[a]. Theſe two were able ſervants of the re-

[a] BASNAGE, p. 142.

public,



It was next deliberated whether the republic should send her ambassadors from *London*, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of *England*. Mr. Strickland had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minister at the *Hague*. He now demanded audience of the states general, as public ambassador from the *English* commonwealth; in which he was opposed by Sir *William Boswel*, who had for several years resided in *Holland*, as envoy from *Charles* I. This gentleman's remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of *Orange*, and party he had formed in favour of the king, that *Strickland*'s credentials were, after violent contests, rejected[b].

Dorislaus, envoy from the parlia-

While this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent scheme of neutrality formed by the republic. *Dorislaus*, a civilian,

[b] Guthrie, book iii. Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub ann.

and

and native of *Holland*, employed in conducting the charge against the late king, was now ſent by the parliament to aſſiſt *Strickland*. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy rendered him odious to all the royaliſts, who flocked in crouds to the little court kept up by *Charles* II. in the neighbourhood of the *Hague*. As he was ſitting quietly at ſupper, certain perſons, maſked, violently forced open his lodgings, and after aſſaſſinating him, retired without being queſtioned, or at all ſuſpected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at ſo flagrant a breach of the laws of nations; a reward was offered for diſcovering the aſſaſſins; but, however, the ſtates acted ſo careleſsly, that the parliament, harbouring ſuſpicions of their fidelity, made complaints to M. *Joachimi*; and in truth, *Strickland* turned the whole with ſo much addreſs to the advantage of his maſters, that the leading men in *Holland* grew impatient for the king's quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet ſtill the ſtates general perſiſted in refuſing *Strickland*'s credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The ſtates of *Holland*, apprehending a rupture with *England*, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, ſent remonſtrances to the ſtates general, charging them with all the conſequences of *Strickland*'s departure. Upon this they were forced to apologiſe to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial ſtates.

ment, is murdered.

The intrigues of cardinal Mazarin.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil diviſions which, at that time, afflicted both *France* and *Great Britain*; but it was difficult to wave the ſolicitations of the *Engliſh* monarch, ſupported by the intereſt of the prince of *Orange*, on one ſide, and of the intriguing *Mazarin*, on the other. This buſy prelate inſinuated to the prince of *Orange*, that the royal family in *England* being entirely ruined, his influence and power muſt neceſſarily decline, unleſs he was ſtrongly linked in alliance with the crown of *France*. His deſign was to involve the provinces in a freſh war with *Spain*; but the prince eſcaped his ſnare, and penetrated his views. He informed M. *Braſſet*, the *French* envoy, of the impoſſibility of carrying the project into execution, becauſe it muſt paſs through the provincial ſtates, and the refuſal of one city was ſufficient to fruſtrate the whole deſign. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal ſent inſtructions to M. *Braſſet*, to exert his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the ſtates from entering into any engagements with the parliament of *England*, and to conduct himſelf with ſuch caution

caution that it ſhould not be imagined *France* at all interpoſed in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negotiating with *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*.

WHILE *Braſſet* was deeply engaged in this negotiation, M. *le Brun* arrived at the *Hague*, in quality of envoy from the catholic king. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, who had not yet ratified the treaty of *Ghent*, oppoſed his reception, notwithſtanding which his public entry was allowed. Nothing indeed could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her ſovereignty, by an expreſs embaſſy from the king of *Spain*; and the ambaſſador took particular care to ſow his diſcourſe thick with the flattering terms of *Mighty State*, *Flouriſhing Republic*, and *Sovereign People*, which produced a good effect on the minds of the ſtates general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with; for as to the real intention of his embaſſy, he made no progreſs; the republic reſolving, as long as poſſible, to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. The affair of *Frankendal* was the moſt difficult part of his commiſſion. The *Spaniards* had poſſeſſed themſelves of that place, and the elector palatine, to whom it belonged, demanded reſtitution. The ſtates general ſupported the elector, who was violently perſecuted by the emperor, and the *Spaniards* were at a loſs how to determine. At laſt they conſented to the reſtitution upon thoſe conditions, that the catholic religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the palatinate; that a free paſſage ſhould be granted to the *Spaniards*; that they ſhould be allowed a place of arms, and that the republic would guarantee theſe conditions. This, together with ſome depredations committed by the *Lorrainers*, in the neighbourhood of *Boiſleduc*; certain diſputes concerning *Rhimberg*; and an old quarrel with the biſhop of *Liege*, were the ſubjects of *le Brun*'s negotiation.

IT was about this time that the grand prior of the order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, arrived in *Holland*, to demand all the commanderies of *Malta*, ſituated in the provinces. Firſt, a variety of difficulties aroſe about the honours to be paid to the grand prior; but this affair being adjuſted, the ſtates entered into a negotiation with him, which produced nothing but uſeleſs altercation. It was otherwiſe with M. *Uſeldt*, the Danish ambaſſador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and *redemption* between the crown of *Denmark* and the republic of the *Seven United Provinces*. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to aſſiſt the party attacked with 4000 men, and to uſe their utmoſt influence with the aggreſſor to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to arbitration.

Treaties with Denmark.

bitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all *Dutch* merchantmen paſſing through the *Sound* to the *Baltic*, about which there had been great diſputes. Inſtead of rating each ſhip according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain ſum yearly for the free paſſage of the *Sound*; however, this expedient was diſpleaſing to ſome of the provinces, and highly reſented by the *Hans* towns, as injurious to their commerce, eſpecially as a *Dutch* ſquadron, not exceeding four men of war, was allowed to paſs unqueſtioned into the *Baltic*[c]. *Sweden* likewiſe complained loudly of an alliance which muſt neceſſarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic, and queen *Chriſtina* plied the ſtates with remonſtrances, which paſſed unregarded.

A. D. 1650.

Origin of the civil diſſenſions in Holland.

The ſtates having eſtabliſhed the foreign concerns of the republic upon the moſt ſolid footing that the circumſtances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great diſorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confuſion that reigned for a ſeries of years in the provinces. The intereſt of public debts was reduced, becauſe the province of *Holland* had offered to furniſh money for the payment of all who deſired to be reimburſed. However, the public credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that not a ſingle creditor ſought to withdraw his ſtock; by which means the intereſt of debts became too large for the ſtated revenue. To remove this difficulty, certain taxes were impoſed on the barony of *Breda*, and the diſtrict of *Boiſleduc*, becauſe thoſe lands were exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the *Spaniards*, complained of the hardſhip of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the ſtates, to obviate the objection, but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the diſeaſe: one of the expedients propoſed by the ſtates of *Holland* was, the reduction of the troops; which the prince of *Orange*, ſupported by the council of ſtate, warmly oppoſed, while all the princes and ſtates were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The diſpute roſe high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince inſiſting that a ſtanding-force of 46,300 foot and 3000 horſe ſhould be maintained; while the province of *Holland* aſſerted that 25,000 foot and 2700 horſe were ſufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable their animoſity was more deeply

[c] Basnage, p. 161. Aitzema, lib. xxx. p. 68.

rooted, and this occaſion only ſeized as a cover to deſigns. *Holland* had taken certain meaſures reſp payment of the troops, without conſulting the council of ſtate; and this proceeding was not on by the prince and council, but by all the offi army, and the ſtates general themſelves, who reg an infraction of the union. At this time a deput province of *Holland* preſided in the ſtates gener laboured to prevent the aſſembly from taking any contrary to his inſtructions from the ſtates of his but finding he could not ſtem the torrent, he r chair, and was ſucceeded by a deputy of *Guelde* proceeded to revoke the order of the ſtates of consequence of a great majority of voices. Dete ſupport this deciſion, their high mightineſſes ſe orders to all the officers of the army, not to ob ſections they might receive from the ſtates of *Hol* they were confirmed by the authority of the ſtat the governors of the frontier towns had ſimilar o the deputies of *Holland* proteſted againſt this proc injurious to their liberties. In the end, the ſt the ſtates of *Holland*, and the fluctuating counc high mightineſſes, afforded the prince of *Orange* tunity of puſhing his ambitious views. Attend council of ſtate, and count *de Naſſau* governor of he waited upon the ſtates general, praying th tineſſes, to forbid the governors from making th tions in their garriſons required by the ſtates o and to ſend a deputation to each town of that p oblige the magiſtrates to alter their ſentiments. puties of *Holland* and *Guelderland* oppoſed this re cauſe the deputies of *Friſeland*, *Groningen*, and *Ov* abſent; but a reſolution paſſed in favour of the p the deſired deputation was diſpatched. They pro to *Dordrecht*, where they were badly received, a by a reſolution of the magiſtrates to hold no c with the prince of *Orange* or his deputies. The perſon joined the deputies, but no ear was given monſtrances; upon which he ſet out for the *Bri* *Rotterdam*, and the other towns, where his rec little better than at *Dordrecht*. *Amſterdam* ſent t maſters as far as *Tergau*, to requeſt of the prince tempt entering that city, becauſe they could no audience with his train, which was pretty numero ſtill purſued his journey, a ſecond deputation w acquaint his highneſs, that if he propoſed hom

Diſputes between the prince of Orange *ſupported by the ſtates general, and the province of* Holland.

city with a visit as governor of the province, he would be received with all the respect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the states general, because the design of his embassy appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and therefore proceeded to *Haerlem*, where the magistrates displayed the same aversion for the resolutions of the states general. In *North Holland* the prince met with more civility; however, the magistrates of *Medemblic* sent an excuse to him that the roads were so bad, and the town so small for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a visit.

On his return the prince complained loudly to the states general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of *Amsterdam*, against which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his speech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping, by this means, to enflame the minds of the people, and especially of the clergy, who were devoted to his interest. The deputies of *Amsterdam*, who were present when this speech was delivered, expressed their astonishment that the prince should have particularly aimed his resentment at their city, when several others had acted in just the same manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magistrates, and their measures were approved by the states of *Holland*, who, in a public manifesto, declared that the states general had no right to send a deputation to the several cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the consent of the provincial states.

The return of admiral *de Wit* with a sickly, shattered fleet, fragmented the civil divisions. This officer, perceiving the impossibility of recovering the losses lately sustained in the *Brasils*, returned, without the consent of the council established in that country by the states general. Loud complaints were made by the council against the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miscarriage of the late expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a single enterprise, that he let slip several opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company, that he had quitted the coast against the express order of the council, and that he had carried off all the provision, and left the company's servants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. *De Wit* was arrested by the prince of *Orange*, as high-admiral; but accused by the states of *Zealand*, and supported by the states of *Holland*, who feared that his *Portuguese* majesty should stop their ships in his ports, and prohibit their trading

Admiral de Wit imprisoned.

to the coaſt of *Guinea*, if the war was proſecuted in the *Braſils*. At the ſame time the ſtates general iſſued orders to the admiralty of *Amſterdam*, to confine the ſix captains who accompanied *de Wit*; and this produced a violent altercation, the ſtates of *Holland* inſiſting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their ſovereignty to impriſon by any other authority within the limits of their juriſdiction. The ſtates general quoted precedents, and beſides, urged, that reaſon dictated that all officers who held their commiſſions from them, ſhould be ſubject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reſide. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightineſſes, and the priſon-doors were forced by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, and the priſoners ſet at liberty. *William*, determined upon revenge, had the ſix deputies of *Holland* arreſted, at the head of whom was *Jacob de Wit*, an old burgomaſter of *Dordrecht*, and the father of the famous penſioner *de Wit*. After being ſome time confined in ſeparate apartments in the prince's palace, they were ſent under a ſtrong guard to the caſtle of *Loueſtein*. Determined to ſupport this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, *William* detached a body of forces under the count *de Naſſau* towards *Amſterdam*, in hopes of reducing the magiſtrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a ſiege. His meaſures were concerted with ſo much ſecreſy, and purſued with ſuch vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magiſtrates had any ſuſpicion of his intentions. Had it not been for ſome unforeſeen accidents, the city muſt certainly, without ſtriking a blow, have fallen into his hands.[a]

Amſterdam *beſieged.*

WHEN the news firſt arrived at *Amſterdam*, that the army was on their march, of the four burgomaſters regent, one was dead, two were abſent, and M. *Bitzker* alone left to provide for the defence of the city. He was well ſupported, however, by M. *Nydecooper*, an infirm magiſtrate, whoſe diligence, gallantry, and public ſpirit, was now conſpicuouſly exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were theſe two magiſtrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their ſervice. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garriſon put in arms, the ſhips cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other meaſure taken for making the moſt vigorous reſiſtance. The council met, to deliberate whether the ſluices ſhould be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to ſweep away by one fatal ſtroke the whole army of the beſiegers;

[a] BASNAGE, p. 512.

ſiegers; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was reſolved only to drown ſuch parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakeſt poſts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the ſailors in particular contributed with the utmoſt alacrity towards the ſafety of this great emporium of *Europe*. On the count's arrival he found his project was diſconcerted, and his force too inconſiderable to attempt inveſting ſo extenſive a city. He gave notice of his diſappointment to the prince of *Orange*, who was highly chagrined, to ſee a plan drawn out with ſo much care ſo unexpectedly foiled, and his honour and authority ſtained and deſpiſed: but imagining his preſence would retrieve all things, he communicated his deſign to the ſtates general, and inſtantly ſet out for the army, attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of diſtinction. On his way he met with M. *de Beeverwert*, a gentleman deſcended from the houſe of *Naſſau*, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Reſolving, if poſſible, to obviate the fatal conſequences which might enſue from the obſtinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vaſt body of water in the power of the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they reſolved to puſh matters to extremities. This demonſtration was equally conciſe and concluſive. *William* inſtantly felt its conviction, and entreated M. *Beeverwert* to go immediately to the *Hague* to acquaint the ſtates general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himſelf and the army; the only meaſure which could ſave his honour[e].

The ſiege raiſed.

WHILE M. *Beeverwert* was employed in this affair, a negotiation commenced between the prince and the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*. *William* had wrote to them, deſiring they would ſend four deputies, to confer with him upon the ſubject of an accommodation. As the magiſtrates began already to feel the inconveniencies of a ſiege, they liſtened the more readily to the propoſal. Diſſenſion had thus early begun to ſhew itſelf in the city. A variety of libels were publiſhed, taxing the magiſtrates with holding a ſecret correſpondence with the *Engliſh* parliament. This allegation was founded upon *Pieterſon*'s voyage to *England*, to manage the affairs of the province with *Cromwel*, who had refuſed admitting an embaſſy from the republic. Nothing could render the magiſtrates more odious than ſuch an accuſation; beſides, the merchants apprehended that a ſiege would

[e] LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 200.

ſtop the courſe of exchange, and hurt their credit. Theſe were the motives which influenced the magiſtrates to enter upon a negotiation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the ſiege into a blockade. To this may be added the little dependance placed by the magiſtrates in the other cities, who contented themſelves with murmuring at this attempt on their liberty, without entering upon any meaſures of reſiſtance. In theſe circumſtances the following articles were mutually ſigned: That the prince ſhould be received in the city with all the honours due to his dignity, and paid to his anceſtors in the ſame office. This condition was ſtipulated merely to ſave the prince's honour, for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry: that the city of *Amſterdam* ſhould engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the province had diſbanded: that the magiſtrates ſhould uſe their influence with the ſtates of *Holland*, to effect a public reconciliation: and laſtly, that M. *Bikker* and his brother, notwithſtanding the many ſervices they had done to the houſe of *Orange*, and the ſtate, and notwithſtanding their preſent ſtrenuous efforts in defence of freedom, ſhould be ſtripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinſtated. The council obſtinately oppoſed this laſt article; but thoſe two excellent citizens inſiſted upon reſigning, offering themſelves a voluntary ſacrifice for the public tranquillity. In this manner terminated this dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic on the brink of deſtruction. *William*'s deſigns were now obvious; and all, with one voice, accuſed him of betraying his country, and uſing thoſe forces entruſted to his care for the protection of the republic, to the purpoſes of ambition, and the ſuppreſſion of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himſelf and his country, he was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, of which he died on the ſixth day of *November*, while he was projecting ſchemes of revenge, which might, poſſibly, involve *Holland* in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had juſt experienced. As his virtues were univerſally acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occaſioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the houſe of *Orange* lamented him as the worthy ſucceſſor of his heroic anceſtors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interpoſition of providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themſelves oppreſſed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite

Death and character of the prince of Orange.

cent in their feſtivity and public rejoicings; bonefires
ed in every town almoſt in *Holland*, and medals were
k, inſulting the memory of a prince who might have
loved and revered, had he known how to moderate
high paſſions which ever prove ruinous in a popular
rnment[f] (A).

ILLIAM had ſet at liberty the priſoners confined in *The priſoners releaſed and reinſtated.*
aſtle of *Louveiſtein*, on condition they ſhould not be re-
d to their employments; but his remains were ſcarcely
, when the deputies were reinſtated with ſuch diſtinc-
, as could not but be regarded as an inſult to the de-
d. Even the court was divided into parties, and en-
d in oppoſite intereſts. The princeſs dowager, mother
e late ſtadtholder, was leſs ſenſible of the death of her
becauſe under his government ſhe loſt that authority
h ſhe enjoyed in the lifetime of his father. As to the
g princeſs his widow, already afflicted with the miſ-
nes of her royal father and family in *England* ſhe be-
, inconſolable, until it pleaſed heaven to revive her
, and moderate her grief, by the birth of a young
e, eight days after the death of his father.

the ſtates general had been ſtrongly linked with the
e of *Orange* in the ſame intereſt, his ſudden loſs cauſed
neral conſternation in that aſſembly, of which he was
ſoul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice
e ſtates. Their firſt reſolution was, to notify this fa-
vent to all the provincial ſtates. *Holland* was no ſooner
ainted with it, than the ſtates met to deliberate on the

BASNAGE, p. 177. La vie de princes diemoiſne du Orange, &c.

f) *William*'s genius was vaſt comprehenſive. Though d never been in the field, as deemed a great general, riting the qualities of a hero his anceſtors, which he roved by the cloſeſt appli- and moſt intenſe ſtudy. conſtitution was ſaturnine, ſilence remarkable, and all paſſions abſorbed in that e one of ambition. His e was not only handſome elegant; but the features of face beautiful, and manly. At his death, he was only in the 24th year of his age, yet he had made great progreſs in the mathematics, fortification, and all the ſciences, at the ſame time that he ſpoke fluently the *Latin*, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *High Dutch*. In a word, he was a prince, who, had he been ſeated on a throne, would equally have commanded eſteem and reſpect. Vid. La vie des princes du maiſon de Orange.

The ſtates of Holland *reconciled to the ſtates general.*

neceſſary meaſures. They charged their deputies to aſſure the ſtates general, that they would ſacrifice their reſentments to the public good, and ſtrictly adhere to the conditions of the union of *Utrecht*, and the reformed religion, agreeable to the decree of the ſynod of *Dordrecht*. Next, they reſolved upon ſending a deputation to all the provinces, to conjure them to ſend to the *Hague* deputies from their own body, to deliberate on the preſent circumſtances of the republic. The project was approved by the ſtates general, and the deputation was well received in all the provinces. A third reſolution of great importance to the province, likewiſe paſſed the ſtates of *Holland*. It was determined to limit that influence aſſumed by the counts of *Holland* and the ſtadtholders, in the election of the magiſtrates of the cities, by which they often gained an undue influence in the provincial ſtates, and the aſſembly of the ſtates general; and to reſerve to themſelves the nomination to public offices, to military preferments, and all employments of profit or power. They likewiſe ordered that the guards about the prince ſhould be the troops of the province, and that all the rights and prerogatives uſurped by the ſtadtholder, ſhould now be annexed to the ſovereignty of the ſtates of *Holland*. All the remonſtrances of the young princeſs dowager had no effect. The infant ſon was ſtripped in the cradle of all the honours enjoyed by his anceſtors, and ſupported with a dignity that rendered their names immortal. *Zealand* followed the example of *Holland*, and ſeized the opportunity of recovering all the prerogatives of the province.

THOUGH the princeſs dowager was differently affected with her daughter-in-law at the death of her ſon, ſhe ſtill laboured for the aggrandizement of her grandſon from the moment of his birth, and with that view, wrote circular letters to all the provinces, perſuaded it would give univerſal ſatisfaction, that the illuſtrious family of the founder of the republic was not extinct, and that a child was born who would ſupport the edifice reared by the hands of his anceſtors. She hoped likewiſe, that the ſtates would invest the infant with all the dignities of ſtadtholder, as ſoon as they deliberated upon that ſubject. Nor was the princeſs miſtaken in her reliance on the affections of the people; however they were diſguſted with the ambition of the late prince, they loved the family, and regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of thoſe heroes who had reſcued the provinces from tyranny, miſery, and oppreſſion, and the peculiar gift of heaven, to ſecure their religion and liberties againſt future encroachments. However, the ſtates general

contented

contented themſelves with a promiſe to the princeſs, that they would forward her letters to the provincial ſtates, though they could not but think creating a new ſtadtholder unſeaſonable, as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant.

WILLIAM the Third, like *Hercules*, was from his birth to encounter difficulties. The firſt diſputes aroſe about his baptiſm, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the diſſolution of the government, appearred on his entering upon the adminiſtration. Deputies from the ſtates general, from the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and from the cities of *Amſterdam*, *Leyden* and *Delft*, offered themſelves as ſponſors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleaſure, and followed by magnificent preſents to the young prince and his family. The princeſs royal, his mother, was for calling him *Charles*, in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of *William*, as the moſt popular and auſpicious. The pomp with which the child was baptiſed, was cenſured by the more prudent republicans, and many perſons were offended at the old dowager's deſiring that the duke of *York* might not be preſent at the ceremony. With all her ſenſe and manly ideas, that princeſs was tinctured with a truly feminine ſuperſtition.

Diſputes for his guardianſhip.

The ceremony of the prince's baptiſm had occaſioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this means to come in for a conſiderable ſhare in the government of the republic, and to exerciſe the functions of the ſtadtholder. The candidates were don *Emanuel* and don *Lewis*, princes of *Portugal*, deſcended from a daughter of *William* I.; *Philip Lewis*, prince palatine of the *Rhine*, likewiſe deſcended from a daughter of the ſame prince of *Orange*; and the prince palatine, of the family of *Deux Ponts*, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reſide at his own expence at the *Hague*, ſhould he be appointed to the office of guardian: his propoſals were favourably received by the grand council; but they could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had married the eldeſt daughter of prince *Frederic Henry*. Both the grandmother and mother ſent in their ſeveral claims on this occaſion, as the moſt legitimate and natural guardians; but as they could come to no underſtanding among themſelves, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At laſt, a will of the late prince's being produced by his ſecretary, turned the ſcale in favour of

the princeſs royal, though neither ſeal, name, or date appeared to the teſtament. In this rough draught *William*'s intentions were viſible; his princeſs was nominated guardian to the infant, in caſe ſhe ſhould happen to be with child at his death; and 15,000 pounds ſterling were aſſigned for her jointure. The old dowager and the elector of *Brandenburgh* violently oppoſed any deciſion upon proofs ſo uncertain; the diſpute ran high; it was ſubmitted to a court of judicature, and at length compromiſed in the following manner. That the princeſs royal ſhould be chief guardian of her ſon, and have the diſpoſal of all offices about his perſon; that the elector of *Brandenburgh* ſhould be joined to aſſiſt her in the management of the young prince's perſon and affairs; and that the princeſs dowager ſhould inſpect and ſuperintend their conduct. The two latter appealed to the grand council, and the decree was altered; it being now determined that the princeſs royal, as mother to the infant, ſhould be guardian on the one hand, and the princeſs dowager, elector of *Brandenburgh*, and count *Landſberg*, on the other, as repreſentatives of the father[s].

A. D. 1651.

A grand aſſembly of the ſtates.

THE enſuing year commenced with a grand aſſembly of the ſtates general, on the 18th day of *January*. Here they deliberated on the means of maintaining the union of *Utrecht*, and the reformed religion eſtabliſhed by the ſynod of *Dordrecht*, on the election of a ſtadtholder, on ſubjecting the army to the orders of the council of ſtate, on preventing the effects of corruption in the ſtates general, on the requiſition of the province of *Brabant* of ſending deputies to the ſtates general, on a general amneſty, and ſeveral other particulars. With reſpect to the firſt point, the ſtates general went over to the ſentiments of the ſtates of *Holland*; and it was reſolved, that the choice of all officers and magiſtrates ſhould be in the diſpoſal of the cities, and that not only the common ſoldiers and the forces in general, but even the prince's guards, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the ſtates general, and the ſtates of *Holland*. In a word, the buſineſs of the aſſembly was to heal the wounds of faction, unite parties, conſolidate the republic into one homogeneous maſs, and ſecure public liberty againſt all future attacks, by revoking all the powers and prerogatives formerly beſtowed on the ſtatholders.

Arrival of the Portugueſe *ambaſſador.*

WHILE the ſtates general were occupied in eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the ſtate, and fixing the plan of government, don *Antonio de Suſa Macedo* arrived in the quality of ambaſſador from his *Portugueſe* majeſty. On his taking his

[s] BASNAGE, p. 212. LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 309.

ſeat

ſeat in the ſtates general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the *Hague* privately, and refuſing him an audience for months. He recapitulated the ſervices done the republic by king *Sebaſtian*, and ſaid, that notwithſtanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the ancient amity between the ſtates, not from weakneſs, but from an inclination to ſpare the effuſion of chriſtian blood. He concluded with giving an eſtimate of the forces and ſhipping of *Portugal*, and demonſtrating to the republic, that this was the ſureſt barrier againſt the encroachments of his catholic majeſty. Immediately the deputies entered into ſeveral conferences with him, and demanded reſtitution of all the forts, ſettlements, and territories of which the republic was deprived in courſe of the war, from *Rio-real* to *Siara*, including all the ſlaves, cattle, ſugars, and other effects; indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained by the interruption in commerce, and ceſſion of the iſland of St. *Thomas*, and the *African* coaſt from cape *Lepo Gonzales*, to the river *Coanza*. Incenſed at theſe extravagant demands, the ambaſſador quitted *Holland* precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the ſtates.

THE diſputes with the *Portugueſe* miniſter were followed by violent contentions in the cities about the election of magiſtrates. *Dordrecht* in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confuſion, by chuſing this particular time for reviving the claims to the ancient right of ſeats in the provincial aſſemblies. They produced ſeveral ancient acts, proving that the ſtates were formerly compoſed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* pretended, that, as the moſt ancient of the nobility, he had a right to repreſent the whole body, to the excluſion of all the other members. This diviſion among themſelves weakened the weight of their influence, and the ſtates gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretenſions.

AMIDST all theſe civil diſſenſions, commerce flouriſhed more than ever, and the republic engroſſed the trade of *Europe*, as *England* had not yet recovered the calamities conſequent on the entire revolution in the government, and *France* was wholly employed in diſputes between the crown and the princes of the blood, and the nobility ſtruggling in defence of the relics of liberty. Yet it received ſeveral interruptions from the attacks of the corſairs of *Tunis*, and rovers of *Algiers* and *Salee*. Even the *French* privateers made no

State of the Dutch *commerce.*

no ſcruple of attacking the *Dutch* merchantmen; but theſe piracies were ſoon ſuppreſſed by the public ſpirit of two merchants, who equipped a ſquadron of ſmall men of war at their own expence, cleared the ſeas, and ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves by the great number of captures. But the greateſt obſtruction to trade aroſe from *England*. His catholic majeſty had diſpatched an ambaſſador to the parliament, offering to puniſh the murderers of the *Engliſh* reſident at *Madrid*, to admit the *Engliſh* ſhipping into all the ports of *Spain*, and to exclude the fleet under prince *Rupert*. He likewiſe acknowledged the ſovereign authority of the parliament; all which was conſtrued into an oblique reflection on the dilatory conduct of the ſtates general, who had hitherto declined puniſhing the murderers of *Doriſlaus*, or acknowledging the ſovereignty of the parliament. *Zeeland* preſſed with eagerneſs, that all manner of ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowledged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impreſſion on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, th parliament, on various pretences, ſeized upon the *Dutch* ſhips trading to the ports of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They inſiſted likewiſe upon ſearching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the *Caribees*, and took other violent meaſures, which ſeemed to threaten an open rupture. To repel theſe injuries and protect the trade, admiral *Van Tromp* was ſtationed with a ſquadron off the *Scilly* iſlands, which raiſed apprehenſions in the parliament, that the ſtates had a deſign to ſeize upon them as a convenient ſtation for incommoding the *Engliſh* commerce. In this ſituation, *Cromwell*, perfectly maſter of the art of diſſembling, ſent an embaſſy to *Holland* with overtures of a treaty offenſive and defenſive between the two republics. The duke of *York* was at this time at the *Hague*, where *St. John*, the *Engliſh* envoy, had the preſumption in a public walk to diſpute the precedence with him; which being obſerved by the prince palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him reſpect the ſon and the brother of his king. St. *John* put his hand upon his ſword, refuſed to acknowledge either the king, or duke of *York*; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to ſeek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambaſſador to the ſtates general, who adviſed the duke of *York* to retire to one of the prince of *Orange*'s palaces in the country, and expreſſed their ſorrow for the accident in an apology to the *Engliſh* miniſter. *Ommeren*, and ſix other deputies,

The ſtates take meaſures for the ſecurity of commerce.

Diſputes with the Engliſh envoy.

puties, were now appointed to deliberate upon the inſtructions ſent to *St. John* and *Strickland*, who firſt demanded in high terms ſatisfaction upon the murderers of *Doriſlaus*, which had been ſo long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the *Dutch* government. This the *Dutch* anſwered, by preſenting a long liſt of debts due, on account of the depredations of the *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh* ambaſſador immediately rejected the account, becauſe it chiefly conſiſted of *Dutch* veſſels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted *Engliſh* plantations. A continuation of the queen of *Bohemia*'s penſion was likewiſe demanded by the *Dutch*, for the payment of which the ſtates general ſtood engaged; but this was alſo refuſed, the ambaſſadors alledging, that the penſion was granted by the late king, without the conſent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with ſo inſolent an air of ſuperiority by the *Engliſh*, that nothing could be expected from this negotiation, as it was not imagined the *Dutch* would tamely recede from ſo many demands [h].

Obſtructions to the treaty propoſed by the Engliſh.

BUT perhaps the greateſt obſtruction to the treaty aroſe from cardinal *Mazarin*, who above all things dreaded the alliance mentioned in the lifetime of the late prince of *Orange*, between *England* and *Holland*. It is true, the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of *England*, to ſuffer a project ſo detrimental to their intereſt to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty againſt *Spain* with the cardinal, on condition that the *French* miniſter ſhould aſſiſt in the reſtoration of the *Stuart* family. Thus the intrigues of *Mazarin*, and the friends of the houſe of *Orange*, effectually impeded the propoſed union between the two commonwealths, which was only propoſed by *St. John*, and never taken into ſerious conſideration. Irritated at this diſappointment, at the diſreſpect ſhewn in many inſtances to their ambaſſador, at the partiality of the *Dutch* in their demands, at their refuſal to make the required ſatisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at *Amboyna*, ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch East-India* companies, the parliament reſolved to chaſtiſe the ſtates general, and evince their ſuperiority by the moſt vigorous meaſures. Theſe notions were confirmed by *St. John*, who laboured to give *Cromwell* and the people a diſadvantageous opinion of the *Dutch*, to perſuade them that nothing was ſo deſirable to *Holland* as an opportunity of

[h] BASNAGE, p. 220.

diſturbing

diſputing the ſovereignty on the ocean aſſumed by the *Engliſh*.

The two republics on the point of coming to a rupture.

WHAT the *Dutch* regarded as the firſt ſtep towards a rupture, was the act of navigation paſſed in *England*. This, though one of the moſt ſalutary laws ever propoſed in the *Engliſh* parliament, was highly prejudicial to the *Dutch* commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to further declarations. Abſtracted from other conſiderations, the act was in itſelf alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandiſe into *England*, but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhip belonged; and the commodities from *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America*, to be imported in any other than *Engliſh* bottoms. This blow levelled directly at *Holland*, as the *Dutch* traffic conſiſted wholly in tranſporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to *England*; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ſhips had been unjuſtly confiſcated in *Holland*, though in fact they were only detained by way of repriſal. It was eaſy to diſcover from the tone of the *Dutch* ambaſſadors, that they were apprehenſive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The *Engliſh* roſe proportionably in their demands, inſiſted not only upon ſatisfaction for the barbarities at *Amboyna*, but on the ſum of two millions, to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained from the *Dutch* in other parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, in *Perſia*, *Muſcovy*, and *Greenland*. They alſo demanded the puniſhment of the murderers of *Deriſlaus*, reparation of the inſults offered to their ambaſſador, and an apology for the intercourſe carried on with the late king, during the civil war [1].

DEMANDS ſo inſolently made, and exorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the ſtates general, that vigorous meaſures alone could bring to reaſonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the *Engliſh* at ſea, and their vain-glorious pretenſions to the ſovereignty of the ocean. The mere ſtriking to their flag was in itſelf trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not deſire to extend their right, appeared to the ſtates a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were eſtabliſhed. The *Engliſh* had already

The Dutch prepare for war.

[1] GROT. lib. 6. p. 44. BASNAGE, ibid.

claime

ned the right of examining, not only their merchantmen llicit goods, but even the *Dutch* men of war; they it in courſe of time aſſume the power of directing the nation of their fleets, and even preſcribing whether republic ſhould maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. tribute demanded by the *Engliſh* for the liberty of fiſh- on the *Britiſh* coaſts, appeared unreaſonable to the h, though this perhaps was the juſteſt demand of the ament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had granted; but now the number was augmented, and ribute rendered exorbitant. To oppoſe thoſe encroach- A. D. ts on the rights of nations, the ſtates equipped with the 1652. ſt expedition a prodigious fleet, conſiſting of 150 ſhips ar, part of which they ſent under the command of *tin Van Tromp* into the Channel, to convoy their home- bound merchantmen (A).

HE firſt hoſtilities previous to a declaration of war, were menced by the *Engliſh*. One of their ſhips of war fall- n with a fleet of *Dutch* fiſhermen, demanded the uſual te and homage; which being refuſed, the man of war one of the *Dutch* ſhips, with all its crew; a fact that riouſly related, juſt as it happens to ſuit the purpoſes of lifferent parties. Complaint of this action was imme- *Hoſtilities* ly made to the *Engliſh*; and the ſtates reſolutely de- *commenced.* d, unleſs the captain was puniſhed, they ſhould be d to make repriſals. As no notice was taken of the and, they immediately laid an embargo on all the *Engliſh* ing in their ports, *Tromp*, before his departure, de- the minuteſt inſtructions with reſpect to his conduct to- s the *Engliſh*. He acquainted the ſtates, that, during late king's reign, it was uſual to pay homage to the *ſh* flag upon the *Britiſh* coaſts, and in the Channel; hat ſcarce an inſtance occurred where this compliment required on the open ſea. To avoid therefore the ne- y of entering upon any diſputes, or of acknowledging uperiority of the parliament, the ſtates ordered he ſhould pproach the *Engliſh* coaſts, unleſs forced by circum- es. Lord *Clarendon* alledges, that the admiral had in-

) Readers who would make ſelves perfectly acquainted the diſpute about the ſove- ty of the ocean, and the of fiſhing upon the *Britiſh* , may conſult the learned rmance of *Grotius*, intitled *Mare liberum*, and the anſwer called *Mare clauſum*, wrote by the learned *Selden*. To enter upon ſuch a controverſy would be exceeding the province of an hiſtorian.

ſtructions

ſtructions to anſwer the *Engliſh*, if they demanded a compliment to their flag, that the ſtates had out of reſpect paid homage to the king's flags, from a deſire of maintaining a good correſpondence with that court; but that circumſtances being altered, they now thought themſelves at liberty to act otherwiſe. Should this reply prove unſatisfactory, his orders were to defend himſelf with vigour. Theſe inſtructions, he ſays, were iſſued from the admiralty; but his lordſhip ſeems miſtaken in the powers of that board [k].

The battle of the Downs.

AFTER *Van Tromp* had cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt of *Scheveling*, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards *Flanders*, where, for the ſecurity of his fleet, he ſailed for the Channel, and ſtationed himſelf between *Dover* and *Calais*; but in paſſing the *Downs*, where admiral *Blake* lay with a fleet of ſix and twenty men of war, he was ſaluted with a diſcharge of cannon, without ſhot, as a ſignal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topſails to the *Engliſh* flag. *Dutch* writers affirm, that, previous to this, he diſpatched two of his captains with compliments to *Bourn*, the *Engliſh* commodore, and to aſſure him that he had been driven to that ſtation by ſtreſs of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Tromp* paid no regard to the ſignal made by the *Engliſh* admiral, who upon this fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadſide. Immediately an engagement enſued, which was maintained for the ſpace of four hours with the utmoſt fury and conduct. Commodore *Bourn* arrived critically with eight ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*; upon which *Tromp* retired behind the *Goodwin-Sands*, with the loſs of two ſhips, one of which was ſunk, and the other taken. No *Dutch* writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loſs of the *Engliſh* was equal, though they alledge, that the ſeaſonable interpoſition of night probably ſaved the enemy from deſtruction. Nor is this at all impoſſible, conſidering the great ſuperiority of *Tromp*'s ſquadron, and his own ability, which was in no reſpect inferior to that of the *Engliſhman*. *Van Tromp*, in his letter to the ſtates general, reflects ſeverely on the inſolent carriage of *Blake*, which reduced him to the neceſſity of returning his fire; and alledges, that he bore two broadſides from the *Engliſh*, by which ſeveral perſons periſhed, before he gave the ſignal to engage. In proof of this, his biographer quotes a letter from the *Engliſh* admiral, in anſwer to a meſſage ſent by *Tromp* to demand the priſoners; and it muſt be confeſſed, that here *Blake* has ſhewn his high, untractable

[k] GUTHRIE's Hiſt. of Engl. book iii p. 1260.

ſpirit,

ſpirit, aſſuming to himſelf ſuch an air of ſuperiority as afforded ſuſpicion that he was the aggreſſor. It is however impoſſible to aſcertain the truth, except on preſumptive evidence, the accounts on both ſides being ſo diametrically oppoſite and contradictory [1].

The ſtates ſend an embaſſy to England.

In *London*, the news of this battle ſo exaſperated the populace, that they inſulted the *Dutch* ambaſſadors, who were forced to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appeaſe the public reſentment, by demonſtrating that *Tromp* had no orders to fight; that he ſtood only in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the groſs inſult offered. The ſtates likewiſe ſent *Adrian Pauw*, in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary, to confirm this allegation, by laying before the parliament *Van Tromp*'s letter to the ſtates, and likewiſe the inſolent anſwer he received from *Blake* before the battle. He conjured them to enquire diſpaſſionately into the particulars of the affair; aſſuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refuſed to compliment the *Engliſh* flag, he ſhould be puniſhed by the ſtates general for his preſumption. Certain it is, that now the *Dutch* ſincerely wiſhed an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to ſet on foot a negotiation; but poſſibly the boldneſs of *Blake* had ſhook their reſolution, and convinced them by this firſt trial, that *England* was not to be reduced to reaſon by violence. No regard was paid to the ambaſſador's remonſtrances; on the contrary, the government of *England* affected to ſlight, in the moſt contemptuous manner, the ſolemn aſſurances of the ſtates general, and to conſtrue their earneſtneſs of avoiding a rupture into dread of the *Engliſh* courage. *Cromwel* and *Bond* were ſent to *Dover* to encourage *Blake* and the ſeamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every neceſſary.

The Dutch *prepare for war.*

This conduct, and the orders iſſued for augmenting the navy with forty more ſail, could not be regarded by the ſtates general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared reſolution of coming to a rupture. In conſequence they recalled their ambaſſadors, and publiſhed a manifeſto, ſpecifying the injuries they had ſuſtained, which was anſwered by another from the parliament. Little ſtreſs can be laid on thoſe declarations, in which both ſides aſſert hardily, and ſuppreſs every circumſtance that reflects light on their real

[1] La vie de Cornel Van Tromp, p. 16.

intentions. Sufficient it is, that *Cromwel* poſſibly imagined it neceſſary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from conſidering the ambitious ſcheme of ſovereignty he had projected; and that the *Dutch*, grown rich by commerce, elated with proſperity, proud of liberty, and inſolently confident of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportunity of aſſerting an equality with the *Engliſh* commonwealth.

THE *Dutch* ambaſſadors having in their return met with *Van Tromp*, off *Ziriczee*, *Pauw* adviſed him to attack *Aſcough* on his way from *Barbadoes*, with three *Dutch* prizes richly laden. This meaſure was embraced, but diſconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which *Van Tromp*'s fleet was ſhattered and diſperſed, many ſhips not having been able to join him in the *Texel*, for ſeveral weeks after. *Van Galen*, however, was ſent with a ſquadron to the *Mediterranean*, to oppoſe in that ſea the *Engliſh* commodore *Bodely*. *Blake*, ever vigorous and alert, ſeized the opportunity of *Van Tromp*'s abſence, to aſſert his country's right to the *Britiſh* fiſhery. With this view he ſteered to the northward, attacked the *Dutch* fiſheries off *Shetland*, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but ſuffered the fiſhing buſſes to eſcape, on a promiſe never to return, without leave from the *Engliſh* parliament; an act of generoſity highly blamed by the hiſtorians of that country. *Van Tromp* purſued *Blake* to the north; but his ſquadron ſuffered a ſecond time in a hard gale, juſt as he had given the ſignal to engage, as if the elements had conſpired againſt the glory of this hero.

Van Galen *defeats* Bodely.

VAN Tromp's misfortunes rather animated, than diſcouraged the ſtates general. They promoted *de Ruyter*, afterwards ſo famous in hiſtory, to the command of a ſeperate ſquadron, conſiſting of fifty ſail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. *Ruyter* was of obſcure birth, and he had raiſed himſelf to diſtinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin-boy, unſupported by patronage, or thoſe ſpecious qualities which ſometimes ſecure the friendſhip of the great, to the undeſerving. He now firſt appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct ſoon juſtified the election of his countrymen. Near *Plymouth* he met with admiral *Aſcough*, with whom he began a furious canonading about four in the afternoon, alone ſuſtained the whole fire of the admiral and vice-admiral for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity diſengaged himſelf, joined the reſt of his ſquadron,

and

and renewed the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after moſt of their ſhips had exhauſted all their ammunition. *Aſcough* had a ſquadron little inferior to *de Ruyter*'s; he behaved with the utmoſt gallantry, was once ſurrounded with nine of his ſhips by the *Dutch*, extricated himſelf by a deſperate puſh, which broke the enemy, tore their ſhips, and gained the weather-gage; but ſtill he was conſtrained to confeſs his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerneſs, both ſides ſuffered extremely, and at laſt the ſquadrons ſeparated, as if by mutual conſent; on the third day, each admiral claimed victory, with almoſt equal juſtice. Both laboured under diſadvantages, *Aſcough* wanted ammunition, and *Ruyter*'s orders were diſobeyed, either from want of ſkill or courage in his officers; but the greateſt proof of the advantage gained by the *Dutch*, was, that the merchant-fleet under *Ruyter*'s conduct arrived untouched at *Amſterdam*, and the *Engliſh* took ſhelter in *Plymouth*. To this victory, if it may be called one, ſucceeded another, not leſs bloody, but more deciſive. *Van Galen* had attacked *Bodely* in the *Mediterranean*, and with great valour fought and defeated his ſquadron, though he loſt his life at the cloſe of the engagement [k]. DeRuyter *fights the* Engliſh.

MEANTIME *Ruyter* was under great perplexity. The laſt action, though upon the whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's ſkill, courage, and obſtinacy; while it afforded but too ſtrong conviction, of the want of diſcipline and valour among his own officers. He doubted not but *Blake*, with a ſuperior fleet, would revenge the cauſe of *Aſcough*; and that admiral's vigour and impetuoſity were evinced ſufficiently in the affair with *Van Tromp*. Under theſe apprehenſions, he acquainted the ſtates general with his ſituation, and the probability of his being ſoon attacked by the enemy's united ſquadrons. The ſtates immediately reſolved to ſend *Van Tromp* to take the chief command, and join *Ruyter* with a ſtrong reinforcement; but *Tromp*'s late undeſerved misfortunes, had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his conduct, the people had murmured againſt the event of his two laſt expeditions. The ruin of the herring fiſhery had excited commotions in *Zealand* and *Holland*; *Van Tromp* was like to fall the ſacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of underſtanding. *Tumults in* Holland.

[k] La vie de Ruyter, par Brandt, p. 52.

derſtanding. In deſpite of his ſervices in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the ſpace of fifteen years, it was with difficulty he could juſtify himſelf ſufficiently, to be retained in the command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raiſed him enemies in the ſtates general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public diſcontent was augmented by the great loſſes ſuſtained in trade, the *Engliſh* having taken and deſtroyed a fleet of forty ſail from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and ſix ſloops richly laden from the *Eaſt Indies*. Now *Van Tromp* was diveſted of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeaſed, and *de Ruyter* was removed to make way for admiral *de Wit*. Even this promotion did not give univerſal ſatisfaction, the ſailors loved their two gallant officers; and though they had the utmoſt confidence in their new leader, yet did they grumble at the ſacrifice made of two heroes to a faction. Thoſe who had ſet foot on ſhore, refuſed returning to their ſhips, unleſs half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mutinied againſt the orders iſſued to prevent their landing; all, in ſhort, refuſed to obey the inſtructions of the admiralty, and the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*. Vigorous meaſures were neceſſary to ſuppreſs a ſedition of ſuch dangerous conſequences. A party of ſoldiers was marched againſt the mutineers, who were forced on board, after leaving two of the ringleaders in the hands of the magiſtrates, who immediately gave orders for their execution. This ſtruck a terror into the ſeamen, and produced the deſired effect, the ſailors returned to their duty, and an amneſty was paſſed to ſecure their gratitude, by an act of kindneſs and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the ſubject of freſh diſputes, becauſe the provincial ſtates inſiſted, that the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* had uſurped their prerogative, by aſſuming the power of pardoning. It were eaſy indeed to juſtify the conduct of the magiſtrates, upon the principle of neceſſity. The exigency was preſſing: it would not admit of time to aſſemble the ſtates; yet after ſome altercation, they were obliged to make ſatisfaction, and acknowledge publickly that they had, in critical circumſtances, preſumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them [1].——One of the greateſt inconveniencies of a a republican government, where the variety of different rights and departments render them perplexed and dilatory.

[1] Basnage, p. 258.

In

In compliance with the humour of the ſeamen, and from a juſt ſenſe of his extraordinary merit, *Ruyter* was again reſtored, and aſſociated with *de Wit* in the command. Their fleets joined off *Dunkirk*, and it was conceived they ſhould ſail in queſt of the *Engliſh* admiral, the intrepid *Blake*, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this time the *Engliſh* admiral was returned from the north; and his fleet being refitted with aſtoniſhing diſpatch, he was ſteering in purſuit of the enemy. The vaſt booty he had taken in his late fortunate cruizes, ſerved only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired immenſe wealth without danger, he now reſolved to obtain glory, without the leaſt view to private advantage, or ſordid purpoſes. With theſe generous ſentiments on both ſides, the fleets came in ſight of each other; which determined *Ruyter* to make uſe of a ſtroke of policy, which, if improved by his collegue, might have been fatal to the *Engliſh*. He drew up behind a ſand-bank, in ſuch a manner as ſecured him from the larger *Engliſh* ſhips, and obliged *Blake* to attack with manifeſt danger and diſadvantage. The utility of this meaſure was apparent the moment the attack began. The enemy divided into three ſquadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the *Sovereign*, at the head, but this ſhip with three other firſt rates ſtruck upon the *Kentiſh Knocks*. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminiſhed the *Engliſh* ſtrength, *de Wit* abandoned his ſituation, and determined to engage on the open ſea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy, than if ſeparated from them by a mound. *Ruyter* objected to his propoſal; but *de Wit*, who had more ardor and courage than naval ſkill, purſued his own reſolution, and ſoon perceived his error. A furious battle was joined, during which the commanders on both ſides performed the moſt gallant actions; the ſailors too of each nation fighting with ſurpriſing courage and perſeverance. The *Engliſh* ſhips got off the bank, and *de Wit* found that he had made a falſe eſtimate of their ſtrength; but relying upon the ability of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of the ſeamen, he fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, until night ſeparated the combatants. Though the *Dutch* beheld with horror the ſlaughter made by the *Sovereign*, in which *Blake* fought in perſon, and though they were equally aſtoniſhed and abaſhed by the courage of the *Engliſh*, yet *de Wit* propoſed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the ſuperiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. *Ruyter*, however, better acquainted with the diſpoſition of

Another ſea fight.

The Dutch worſted in another ſea fight.

the *Engliſh*, oppoſed this reſolution, and both, at laſt, agreed to make all poſſible ſail for the coaſt of *Holland*, though they ſaw the enemy drawn up in line of battle. The *Dutch* rear-admiral was taken, but he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the captor ſunk ſoon after; another *Dutch* man of war was ſhattered to pieces, and ſunk by the Sovereign; their loſs was greater, but both ſides ſo artfully diſſembled this circumſtance, that to aſcertain the truth, at this diſtance of time, would be impoſſible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, but victory declared clearly in favour of the *Engliſh*, who not only offered battle next day, but purſued the *Dutch* with their frigates, until they run into the *Goree* [m].

Tumults in Holland.

In this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made againſt the captains and inferior officers. The admirals no ſooner touched the ſhore, than they accuſed their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers recriminated, by charging *de Wit* with miſconduct and raſhneſs, to which they attributed the loſs of their ſhipping. The ſtates endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and reſtore peace and unanimity. They perceived that *de Wit*'s ardor occaſioned his throwing blame on thoſe whoſe caution he conſtrued into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error aroſe from an exceſs of intrepidity, and a glorious reſolution of ſignalizing himſelf in the cauſe of his country; a ſpirit which, at this juncture, was rather to be cheriſhed than repreſſed. It was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cauſe of contention, and preſerve the utmoſt harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved ſucceſsful; never did there appear ſuch an univerſal ſpirit of revenge, and national honour; the crews of merchantmen offered their ſervices to the republic; and in a few weeks the loſſes ſuſtained from tempeſts and battles, were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, conſiſting of ſeventy-two fine ſhips of war. *Van Tromp* was reſtored to the command, both in juſtice to his reputation, and becauſe *de Wit* was confined by illneſs; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of 300 merchantmen to the *Lizard*. Between *Dover* and *Folkſtone* he deſcried the *Engliſh* fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war; he bore down; and *Blake*, with his uſual intrepidity, ſeized the occaſion of joining battle. On the 29th of *November* the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpreſſible fury, and continued to ſix in

[m] La vie de Ruyter, p. 58.

the

the evening. The firſt fire from the *Engliſh* admiral was ſuſtained by vice-admiral *Evertzon*, and *Ruyter*, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the moſt imminent danger, when *Van Tromp* came up to their relief. The ſcale was now turned againſt *Blake*, who found himſelf ſurrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuoſity, had he not fortunately been reſcued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, ſuſtained their whole fire, and carried the admiral out of danger. In the end, victory declared for the *Dutch* admiral; *Blake* was wounded, his own ſhip ſhattered, two others taken, as many burnt, and one ſunk; and this with the loſs only of one ſhip of the *Dutch* ſquadron, which was blown up by an accident. *Van Tromp*'s conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to ſay that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-top-maſt, intimating that he would ſweep the Channel clear of the *Engliſh*.

Van Tromp defeats the Engliſh admiral.

As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both had armaments in the *Mediterranean*, and the *Dutch* ſupplied the loſs of *Van Galen*, by appointing admiral *Cats*, an officer of merit, to the command of his ſquadron. On his arrival at *Leghorn*, *Cats* found that captain *Appleton*, with eight ſhips, had taken ſhelter in this neutral port. He deſired the duke of *Tuſcany* would withdraw his protection, and ſuffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open ſea. To this the duke anſwered, that he was at peace with *England* and *Holland*; both their ſquadrons were welcome to his ports; but hoſtilities committed there would be a groſs violation of the laws of nations, and the higheſt inſult to his ſovereignty. Not ſatisfied with this, *Cats* was preparing to attack the *Engliſh*, when, under cover of the night, *Appleton*, who was greatly inferior in ſtrength, quitted the port, and ſteered, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the *Dutch* were obliged to combat not only the open force of *England*, but the pirates of the *French* nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil diſorders of that country gave exiſtence to a ſwarm of privateers, who pillaged the ſhips of all nations without diſtinction, but chiefly of *Holland*, becauſe the trade of the republic was the moſt flouriſhing, and the ſhips the richeſt. M. *Boreel* had orders to complain to the *French* court, to demand redreſs, and to intimate that a ſtrong ſquadron was equipping to retaliate. At the ſame time admiral *Cats* had

inſtructions to clear the *Mediterranean* of privateers, and protect the *Dutch* commerce, without reſpect to the flag of neutral nations. *Cats* executed, perhaps exceeded his orders; for, after taking ſeveral privateers, he drew up before *Toulon*, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted *Dutch* captures to be carried to that harbour. The chriſtian king reſented the remonſtrance of *Boreel*, and was highly incenſed at the inſolent conduct of admiral *Cats*; but, unable to redreſs himſelf otherwiſe, he demanded payment from the ſtates general of ſeveral ſums due to his crown ſince the war between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. This demand was conteſted, as the money was advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties; and, after ſome ſharp altercation, dropped for the preſent [n].

NOTWITHSTANDING the late victory gained by *Van Tromp*, the ſucceſs of the *Dutch* arms was not anſwerable to the ſanguine expectations of the republic. The ſailors, accuſtomed to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the *Spaniards*, were diſappointed in not reaping the ſame emolument from their bloody diſputes with the *Engliſh*. Here fortune was various; they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their ſucceſſes were diminiſhed by the terrible ſlaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richeſt merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire ſtop was put to the beneficial herring-fiſhery, by which ſo many poor families were ſupported. This begot diſcontent, which ſoon produced faction and diſcord. One party demanded a ſtadtholder, and another remained fixed in their reſolution of oppoſing invariably the ambitious deſigns of the houſe of *Orange*. The former aſſerted, that the war could never be puſhed with vigour until a ſtadtholder directed the operations; and the other aſſerted, that the reſtoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults aroſe in *Zealand*, and in particular at *Middleburgh*, where the mob aſſembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the houſe of *Orange*. They were inſtigated by the clergy, the faſt friends of that family; and the diſorder came to ſo dangerous a height, that the magiſtrates of *Fluſhing*, *Middleburgh*, and other towns, were depoſed. Nothing was worn but the *Orange* livery, and there was no ſecurity in the ſtreets without a ſcarf of this colour. Neceſſity obliged the ſtates of *Zealand* to fall in with the humour of the people; beſides,

The populace in Zealand *demand a* ſtadtholder.

[n] BASNAGE, p. 284.

the influence of the houſe of *Orange* was ſo conſiderable in this aſſembly, that it was ſuppoſed their inclination likewiſe led them to repreſent the neceſſity of this meaſure to the ſtates of *Holland*. The infancy of the prince of *Orange* was, however, an objection to the propoſal; but this might be removed by ſubſtituting his couſin, the count *de Naſſau*, his lieutenant. Aware of the conſequences of popular commotions at ſo critical a juncture, the ſtates of *Holland* ſent four deputies to *Zealand*; but before their arrival at *Middleburgh*, the ſtates of *Zealand* had adjourned. They demanded that the aſſembly ſhould be convoked; the people, apprehenſive of the conſequences, oppoſed it, and beſieged the deputies in their houſes. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being ſacrificed to popular rage and fury [o].

WHEN the ſtates of *Zealand* again met, the deputies returned, under the eſcort of a party of ſoldiers, who conducted them ſafe to the aſſembly, and took poſſeſſion of the doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reaſon and oratory, to diſplay the fatal conſequences of veſting any ſingle perſon with the executive power, and the command of the ſea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran ſo high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the ſtates of *Zealand*, who appeared overawed by the people, and influenced by the family of *Orange*. They departed with a general anſwer, and happily eſcaped being inſulted by the people, who were brought into good humour by the reſolute behaviour of the ſtates. The diſpute now lay between the two provincial ſtates, and became ſo warm as to threaten a diſſolution of the union of *Utrecht*. As to the other provinces, they appeared divided among themſelves, ſome towns requiring one thing, ſome another, though a majority declared for a ſtadtholder, under limitations and reſtrictions, which were abſolutely rejected by the *Zealanders*. At length, as if by mutual agreement, theſe civil contentions ſubſided, and yielded to the general ardor for proſecuting the war with vigour, and oppoſing the formidable armament equipped by the *Engliſh* to revenge the late diſgrace.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year *Tromp* arrived in *Holland*, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and his gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the ſtates general. It was reſolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all poſſible diſ- A. D. 1653.

[o] Idem. p. 293.

patch.

patch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the beſt officers in the kingdom, *Monk* and *Dean*, aſſiſted *Blake* in the command. *Ruyter* was joined to *Tromp*, and they ſet ſail, to convoy through the Channel a vaſt fleet of merchantmen, homeward-bound. It was the intention of the *Engliſh* to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they ſteered towards the iſle of *Rhé*, where, on the 8th of *February*, they diſcovered by break of day the *Dutch* ſquadron. The fight began under *Blake* and *Dean*, ſeconded by twelve more ſhips, and the charge was furious, this ſmall diviſion ſtanding the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obſtinate: the honour of both nations depended; *Blake* ſought to retrieve the reputation he had loſt, and *Tromp* to maintain the laurels he had won in the laſt battle. Neither ſide would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days ſucceſſively; the ſea was covered with wrecks, the ſun obſcured with ſmoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful ſhouts and ſhrieks of the combatants, and the terrible thunder of the cannon. For whole hours the ſhips engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if nature had ſuſpended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmoſt exertions of ſkill and intrepidity on both ſides, *Tromp*, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in ſuch good order, that he ſeemed rather to decline the further effuſion of human blood, than yield the victory. His loſs, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thouſand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the *Engliſh* fleet was in ſo ſhattered a condition, as prevented the admiral's purſuing. Beſides, his loſs was nearly equal to the enemy's, and though he maintained his ſtation, he could not be ſaid to have gained a victory. The *Engliſh* however claimed it; and *Blake*, in his letter to the parliament, aſſerts, that, by the bleſſing of providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of priſoners. Bonefires were lighted in all the towns, and the *Dutch* priſoners conducted in triumph to *Canterbury*: yet, after all, it muſt be confeſſed that there was little cauſe for rejoicings, or any pretenſions to victory. *Van Tromp*'s fleet was inferior in number, as he was forced to leave one diviſion for the protection of the merchant-fleet, his powder and ſhot were exhauſted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: theſe were the reaſons for his retiring; and he had ſufficiently obtained his purpoſe, in fruſtrating the ſcheme of the *Engliſh*, to cruſh, at one blow, the

A ſea-fight continues for three days.

the *United Provinces*, by the total deſtruction of their commerce [p].

ON this occaſion, *Charles* king of *England* wrote to M. *Boreel*, requeſting, that the ſtates general would ſupply him with a ſquadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious ſubjects; but little regard was paid to this compliment, which promiſed no great utility to the republic. The ſtates preferred the thoughts of peace to propoſals from which nothing could be expected, beſides the fruitleſs honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thouſand difficulties, however, obſtructed this laudable ſcheme. The *Engliſh* were endeavouring to draw the queen of *Sweden* into an alliance againſt the republic, and *Van Buiningen* found that princeſs and her miniſters violently prejudiced againſt the *Dutch*, on his arrival in *Sweden*. He proceeded, however, to lay his inſtructions before the *Oxenſtierns*, father and ſon, repreſenting to them, that the treaties between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic engaged them mutually to ſupport each other's intereſts. The *Swedes* replied, that the *Dutch* were the aggreſſors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which the *Engliſh* ambaſſador had met with in *Holland*; an alliance purely defenſive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. *Buiningen* endeavoured to ſet the chancellor right in this particular, and oppoſed with all his might the intention of the court to ſend an embaſſy to *London*. He even threatened to quit *Sweden* if this reſolution was perſiſted in; but he was given to underſtand the queen was not to be directed where ſhe ſent, or to whom ſhe paid her compliments. All that the *Dutch* ambaſſador could obtain, was, a kind of promiſe that *Sweden* would obſerve a neutrality.

Negotiations with Sweden and Denmark.

FINDING all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitleſs, *Buiningen* turned his thoughts to the court of *Denmark*, where he promiſed himſelf more ſucceſs; becauſe it rarely happens but the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* embrace oppoſite intereſts. *Chriſtina*, jealous of his negotiations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with *England* and the republic. *Buiningen* liſtened to the propoſal, but at the ſame time privately purſued his application to the court of *Copenhagen*, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumſpection of the king and miniſtry.

[p] La vie de Tromp, p. 105.

Theſe

Theſe the *Dutchman* ſtrove to remove by a ſtratagem, which might have proved a ſevere blow to the *Engliſh* commerce. A fleet of above twenty ſhips of that nation was then to return from the *Baltic*, laden with naval ſtores. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the *Dutch* ſquadron cruiſing in the *Sound*, the captains deſired permiſſion of the king to ſhelter themſelves in the harbour of *Copenhagen*. Leave was accordingly granted, and the *Dutch* envoy had influence enough over the ſovereign, and ſo thorough a knowledge of his prevalent paſſion, avarice, that he perſuaded the king to ſeize the ſhips, and confiſcate their cargoes; hoping by this means to produce an irreconcileable breach between *Denmark* and *England*. Some writers indeed charge the whole tranſaction on the king's own perfidy and avarice; but *Baſnage* affirms, and circumſtances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the perſuaſion of the *Dutch* envoy. The ſpirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the *Daniſh* monarch of the fruits of treachery; an *Engliſh* ſquadron appeared in the *Baltic*, and ſoon forced him to make reſtitution; which at the ſame time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. *Chriſtina* likewiſe co-operated to fruſtrate the propoſed alliance, and uſed every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end, M. *Keiſer*, the *Dutch* envoy, who ſucceeded *Buningen*, ſurmounted every obſtruction, and finiſhed the treaty with *Frederick* III. In conſequence, the king ſtipulated to equip 20 ſhips of war, and the ſtates general to pay an annual ſubſidy of 180,000 rixdollars. The treaty was offenſive and defenſive, it being agreed, that neither party ſhould conclude peace without the conſent of the other; and the *Dutch* drew this advantage from it, that the *Engliſh* were excluded the benefit of trading to the *Baltic*, and of buying up ſupplies of naval ſtores, the king of *Denmark* having the abſolute command of the *Sound*, and of courſe of the *Baltic*. In other reſpects the alliance proved uſeleſs; for the king was ſo apprehenſive of his own coaſts, that he would never permit his ſhips of war to join the *Hollanders*, or proceed to any diſtance againſt the common enemy, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances and complaints of his allies[a]. A number of other circumſtances likewiſe contributed to deſtroy the expected effects; but we ſhall avoid mentioning them, as they will more properly be recited in the hiſtory of *Denmark*.

Treaty with Denmark.

[a] Basnage, p. 301.

Such

SUCH was the ſituation of the republic with reſpect to the *North*, when *Cromwel* rejected the propoſed mediation of the crown of *Sweden*, when it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aſide; however, the univerſal diſcontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of M. *de Wit* to the office of penſionery of *Holland*, in the room of M. *Pauw* deceaſed, made great changes in the politics of *Holland*. M. *de Wit* was the ſon of that burgomaſter of *Dordrecht*, impriſoned by the prince of *Orange*. He was the ſtaunch friend of liberty, a perſonal enemy to the houſe of *Orange*, and a ſtrenuous advocate for peace with *England*, which he knew to be the moſt effectual method of curbing the ambition of this family, and ſilencing the public clamours for a ſtadtholder. On his firſt coming into the adminiſtration, he applied diligently to carry this important point, and to finiſh a war which anſwered no purpoſe but exhauſting the finances, and ruining the commerce. For the greater ſecurity, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiouſly keep ſecret the propoſitions he was about to make; after which he propoſed entering upon a negotiation with the parliament of *England*, without imparting the deſign to the other provinces. *Holland* ſupported the great burthen of the war; it was therefore but reaſonable this province ſhould have a principal ſhare in negotiating a peace; but it was neceſſary to take ſome ſteps, before the deſign ſhould meet with obſtruction from the other provinces. *De Wit*'s propoſition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on M. *Doleman*'s ſhewing letters which he had received from general *Monk*, aſſuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of *London*. *Leyden* alone oppoſed the meaſure, urging that it was a groſs violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but this objection was ſuperſeded, and the ſtates of *Holland* wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, ſhould employ their whole force in deſtroying each other. "What a triumph would "this be to the enemies of the reformation, and to thoſe "who hoped to lay the foundation of a naval power on "the deſtruction of the maſters of the ocean." A variety of other reflections were added; and the ſtates concluded with requeſting, that the parliament would pleaſe to appoint the time and place for a negotiation; otherwiſe they muſt commit their cauſe to providence, and leave the event of a juſt and neceſſary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to puniſh that pride and ambition which ſhould occaſion the

De Wit *made penſionery.*

Negotiations for a peace with England.

effuſion

effuſion of ſo much chriſtian blood. All the *Dutch* writers unanimouſly deny, that the republic ſupplicated peace at this time, as is aſſerted by the *Engliſh* hiſtorians; they propoſed it indeed, but ſpoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whoſe moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them deſirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both ſides were loſers. They deny that any letter was ever ſent to *Lenthal* the ſpeaker, ſuch as afterwards was privately handed about, under the title of, *The humble ſupplication of the ſtates of* Holland, *praying the* Engliſh *parliament to grant peace*[r]. This, they alledge, was an artifice of *Cromwel*'s, and an impudent forgery to anſwer his own particular deſigns upon the parliament. It is, however, a ſtrong argument in favour of what the *Engliſh* writers relate, that no reaſon can be aſſigned why *Cromwel* ſhould take the trouble of ſuch a forgery, as it was certainly his intereſt that the war ſhould go on, the army become neceſſary, and the legiſlative power ſubject to the executive; which accordingly happened about this time. Some *Dutch* writers alſo inſinuate, that *Cromwel*, when this negotiation was ſet on foot, tampered with the envoys about a treaty with the ſtates againſt the parliament. An inſinuation that has not the leaſt ſhadow of probability; for now *Cromwel* and the army had actually diſſolved the old parliament, and ſubſtituted a wrong-headed ſet of fanatics, entirely at their devotion, as a nominal legiſlature. The truth is, the ſtates of *Holland* wiſhed for peace, *de Wit* propoſed it, and the letter we have mentioned was ſent; but the republic was not yet ſufficiently humble to talk in the petitionary ſtile of that ſupplication mentioned by the *Engliſh*; it was not before the death of her brave admiral, and the deſtruction of her fleet, after the moſt obſtinate and bloody battle recorded in hiſtory, that ſhe had recourſe to prayers, entreaties, and the clemency of the council of ſtate: but as this event happened nearly about the ſame time, authors have confounded the dates, and miſtaken the petition to *Cromwel* and his council, for the letter addreſſed to *Lenthal*, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. This, however, we muſt allow, that the ſtates appointed three deputies, *Beverning*, *Nieuport*, and *Vander Peter*, to negotiate a treaty with *Cromwel*, without conſulting the parliament; but before the embaſſy ſet out, or the inſtructions were drawn up, admiral *Tromp*, with above 90 ſhips of war, fell in with an *Engliſh* fleet of the ſame number, but greatly ſu-

Miſtake of the Dutch *writers.*

[r] GUTHRIE, tom. iii. lib. iii.

perior

perior in ſize and weight of metal, under the command of *Monk*, *Dean*, *Penn*, and *Lawſon*. Before he ſet ſail, he complained of the inequality of his ſtrength, the chief part of his fleet conſiſting of light merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To ſhew his obedience and deſire of ſerving his country, *Tromp* accepted the command; but acquainted the ſtates that he could not anſwer for the conſequences of a battle. His remonſtrance produced a reſolution to equip with all expedition a ſquadron of thirty large ſhips; but before this armament was got ready, *Tromp's* fate, and that of the republic, were decided. His inſtructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to eſcort back to *Holland* another fleet of near 300 trading veſſels. This commiſſion he executed with ſo much addreſs, that not a ſingle ſhip fell into the enemies hands, though he was cloſely purſued to the height of *Aberdeen*. Piqued at their diſappointment, the *Engliſh* reeked their vengeance on a fleet of fiſhing-boats, and ſpread terror along the coaſts of *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, determined upon retribution, ſailed for the *Downs* to fight the enemy; but not finding them in that ſtation, after ſuſtaining a warm fire from *Dover* caſtle, he ſailed for the coaſt of *Flanders*, where the *Engliſh* fleet was deſcried. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interpoſed. *Dean* was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loſs was concealed with admirable preſence of mind, and the battle renewed next day with freſh vigour. *Lawſon* charged with the blue ſquadron, conſiſting of forty ſtout ſhips, with ſuch impetuoſity as forced the *Dutch* line, and would have taken *de Ruyter's* ſhip, had he not ſeaſonably been relieved by *Van Tromp*, who pierced thro' the thickeſt of the enemies fire to his aſſiſtance. *Tromp* was engaged by *Monk*, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loſs they ſuſtained amidſt impenetrable clouds of ſmoke. At laſt ammunition failed, and the *Dutch* gradually ſlackened fire, and at laſt withdrew, all *Tromp's* menaces and perſuaſions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury ſunk beneath the well-conducted ardor of the *Engliſh*, the weight of whoſe metal gave them great advantages. *Tromp* had been twice taken, but his own and *de Ruyter's* bravery reſcued him; ſix of his beſt ſhips were ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; yet only the want of ammunition, and of ſpirit in his captains, prevented his renewing the fight,

Another ſea-fight, in which the Dutch *are defeated.*

and accepting the cartel offered next day by the *Engliſh*. All the *Engliſh* hiſtorians agree that the *Dutch* ſlackened fire and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night ſeparated the combatants, and poſſibly ſaved the *Dutch* fleet from entire deſtruction, as it furniſhed *Tromp* with the opportunity of taking ſhelter behind the banks of *Wielingen*, where he could not be purſued.

Complaints of the Dutch *admirals.*

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the *Texel*, until the *Dutch* fleet aſſembled at *Fluſhing*, from whence *Tromp* and *Ruyter* ſent remonſtrances to the ſtates of the inequality of their ſtrength. They deſired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ſhips, and alſo that ſtore-ſhips might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had cauſed the loſs of the two laſt battles. They deſired payment of the ſeamens wages, a recompence for the wounded, and rewards for thoſe who had ſignaliſed themſelves. *Ruyter*, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet was augmented with large ſhips; and vice-admiral *de Wit* expreſſed himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner in the aſſembly of the ſtates of *Holland*; "Why," ſays he, "ſhould I conceal from you, who are my ſove-"reigns, that the *Engliſh* are our maſters, and conſequently "lords of the ocean?" The ſtates promiſed to pay due regard to the remonſtrances, and immediately ſent to the other provinces, to borrow a ſum ſufficient for equipping thirty firſt-rate ſhips, for which the admiralty had orders to provide ſeamen, ſtores, rigging, and other neceſſaries, and to be directed in thoſe particulars by *Tromp*, *Ruyter*, and *de Wit*.

Tumults in different parts of Holland.

YET could not theſe vigorous reſolutions appeaſe the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with conſternation, on ſeeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, ſhattered, and blocked up in their harbours. *Van Tromp*'s complaints, and the inſtigation of the *Orange* party, encreaſed the popular diſcontent; and it was inſinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force ſent againſt the enemy, only to ſhew the neceſſity of making peace upon any conditions[o]. To this, the negotiation entered upon with *Cromwel*, by *Buiningen*, added fuel, and the flame now burſt out with ſuch violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the houſe of *Orange* durſt not preſume to mention peace, for fear of exaſperating the people; and the ſtates, contrary to

[o] La vie de Tromp, p. 105.

inclination,

inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the beſt means of appeaſing the public diſcontent, and obtaining reaſonable terms from the enemy.

BUT what chiefly excited public commotions, was the oppoſition made by *de Wit* and the *Louveſtein* party to the creation of a ſtadtholder. This faction wiſhed for a peace, or the protection of *France*, and the friendſhip of *England*; they were conſequently enemies to the houſe of *Stuart*; but *Van Tromp* was popular, he eſpouſed the houſe of *Orange*, wiſhed for a ſtadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon ſuch a footing as would give ſome chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular diſcontent. The young prince of *Orange* was to return from *Breda*, and the children at the *Hague* formed themſelves into companies, with *Orange* ſtandards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young ſoldiers ſeparated at night, and retired quietly to their ſeveral houſes; however, that they might not entirely loſe the expences beſtowed in colours, ſtandards, and military enſigns, they aſſembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magiſtrates gave orders they ſhould be chaſtiſed; their parents flew to the aſſiſtance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the houſe of M. *de Wit*, whom they imagined the moſt violent enemy of the houſe of *Orange*. The tumult could not be ſuppreſſed without application to military force. A party of ſoldiers was called in, and crouds of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into priſon. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was neceſſary to keep ſtrong guards in the towns, to awe the multitude, who threatened deſtruction to all government. At *Sluys* all precautions proved fruitleſs; the herring-fiſhers, incenſed at their being deprived of bread by the *Engliſh*, took arms, ſeized on the arſenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and ſhut the gates againſt *Brederode*, mareſchal of the camp, ſent by the ſtates to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous diſorder. In this ſituation ſtood affairs for ſeveral days, without any poſſibility of gaining admittance into the town. At laſt a happy ſtratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the moſt fatal conſequences. A meſſenger from the ſtates came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a ſpecial commiſſion, upon which he was introduced

to the town-houſe, and the people were ſummoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houſes and poſts, eager to hear the propoſitions; and while the meſſenger was, in a loud voice, reading a paper he held in his hand, nine companies of foot ſeized on the gates, entered the town, took priſoners the ringleaders, without reſiſtance, and terrified the inhabitants into ſubmiſſion before they had exchanged a blow. Some of the ſeditious gave out that deſigns were formed upon their privileges; but their voice was drowned in the general conſternation, and the aſſurances given by the chief officer, that nothing more was intended than to reſtore the public tranquillity [t].

THIS tumult was no ſooner ſuppreſſed, than another appeared in the *Texel*, where the count *de Naſſau* arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in *England* againſt this iſland and the *Brille*. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crouds of men and women went to meet him, ſtrewing the way with flowers. Theſe honours ſhewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of aſſembling ſome troops without their orders, gave umbrage to the ſtates of *Holland*; who beheld with ſurpriſe the authority he aſſumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, diſplayed by the count ſatisfied the ſtates; for he retired upon finding his preſence had given offence, and aſſured the ſtates, that his intention was only to animate and rouſe the drooping ſpirits of the people, terrified at the thoughts of an invaſion.

THESE tumults had one very unexpected conſequence. It inſpired the magiſtrates of *Haerlem* with the reſolution of electing a ſtadtholder. They accordingly inſtructed their penſionery to lay before the ſtates their determination, to deſire their concurrence, and to aſſure them it would not be long poſſible to withſtand the eagerneſs of the people in favour of the houſe of *Orange*. The ſtates were ſurpriſed at ſeeing a penſionery impriſoned by the late prince of *Orange*, charged with inſtructions which they believed inconſiſtent with his principles, and demanding the reeſtabliſhment of a ſtadtholder. But his conduct ſoon effaced their ſuſpicions. He communicated his inſtructions to M. *de Wit* before he laid them before the ſtates, and was ſo convinced by the arguments of that able ſtateſman, that he changed his ſentiments, and prevailed on the magiſtrates of *Haerlem* to drop their intention.

[t] BASNAGE, p. 308.

THE

THE *Zealanders* were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. The preceding year they had demanded a stadtholder, persuading themselves they would be supported by the states of *Friseland* and *Groningen*. They even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year; but the address of *de Wit*, and the firm opposition of the states of *Holland* frustrated all the endeavours of the *Zealanders*. But to enter justly into the politicks of *Holland*, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of *England*, and the intrigues of *Cromwel*. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power in the hands of *Cromwel*, and the council of state. *Beverning*, and the other *Dutch* deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace; but his behaviour was always supercilious, and his answers equivocal. Notwithstanding this, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence, than *Cromwel*'s agents insinuated, that the *Dutch* were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negotiation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the *Hollanders* consented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, *Nieuport*, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in *Scotland*; concluding that *Cromwel* proposed treating the republic as the parliament had done the *Scottish* nation. It was *Cromwel*'s design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismission of *Van Tromp*, whom he knew to be a strenuous partizan of the house of *Orange*. He therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the *Dutch* consented to the union proposed, an immediate cessation of hostilities would ensue, a free trade be restored, and the privileges of fishing adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the *United Provinces*. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negotiation as ideal; but what proves its reality, is the advice sent to the states by the commissioners, of all the proceedings with *Cromwel*'s agent, and the consequences of that notion, which had almost defeated the whole design. The correspondence was discovered by the *Orange* faction; and *Cromwel* concluding it

The Zealanders renew their clamours for a stadtholder.

Cromwel's politics.

could not be long kept ſecret in *England*, where it might ruin him with his party, aſſumed a more ſevere brow, and next time he met the commiſſioners, declared, that ſuch was the ſituation of affairs in *Holland*, that *England* could have no ſecurity in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commiſſioners received from the council of ſtate an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms: That the two republics ſhould coaleſce, the whole united dominions be ſubject to one government, compoſed of the natives of both countries, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be to their mutual advantage; and that each ſhould, without any diſtinction, enjoy the ſame privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the reſpective countries, as to houſes, lands, poſſeſſions, commerce, fiſhing, and every other particular. Such was the ſcheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if poſſible, they would have eſtabliſhed over the face of the whole earth[u]. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that the propoſal was highly reſented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the ſcheme of an enthuſiaſt. Without, however, giving *Cromwel* a definitive anſwer, they acquainted the ſtates of *Holland* with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for further inſtructions.

A ſea-fight.

It was during this ſuſpence, that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a ſpeedy iſſue. After the laſt action *de Wit* and the *Dutch* government made ſurpriſing efforts to recover the ſevere blow then received, and put the fleet in a more reſpectable footing than before. Several large ſhips were added, and all more completely manned and provided; every pretext for quitting the ſervice was taken from *Van Tromp* and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred ſail of fine veſſels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the ſailors, their pay was doubled, the ſhips were crowded with volunteers of the firſt faſhion, and nothing leſs was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to ſcreen themſelves in their harbours. Young *Van Tromp*, who had deſtroyed an *Engliſh* man of war in the *Streights*, and diſtinguiſhed his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his ſquadron, and every meaſure puſhed to the utmoſt, to oblige the haughty uſurper to liſten to reaſonable propoſals. The enemy ſtill blocked up the *Texel*,

[u] SMOLLET, tom. iii. GUTHRIE, tom. iii. BASNAGE, p. 312.

coaſts of *Holland* were beſieged, and the harbours ſo rowly watched, that all the merchantmen fell into the ıds of the *Engliſh*. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to ige them to retire, as they equally diſtreſſed trade and government, by exciting clamours among the people, o exclaimed, that they were ſacrificed to the treachery of ſtates, and cowardice of the naval officers, a reflection t was pointed at the heads of thoſe captains who had ın accuſed of negligence in the laſt engagement. The *tch* armament was now in two diviſions, under *Van Tromp* l *de Wit*, in different harbours; and the great difficulty ş, how to effect a junction, without being ſeparately at-ked by the enemy. Before they ſet ſail, great debates ſe in the ſtates, concerning the inſtructions to be given ir admirals. Some oppoſed venturing another engage-nt, and urged it would be ſufficient to convoy the home-d-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from *India*, ich would enable the republic to equip ſuch a navy as enemy could not preſume to face: others preſſed hard an engagement, affirming that the public murmurs were y to be ſilenced by the din of war, and the roaring cannon; a victory, they ſaid, would infallibly reſtore ce and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and *Tromp* had orders to fight, the firſt opportunity. With hty-five ſail this admiral ſteered along the coaſt of *Zea-d*, and on the 31ſt of *July* diſcovered the *Engliſh* fleet, ıſiſting of ninety-four fine ſhips, under the conduct of *mk*, *Lawſon*, and *Penn*, at the diſtance of five miles a-ıd. By the ſhifting of the wind, the enemy gained the ather-gage, which determined *Van Tromp* to avoid an ;agement, make all poſſible ſail for the *Texel*, and there ı the diviſion commanded by *de Wit* and *Ruyter*: happily him a ſtorm aroſe which prevented the *Engliſh* from cing him to an engagement, and he embraced the op-tunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now mented to one-hundred-and-twenty ſail, with which he ceeded in queſt of the *Engliſh*, deſcried them on the h of *Auguſt* between *Scheveling* and the *Meuſe*, and im-diately gave the ſignal for battle. *Tromp* took his ſtation the right, *Ruyter* led the left, *Evertzen* was in the center, l the command of the rear was aſſigned to *de Wit*. At en in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal lor, within ſight of the ſhore, which was crouded with ıabitants, eager to be ſpectators of an action, which ›uld determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved th wonderful addreſs, and fought with ſuch prudent and

ſubdued courage as never before appeared in any ſea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired inceſſantly; the ſea was covered with blood, and wrecks of ſhips, either burnt or ſhattered to pieces. *Tromp*, agreeable to cuſtom, pierced the enemies line, and put it in confuſion; but, on his return, encountered admiral *Goodſon*; here he was ſurrounded by the enemies ſhips, and deſerted by his own; but he fought with ſuch deſperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately ſhot dead with a muſket-ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the quarter-deck[w]. His laſt words were, *Take courage, my boys, I have run my courſe with glory.* *Brederode* took the command, concealed the admiral's death from the reſt of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the ſucceſſor of the brave *Van Tromp*. The *Dutch* fire-ſhips made great havock among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the diviſions commanded by *Lawſon* and *Ruyter*. At laſt the *Dutch* admiral's ſhip was ſhattered to pieces, ſhe was towed out of the line, and *Ruyter*, ſhifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle. But all his efforts could not reſtore the ſpirits of the ſeamen. It was now known that *Tromp* was dead, and an univerſal deſpondency ſucceeded, as if victory depended wholly upon his arm; ſeveral ſhips ſell back from the line, the whole was in confuſion, a rout enſued, and terrible ſlaughter of men, and deſtruction of ſhips. Agreeable to the beſt atteſted accounts the *Dutch* loſt twenty-ſix men of war, four thouſand men were killed, and two thouſand taken priſoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors ſaved from being ſwallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchaſed at a high price. Moſt of the *Engliſh* ſhips were diſabled, ſome were entirely deſtroyed; they had ſix hundred men killed, and near a thouſand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in ſo wretched plight as to be unable to purſue the blow, and deſtroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The *Dutch* indeed aſſert, that the loſſes were nearly equal; but the conſequence demoſtrated that they were defeated. The *United Provinces* were overwhelmed with grief and conſternation, while every town in *England* blazed with bonefires, and rung with rejoicings. The loſs of *Tromp* was alone ſufficient cauſe of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the univerſality of the

Tromp killed.

Dutch defeated.

[w] La vie de Tromp, p. 152.

deſpondency

deſpondency evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and deteſted by one party, as he was adored by another (A).

THE republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the *Texel*; but they reſolved to profit by it. The *Engliſh* fleet withdrew from the coaſts of *Holland*, in conſequence of the late battle, and *Ruyter* was now ordered to convoy a vaſt fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This proſpect of reviving commerce fortified the *Dutch* againſt every misfortune, and the flattering promiſes of cardinal *Mazarin* inſpired them with courage, under the preſſure of a ſignal defeat, to diſpute the terms preſcribed by *England* before the laſt battle. Yet *Cromwel* was appriſed how impoſſible it was for the *Dutch* government to continue the war, while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a ſtadtholder. All their preparations gave no diſturbance to the penetrating uſurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotions among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that ſeemed to warm every breaſt, and the appointment of the celebrated *Opdam*, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceaſed *Tromp*. If he regained the advantages which *Mazarin* had lately acquired over the ballance of *Europe*, he was ſenſible that all his other wiſhes would follow. The ſtates perceived his deſign; they knew his ability, perſeverance, and courage. They ſaw his great preparations, and reſolved to anticipate conſequences. Accordingly two deputies were diſpatched to *London*, with orders, however, poſitively to reject the ſcheme of union propoſed by *Cromwel*. When *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jonqueſtal*, had laid their inſtructions before the council of ſtate, they were agreeably ſurpriſed to find *Cromwel* relax conſiderably with reſpect to the coalition of the two nations, and in ſome other ſevere demands; particularly as to the right of fiſhing upon the *Britiſh* coaſts: but

The ſituation of Holland *after this defeat.*

(A) No ſooner did the fleet arrive in port, than the ſtates ordered *Ruyter* and *Evertzen* to attend, in order to be minutely informed of the circumſtances of the engagement, and the ſtate of the loſſes. From the examination which paſſed on this occaſion, it was obvious, that the *Dutch* believed all their officers had not performed their duty, though the public thanks of the aſſembly were returned to *Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and other admirals, for their gallant behaviour; and they were exhorted to continue their ſervices, with the ſame zeal, intrepidity, and fidelity, they had hitherto diſplayed.

two very diſagreeable articles were now added, *viz.* that the ſtates ſhould engage to exclude the prince of *Orange* from all the employments held by his anceſtors, eſpecially thoſe of ſtadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the republic to a certain number of ſhips, not to be exceeded without leave from *England*. Theſe points were diſputed by the commiſſioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with reſpect to the article regarding the prince of *Orange*, they deſired leave to lay the ſtate of the negotiation before their conſtituents; for which purpoſe *Beuning* returned to *Holland*.

A. D. 1654. *Peace propoſed and obſtructed by a variety of difficulties.*

PEACE with *England* was the wiſh of every diſpaſſionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the ſtates general. The *Zealanders*, however, ſtill inſiſted on the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſtadtholder, and a cloſe union with *France*, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a ſhort time to the neceſſity of relaxing in the rigid conditions preſcribed; but *Holland* conſtantly oppoſed this meaſure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic. The ſtates general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with the *Engliſh*. They were aware of the inconveniencies under which a republican government laboured in all diſputes with a deſpotic enemy. *Cromwel*, though his ſituation in the ſupreme power was unſteady and irkſome, yet managed with ſuch addreſs, as to acquire an abſolute authority. The legiſlative and executive power being veſted in the ſame perſon, action was as quick as thought, and the meaſure no ſooner dictated, than it was executed with the promptneſs peculiar to monarchy; for in this light *England* was now to be regarded. Beſides the inability of bringing the war to a happy iſſue, they were ſenſible of the inconveniences of the attempt, which would be violently oppoſed by a ſtrong party, unleſs their favourite views of reſtoring the ſtadtholderſhip were indulged. In a word, they had a moral certainty, that the proſecution of the war could only terminate in the ruin of the finances; in the deſtruction of commerce, and the harmony of the people, without a ſingle counterpoiſing advantage. It was upon this account, the return of *Beuning*, with propoſals of peace, gave great ſatisfaction; and the excluſive article reſpecting the houſe of *Orange*, was kept a profound ſecret. The myſterious behaviour attending this article, gave riſe to an opinion that it was ſupported, if not originally propoſed

poſed by the penſioner *de Wit*; but when the affair came to be publickly known, he cleared himſelf of this accuſation, and proved that peace was to be purchaſed on no other condition [h].

WHEN the commiſſioners arrived at the *Hague*, they found the ſtates diſpoſed to accept peace, even with this limitation, provided *Cromwel* would relax in the article which reſtricted the number of ſhipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however the conſent of the other provinces was abſolutely neceſſary, though the negotiation had been ſet on foot without their knowledge. As the ceremony of aſſembling all the provincial ſtates would be tedious, the ſtates of *Holland* ſent *Beverning* back in the ſame frigate which had brought him from *England*, that the ardor of *Cromwel* for peace might not cool, or any obſtruction be thrown in the way of the negotiation. This meaſure gave offence to the other provinces, who thought themſelves entitled to an equal ſhare in the conduct of this important affair. They accuſed the ſtates of *Holland* of an infraction of the treaty of *Utrecht*, by ſeparating themſelves from the other provinces in the cloſe, as they had done in the commencement of the negotiation; and *Beverning* was regarded in *England*, not as the ambaſſador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he had been only a few days abſent, the court of *Cromwel* put on a new appearance, and the general voice of the nation ſeemed to declare for the proſecution of the war. *Thurloe* complained, that the *Dutchman* was in no character, had no inſtructions, credentials, retinue, or compliment, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation; and *Beverning* deſired that this might be imputed to the earneſt deſire of the ſtates, to loſe no opportunity of promoting peace, and ſtopping the effuſion of blood, and deſtruction of the human ſpecies.

IT was, perhaps, a lucky circumſtance for the *Hollanders*, that *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, endeavoured by all poſſible intrigues to thwart the negotiation. *Cromwel*, who had his deſigns upon *Spain*, propoſed no advantage to that court, from the ruin of the trade and navigation of the *United Provinces*. The *Spaniard* offered large ſubſidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that *Dunkirk* would be put into his hands, if he continued the war. He doubted not but ſuch propoſitions would prove flattering to *Cromwel*'s pride; but he

[h] BASNAGE, p. 329.

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was miſtaken. The protector amuſed with *Spain*, only to procure the better terms from *Holland*, and demonſtrate to the republic, that he could ballance the alliance of *France*, by oppoſing to that nation the whole power of the *Spaniſh* monarchy.

WHILE matters were in this train, commiſſioners were appointed in *Holland*, to examine the propoſitions brought by *Beverning*; but after they had reduced them to tolerable order, and made them conſiſtent with the articles drawn up at the *Hague*, *St. John* and *Strickland*, the *Engliſh* envoys, raiſed up freſh difficulties. New inſtructions were ſent to *Beverning*, and he had orders to ſolicit the ratification ſettled at the *Hague*, and have it inſerted in the treaty; and at length, the provinces finding that *Spain* had made overtures to *Cromwel*, determined to veſt *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jongſtal*, with the character of ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The chief remaining difficulty, was the excluſion of the prince of *Orange*, without which *Cromwel* declared he could think no engagements with the ſtates ſecure. The ambition of that houſe, and their connections with the *Stuarts*, would always give diſturbance to the republic, and *England*, unleſs the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of ever filling the offices held by his anceſtors. So little hope was there, that the provinces in general would ever be brought to conſent to this article, that it was religiouſly concealed from *Jongſtal*, who was a *Friſelander*, and tranſacted between *Cromwel* and *Beverning*, the latter promiſing in the name of the ſtates of *Holland*, that they would never conſent to the elevation of the prince to the ſtadtholderſhip. *Cromwel* thought himſelf ſecure of the republic, once he obtained the promiſe of *Holland*, the moſt wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that *Holland* alone could not reſiſt the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union, and expoſing the republic to the moſt dreadful calamities of a civil war: if they ſtrenuouſly perſevered in having a ſtadtholder, *Holland* muſt yield, or the republic muſt fall; and poſſibly it formed a part of the protector's policy, to light the ſparks of civil diviſion, by which he might be able to extend his own influence over the whole [1].

AT length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were ſigned by the *Dutch* ambaſſadors; that the re-

[1] Idem. ibid. LE CLERC, tom. ii.

public ſhould in no ſhape aſſiſt, aid, or abet, the houſe of *Stuart*, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that her ſhips ſhould pay the required compliment to the *Britiſh* flag; that due puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the cruel perpetrators of the horrid maſſacre at *Amboyna* [k]; that eighty five thouſand pounds ſhould be paid to the *Engliſh*, as an indemnification of their loſſes; that the iſland of *Poliron* ſhould be reſtored to the *Eaſt India* company; and that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to *London*, to adjuſt farther particulars, relative to the tragical affair in the *Eaſt Indies*, for which reaſonable ſatisfaction had never yet been made to *England*. The ratification immediately ſucceeded the ſigning the treaty; but now the myſtery between *Cromwel* and the provinces of *Holland* was to appear, with reſpect to the excluſion of the prince of *Orange*. Some writers aſſert, that the ſecret lay between *Cromwel*, *de Wit*, and *Beverning*, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment when it was mentioned by the penſioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of *Cromwel* vindicated the conduct of the penſioner. His envoys told the ſtates, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they choſe peace or war; either was in their option: ſuch was the protector's categorical anſwer. *De Wit* enlarged upon the ſubject, with all the arguments of reaſon and rhetoric, he ſhewed the neceſſity of peace, and the impoſſibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a ſolemn act was paſſed, whereby the prince of *Orange* was excluded the ſtadtholderſhip, and the other high offices, held with ſo much dignity by his anceſtors. This act of excluſion was ſent to *England*; but *de Wit*, foreſeeing it would one day involve his country in civil diſſenſion, charged the ambaſſadors to make one laſt effort to ſatisfy *Cromwel*, by a general treaty, without particularizing the excluſion of the prince of *Orange*; but all remonſtrances on this head proved fruitleſs. The act was no leſs neceſſary to the politicks of *Oliver*, with reſpect to the *Stuart* family, than to the completion of his triumph over the houſe of *Orange*, and the republic of the *United Provinces*. In this manner was peace concluded; ſigned, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foun-

Conditions of peace, whereby the prince of Orange *is excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip.*

[k] Vid. Hiſt. of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, Vol. x. Univerſal Hiſtory.

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dation of thoſe unhappy diviſions, which had almoſt involved the provinces in ruin.

THOUGH the excluſion-act was kept as profound as could poſſibly be expected, where the affair was entruſted to the diſcretion of near one hundred different perſons, yet it could not be long concealed from the Princeſs Governante of *Orange*, who was ſo deeply intereſted. It even took air in the cities, and occaſioned ſome popular commotions at the *Hague*. No ſooner was the princeſs acquainted with this article of the treaty, than ſhe preſented a ſtrong remonſtrance to the ſtates general, ſigned by herſelf, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. There they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority poſſeſſed with ſo much glory and advantage to the republic, by his anceſtors. They repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the violence offered to the treaty of *Utrecht*, the privileges of the other ſix provinces, and particularly the inſult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the ſex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightineſſes to interpoſe in behalf of the infant, and prevent ſo groſs an affront to a child of his birth, expectations, and promiſing qualities, the repreſentative of thoſe heroes who had ſpilt their blood in the glorious cauſe of liberty, and defence of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded with obſerving the applauſes which ſuch an act of juſtice would meet with from the world and their own conſciences, the unhappy conſequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as ſoon as the prince was of ſufficient age to thank his protectors. To the ſame purpoſe was a letter ſent to the ſtates by his electoral highneſs of *Brandenburgh*, but neither produced any effect. The reſolution was taken; it was powerfully ſupported, and was now irrevocable, unleſs they run the hazard of incurring the reſentment of *Cromwel*, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmneſs and conſtancy.

The princeſs of Orange *remonſtrates againſt the act of excluſion.*

BUT the remonſtrances of the princeſſes, though not to be diſregarded, were of leſs importance than the diſcontent of the people, and the violent oppoſition of the provinces. All proteſted with one voice againſt the act of excluſion. The deputy from *Friſeland* entered a proteſt, with the ſecretary to the ſtates general, againſt the ſecret negotiation with *Oliver*, and the iniquitous excluſion of the prince of *Orange*, by which *Holland* had given a violent ſtroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had

The people diſcontented.

ſhewn

hewn herſelf equally unjuſt and ungrateful to the houſe of *Orange*. This proteſt was, however, condemned by the ſtates of the province, though they were prevailed on ſoon after, by the influence of the count *de Naſſau*, to enter another more bitter and ſevere, in which they complained of M. *de Wit* perſonally, as the firſt author and projector of this iniquitous act, as they were pleaſed to term it. *Zealand* ſhewed no leſs vivacity and attachment to the houſe of *Orange*; *Guelderland* was more moderate, but in the ſame intereſt; *Overyſſel*, though torn by domeſtic broils, entered into the ſentiments of the other provinces, and *Utrecht* embraced the ſame cauſe, though with leſs warmth, and with more caution and reſerve. As to *Groningen*, we are not told what part this province took in the diſpute.[1]

HOLLAND oppoſed itſelf vigorouſly to this combination, which threatened the diſſolution of the union, the being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appeaſe. Before the ſtates entered upon any oppoſition, they ſent inſtructions to the ambaſſadors in *London*, once more to try their influence with *Cromwel*, to procure ſome mitigation in the act of excluſion, thereby to reſtore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was ſo incenſed at further applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unleſs the act was immediately put into his hands, which was accordingly done to prevent worſe conſequences. The next ſtep was to procure a letter from *Cromwel* to the ſtates of *Zealand* and the other provinces, demonſtrating the neceſſity as well as the utility of the peace; but this epiſtle produced no effect, and it was fully anſwered by the *Zealanders*, and afterwards ſent for the peruſal of the ſtates general. *Holland* objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming, that the protector's letter ought to have been communicated to the ſtates before an anſwer was returned; preſuming it now could anſwer no purpoſe, except that of blowing up the ſparks of diſcord.

Negotiations with Cromwel.

In order to regain ſome degree of popularity, the ſtates of *Holland* went to make an apology to the princeſs of *Orange*, aſſuring her highneſs that no diſreſpect to the family, but the urgent neceſſity of the ſtate, had forced them into ſuch a meaſure, equally diſagreeable to them as to the warmeſt friends of the houſe of *Orange*. She received the apology in the moſt gracious manner, and returned ſuch

[1] Basnage, p. 442.

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an anſwer as gave the ſtates the higheſt opinion of her moderation, prudence, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, ſhe only lamented the unhappy circumſtances that rendered ſuch a meaſure neceſſary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity. Not ſatisfied with this, the ſtates appointed commiſſioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, ſoon after, their apology was publiſhed, by the name of *Deductions*, or *Inferences from the ſtate of affairs*. In this piece was examined, whether *Holland* had a power of entering upon a ſeparate negotiation with *Cromwel*, and how far this province had the right of ſovereignty, independant of the other provinces, included in the union? The whole deſign was to prove the affirmative from poſitive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of *Spain* relative to this province. Though the diſcourſe was laboured, and the arguments ſpecious, the wrong principle upon which thoſe opinions was founded, was obvious to every attentive reader. By acknowledging that the abdication of the catholic king veſted this province with ſovereignty, they acknowledged the hereditary right of the kings of *Spain*, and which could not be deſtroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his ſucceſſors. Beſides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of *Utrecht*, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any ſeparate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negotiation, alienation, &c. without the joint conſent of the other provinces. Such were the objections to theſe *deductions*, as they were called, though they at that time eſcaped obſervation. It is true, this writing was ſeverely cenſured, and ſeveral bitter criticiſms upon it were publiſhed; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonſtrating the fallacy of the principles. *Guelderland*, *Friſeland*, and *Zealand* taxed the ſtates of *Holland* with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic on the brink of diſſolution; and the ambaſſadors, who had carried on the negotiation, and ſigned the treaty, in the moſt mortifying diſgrace. [b]

Holland ſends deputies to apologize.

Affairs with Denmark.

In this ſituation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of *Denmark* engaged a part of the public attention, and diverted it from a diſpute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the ſtate,

[b] Idem ibid. & ſeq. Ibidem. Le Clerc, p. 84. tom. ii.

and

and particularly to *de Wit*, the ambaſſadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before obſerved, that king *Frederick* had not complied with a ſingle article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithſtanding he received punctual payments of a large ſubſidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of *England*, by the ſeizure of a fleet of merchantmen belonging to that nation, the ſtates general indemnified the *Engliſh* merchants, in hopes thereby of more eaſily attaching that monarch to their intereſt, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. *Frederick*, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his uſe and conveniency; after which he entered into a cloſe alliance with *Cromwel*, leaving the ſtates general to exclaim againſt his injuſtice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of *Denmark* proved of the greateſt advantage to the *United Provinces*; it ſilenced their private animoſities for a time, though it by no means removed the cauſe, or extinguiſhed thoſe ſparks of diſcord, which flamed out with redoubled vigour after the prince of *Orange* came of age, and *Lewis* XIV. had invaded the *Netherlands*.

SECT. XI.

The hiſtory of the United Provinces *continued; the particulars of the ſecond war with* England, *and other tranſactions, to the invaſion of the* Netherlands *by* Lewis XIV.

NOTHING occurred to diſturb the tranquillity of the *United Provinces* until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the north, and purſued with ſuch inveterate animoſity between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as foreboded the deſtruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial intereſt of the republic. *Charles Guſtavus* had ſcarce aſcended the throne of *Sweden*, when his politicks gave great uneaſineſs to the ſtates general, at that time incumbered by a war with *England*, and a fruitleſs but cloſe alliance with *Denmark*. Though the excluſion of the prince of *Orange*, and the little regard paid to the remonſtrances made by the electreſs of *Brandenburgh* in behalf

A. D. 1658.

State of the republic with reſpect to Sweden, Brandenburgh, *&c.*

behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldneſs between the electoral court and the republic; yet that wiſe prince was ſenſible he could not more effectually fortify himſelf againſt the graſping views of the *Swediſh* monarch, than by entering into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. The ſtates general had one reaſon for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their intereſt with reſpect to the public trade, to provide that the *Swedes* did not gain poſſeſſion of the ports of *Pruſſia*; and though the duke of *Newburgh*, and the emperor, advertiſed them that ſuch an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of *Cleves*, yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other conſideration. In effect, an offenſive alliance was concluded, whereby the ſtates undertook to protect the elector's dominions, including his coaſts, and the duchy of *Cleves*, againſt all enemies whatſoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the *Baltic* againſt all attacks, and to give the ſhipping of the republic free entrance into all his ports in *Pruſſia* and *Pomerania*. This treaty gave offence to the elector of *Saxony*, to whom the *Swediſh* ambaſſador inſinuated, that it tended to cut off his pretenſions to the duchy of *Juliers*.

DURING theſe intrigues count *Koningſmark* had great ſucceſs in levying troops in the duchy of *Bremen*, which gave the alarm to the ſtates general. To obviate danger, they formed a body of horſe and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the *Yſſel*, under count *Brederode*. Another corps, led by the count *de Naſſau*, was poſted in ſuch a manner as to cover *Embden*, *Coeverden*, and other towns of *Weſt Friſeland*; but on *Koningſmark*'s paſſing the *Elbe*, and joining the *Swedes*, theſe troops had orders to return to winter-quarters. Thus the *Dutch* were eaſed from the apprehenſion of an immediate attack. After the *Swedes* had taken the capital of *Poland*, and forced king *Caſimir* out of his dominions, the conquerors were penetrating to the provinces of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, which obliged him to enter into negotiations with the *Swediſh* monarch. He offered to join his forces to the *Swedes*, provided the king would aboliſh the homage for ducal *Pruſſia* required by the *Poles*; but the treaty with *Holland* proved a great obſtruction to his deſigns. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of the crown of *Sweden*, for ducal *Pruſſia* and the ports of that kingdom and of *Pomerania* were opened to the *Swediſh* ſhipping. Thus the treaty between *Holland* and *Brandenburgh* was rendered uſeleſs, and the republic was expoſed to all the vengeance

ngeance of *Charles Guſtavus*, irritated at her engagem ents with *Denmark*, and the late treaty with the court of *Berlin*; formed evidently againſt the crown of *Sweden*. To prepare againſt accidents, oblige the *Swedes* to return to their own ports, and ſecure the navigation of the republic, the ſtates general reſolved to equip againſt the ſpring a ſquadron of fifty ſhips of war. The *Dutch* commerce in the north was interrupted by a *Swediſh* fleet which blocked up *Dantzick*, where no veſſels were ſuffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and *Guſtavus* had impoſed a duty on all merchandiſe ſent to *Pillau* and other ſea-ports of *Pruſſia*. This conduct he juſtified by the example of the *Hollanders*, who had prohibited the *Swediſh* ſhips from entering the ports of *Flanders* during the war with *Spain*, although they themſelves were furniſhing the enemy with ammunition and proviſion; and likewiſe by their conduct in the late war with *England*[a].

THIS laſt tranſaction it was that determined the ſtates general to diſpatch M. *Van Buiningen* to *Copenhagen*, to engage his *Daniſh* majeſty to declare openly againſt *Sweden*; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of *Guſtavus*. They likewiſe made ſome overtures to *Cromwel* with reſpect to the ſituation of affairs in the north; but *Charles Guſtavus* had anticipated them in their deſigns on the electorate. He had ſent an ambaſſador to *England* to explain his reaſons for declaring war againſt *Poland*, to propoſe means for preventing the *Dutch* from trading to the *Baltic*, under pretence that it was injurious to the *Engliſh* commerce, and to ſettle a treaty of commerce with reſpect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

An embaſſy to Sweden *and* Denmark.

ALL this time, M. *Nieuport* continued in *London*, in quality of envoy from the ſtates, to regulate the affairs of the *Indian* trade, the diſputes relative to *Amboyna*, and to ſtudy the protector's diſpoſition towards *Sweden*. Commiſſioners were appointed by the two *Eaſt India* companies for adjuſting their diſputes; but the limited time elapſed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the proteſtant cantons of *Switzerland* were choſen arbitrators; the worſt they could poſſibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The *Swiſs* no ſooner opened their mouths as umpires, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the ſpace allowed for the negotiation. It was not the deſire of giving ſatisfaction to *England*, but of

The Dutch *commerce diſturbed by the* Engliſh *privateers.*

[a] LE CLERC, ibid.

obtaining redreſs, that made the *Hollanders* ſolicitous abc
this negotiation. The *Engliſh Eaſt India* company accu
the *Dutch* commiſſioners of ſhuffling and duplicity in the re
tution of *Poleron*, and indemnification of the loſſes ſuſtair
by the company in *India*; and the commiſſioners wanted
ballance this againſt the loſſes of the republic, in conſequei
of the ſeizure of their ſhips by *Engliſh* privateers before
ſince the war. They plied *Cromwel* with remonſtran
upon this head; for ſtill the grievance was ſorely felt,
their merchants daily plundered in the high ſeas by ſwa
of privateers fitted out againſt the *Spaniards*, with wh
Cromwel was now at war. In the end, theſe altercat
ſubſided in a treaty between *France* and *England*, in wh
the republic was included; after which, both nations
fleets to the *Mediterranean*, to ſuppreſs the *Algerine* corſa
who had given abundance of diſturbance to their c
merce [b].

Diſſenſions among the provinces.

WHILE the republic was fortifying itſelf againſt the
ſigns of *Sweden* on the one hand, and of *England* on
other, a variety of circumſtances contributed to diſturb
internal tranquillity of the provinces. One of the c
was the project concerted by M. *de Wit*, for bringing
revenue into proper order, by the reduction of intereſt
by the government; but the great addreſs of that ſtate
ſurmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner
gether unexpected, and convinced the creditors, that it
more to their advantage to receive four *per cent.* tha
withdraw their money; becauſe by this means the fo
debts might be paid off, and the intereſt of their own
increaſed as the capital debt diminiſhed. This was *de*
project, and not what we are told by ſome *Engliſh* w
of equal aſſeſſments on all the provinces, which would
proved the ſevereſt oppreſſion, conſidering their ineq
in point of wealth and ability. To this was added an
ſubject of debate. The death of *Bredcrode*, mareſchal
ral of the camp, raiſed up a variety of candidates fo
employment. Thoſe of moſt conſideration were both
houſe of *Orange*. *Maurice* claimed it as the right of
rity and long ſervices; and *William*, governor of *Fri*
founded his expectations on his own influence and
ous connections. All the partiſans of the *Orange*
ded with the other; but the province of *Holland*
nized the former, out of perſonal pique to prince *W*
The ſtates of *Holland* had not forgot the attempt upo

[b] Idem, p. 86. tom. ii.

ſtere

ſterdam, nor the violence with which *William* had oppoſed the excluſion-act. The count would have carried his point in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, were it to be decided by a majority of voices; but here unanimity was neceſſary, and *Holland* affirmed, that the office was dangerous in time of peace, as it conſtantly gave the command of the army to the ſame perſon, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. M. *de Wit* preſented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather ſerved to quiet for a time, than remove the diſſenſions; for the office in diſpute remained vacant, and the candidates ſoon after reſumed their pretenſions. Next followed ſome altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of *Orange*. Some were for appointing a miniſter of the goſpel for his preceptor, that he might be early inſtructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was ſupported by *Zealand*; but the ſtates of *Holland* oppoſed it, from an apprehenſion that the clergy would blend politicks with religion. The princeſs governante requeſted that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the ſtates general, and the courts of juſtice, that his tender mind might receive deep impreſſions of the conſtitution and form of government; but the ſtates general fearing that ſhe intended by this compliment to gain an influence over the moſt conſiderable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper buſineſs of the prince's guardians. This debate renewed in ſome provinces the old affair of the ſtadtholderſhip; particularly in *Overyſſel*, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confuſion. As uſual, a thouſand other points of altercation aroſe from this ſingle queſtion; and the point now was not, whether there ſhould be a ſtadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges? It was a diſpute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore ſcarce worthy of notice in a general hiſtory[c].

We ſhall conclude the year, with obſerving that a violent plague appeared in *Leyden*, which ſwept off near four thouſand of the inhabitants; but was happily prevented by the diligence of the magiſtrates from ſpreading itſelf further into the provinces; and next, the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* laid the foundation of that immenſe pile of building, ſince univerſally known by the name of *Stadthouſe*.

[c] BASNAGE, p. 455.

A. D. 1656. THE new year produced freſh cauſes of apprehenſion, that the *Dutch* commerce might ſuffer from the rapid conqueſts of the *Swedes*, as the ſtates were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large ſquadron for the protection of the *Baltic* trade; but the aſſurances given by the *Swediſh* ambaſſador lulled the ſtates into ſecurity, and prevented the ſailing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all *Dutch* traders to *Riga*, again rouſed the republic, and determined her to act vigorouſly. With this view, ſhe ſent ambaſſadors to *Copenhagen* and *Stockholm*; to the former, with intention to excite his *Daniſh* majeſty againſt the *Swedes*; and to the latter, to remonſtrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary impoſitions. The envoys were arreſted at *Lauwenburgh*, through which they propoſed paſſing in their way to *Dantzick*, but afterwards releaſed, and apologies made to the ſtates general: however, this conduct ſerved only to inflame their animoſity. In conſequence, admiral *Opdam* received orders to ſail directly for the *Baltic*, to protect all the *Dutch* ſhipping, and lay every poſſible obſtruction in the way of his *Swediſh* majeſty, if he reſolved upon the ſiege of *Dantzick*. *Oliver Cromwel* interpoſed, exhorted the ſtates not to break with *Guſtavus*, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences, under pretence of a zealous regard for the proteſtant religion; but his intentions were ſuſpected. *Cromwel* was well known to have uſed religion as a maſk, to conceal the moſt daring and villainous deſigns; the ſtates perſuaded themſelves, for this reaſon, that he muſt have ſome other object in view, than the good of the church. In their anſwer, therefore, to the protector's letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in ſuch a manner that *Cromwel* ſhould perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with *Guſtavus*, they had ſent ambaſſadors to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic.

The Swedes arreſt the Dutch envoy.

Diſputes with Sweden. ABOUT this time *Guſtavus* turned his thoughts towards *Denmark*. He ſent M. *Durell* to the court of *Copenhagen*, in hopes of perſuading the king to join with him in oppoſing the entrance of admiral *Opdam* into the *Baltic*. Previous to this, the ſenate of *Denmark* had remonſtrated to the court of *Sweden* on the conſequences of the war with *Poland*; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then abſent. This affair M. *Durell* had inſtructions to take into conſideration; but the king of *Denmark* declared, that he could not

not treat with *Sweden* without the conſent of the *Dutch* ambaſſador, M. *Van Buiningen*. *Durell* inſiſted that no ſtrangers ſhould be admitted to the conferences; the *Danes* took the part of *Buiningen*, and the diſpute roſe high, about the time that *Opdam* arrived at *Dantzick*, where he was received as the ſaviour of the city. *Sweden* inſiſted that the republic could lend no aſſiſtance to the magiſtrates of *Dantzick*, without violating the treaty of 1640, and *Opdam* pleaded his inſtructions. At laſt, conferences were appointed at *Elbing*, where this affair was to be maturely diſcuſſed. In conſequence, a treaty took place; the treaty of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be diſturbed in the *Baltic* by the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*; a tariff was eſtabliſhed, and the duties on trade regulated upon the former footing. The kings of *France* and *Denmark*, the protector of *England*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, were likewiſe included in this treaty. The city of *Dantzick* alſo had permiſſion to continue ſubject to the king of *Poland*, provided the magiſtrates afforded no aſſiſtance againſt *Sweden* [d].

THE treaty of *Elbing* gave ſatisfaction only to the parties immediately concerned. The king of *Denmark* could not perſuade himſelf that the *Dutch*, after the expence of equipping ſo conſiderable an armament, would return to their ports, upon no other ſecurity than general promiſes ſet down on paper. M. *Buiningen* took fire at *Dantzick*'s being deſerted, and wrote in the moſt preſſing manner to the penſionery *de Wit*, to procure an order from the ſtates general for admiral *Opdam* to ſeize upon ſome of the iſlands of the *Baltic*, where the fleet might winter, under the direction of the king of *Denmark*, who had it in his power to ſerve the republic effectually. Notwithſtanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed againſt the unneceſſary expence of the armament, and the ſtates vindicated it, by demonſtrating, that to it was owing the treaty of *Elbing*, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and neceſſary to the republic. *A treaty at* Elbing.

WHILE the ſtates were endeavouring to vindicate the meaſures they had taken for ſecuring the trade of the *Baltic*, the loudeſt complaints were made to the ſeveral colleges of the admiralty, againſt the depredations committed by the *Engliſh* privateers. *De Ruyter* was ordered to put to ſea with a reſpectable ſquadron, for the protection of the *Dutch* commerce; but he ſoon found the office extremely diſ-

[d] PUFFENDORF, tom. vii. lib. 7. octavo.

agreeable, and remonſtrated to the ſtates upon the liberty aſſumed by the ſmalleſt *Engliſh* frigate of ſearching the men of war of the republic. Alarmed at this report, *Ruyter* had orders to reſtrain the *Engliſh* from committing violence, or any way injuring the ſubjects of the ſtates; but he was likewiſe cautioned to avoid, at all events, the neceſſity of coming to a rupture with *Cromwel*, by ſhewing the *Engliſh* the cleareſt proofs in his power, that none of the ſhips under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewiſe remonſtrated to the protector; but *Cromwel* knew his own ſuperiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in the means of gaining poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, the price of the aſſiſtance given to the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, and conſequently not at leiſure to examine trifling matters, regarding *Dutch* traders. As the ſtates knew their inability to redreſs themſelves, they were forced to ſupport with patience inſults which they could not repel [e].

A. D. 1657. *The ſtates refuſe to ratify the treaty of Elbing.*

NEXT year produced ſome new difficulties with reſpect to the affairs of the *North*, and the treaty of *Elbing*, which the ſtates general, after long delays, refuſed at laſt to ratify. The king of *Denmark* exerted his utmoſt influence to prevail on the *Dutch* not to conſent to a treaty ſo inconſiſtent with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces likewiſe exclaimed againſt it, as it diſappointed their mighty expectations from *Opdam*'s expedition. Neither were the *Dantzickers* at all pleaſed with a meaſure, which tied them down to the neceſſity of giving no oppoſition to the ambitious views of *Guſtavus*, although they had no other ſecurity than a general promiſe for his not attacking their city. As to the king of *Denmark*, he reſolved to profit by the preſent ſituation of *Sweden*, involved in a war with all her powerful neighbours, for executing certain deſigns he had formed on *Schonen*, *Norway*, and *Germany*. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to engage the republic in his intereſt, and this he laboured by his ambaſſador at the *Hague*; but found the ſtates little diſpoſed to accept the propoſed defenſive alliance. However, the negotiations upon this ſubject retarded the ratification of the treaty of *Elbing*, and gave the *Daniſh* monarch hopes, that he might at length be able to ſucceed. There was, beſides, another objection to the treaty. It was, that ſome of the articles were by no means clearly expreſſed, particularly thoſe relative to the duty on merchandiſe. The king of *Sweden* inſiſted on

[e] BASNAGE, p. 477.

the

execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in
.o. To this the *Dutch* anſwered, that all the ſubjects
the *United Provinces*, who built ſhips in *Sweden* at their
n expence, were intitled to all the privileges of natives
that kingdom. This the king denied, unleſs they fixed
ir reſidence in *Sweden*, and became ſubjects of that
wn. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worſt
ſequences to his people, to ſuffer ſtrangers to cut down
fineſt foreſts to build ſhips, perhaps to fight againſt
ir own king and country. In a word, he reaſoned this
at ſo ſtrongly, that the *Dutch* ambaſſadors were ſilenced,
forced to content themſelves with a general reply, that
y would wait for farther inſtructions from the ſtates [f].

THOUGH the ſtates were unable to anſwer the argu- *A freſh*
nts urged by *Guſtavus*, they nevertheleſs with-held the *quarrel*
fication deſired, and ſtrongly inſinuated that this could *with*
y be obtained on the conditions mentioned. It was not Sweden.
buſineſs of *Guſtavus* to drive the *Dutch* into the arms of
mark. He was ſenſible of this, and tried every expe-
nt to gain them to his own intereſt. He made divers
ious propoſals, all of which the ſtates rejected, as they
w well the terms that would be expected. The true
reſt of the ſtates conſiſted in ſuffering the northern
ces to exhauſt each other by wars and bloody battles;
this reaſon it was, that M. *Van Buiningen* was blamed for
nating the ſtates of *Holland* againſt the king of *Sweden*,
repreſenting the advantage they might deduce from
alliance of the crown of *Denmark*. By his inſtigations
city of *Amſterdam*, of which he was penſionery, inclined
ngly to the crown of *Denmark*, and had already ſupplied
kingdom with a great number of armed ſhips to ſerve
inſt *Sweden* under *Daniſh* colours. Several deputies of
ſtates general were accuſed of corruption, and this
ter was put beyond doubt, by letters from the *Swediſh*
aſſador at the *Hague*, which were intercepted by the
of *Denmark*, and ſent over to *Holland*. Here the
diſh miniſter appeared perfectly acquainted with all
: paſſed in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, and had
wiſe acquainted his maſter that divers of the deputies
ived penſions from the crowns of *Spain* and *Denmark*.
even went ſo far as to ſpecify the ſums, and the channels
ayment and intercourſe. Complaints were made of the
diſh ambaſſador for the liberties he had taken with the
ſtation of their high mightineſſes; and he vindicated

[f] Idem. ibid.

himſelf, by affirming, that he was only anſwerable to the king his maſter for the contents of his letters, and that his *Daniſh* majeſty had violated the laws of nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not ſatisfied with this, he wrote a ſarcaſtic epigram upon the ſtates, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct they refuſed to enter into conferences with him; upon which his *Swediſh* majeſty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the ſtates, and accordingly refuſed them audience, though they bore the character of ambaſſadors extraordinary. This encreaſed the animoſity. The ſtates reſented his *Swediſh* majeſty's putting their ambaſſadors upon a footing with his miniſter, veſted with no higher character than that of a reſident; they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee a people who had but a few years before granted precedency to the envoys of electors, talk in ſo high a ſtrain about the dignity of their ambaſſadors. The province of *Holland* immediately ſent orders to the ambaſſadors to return, unleſs the king apologiſed for the conduct of his reſident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces oppoſed this reſolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture; upon which *Holland* relaxed, and conſented that the reſident ſhould be referred entirely to his *Swediſh* majeſty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought proper; in hopes that this inſtance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of *Stockholm*. *Guſtavus* did not fail to decide the diſpute in favour of his reſident, though he at the ſame time acknowledged the civility of the ſtates, by immediately granting audience to their ambaſſadors. The truth is, he ſtill regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, overawed by fear and intereſt; the event juſtified the king's opinion [s].

The difference compromiſed.

DENMARK having now come to an open rupture with *Sweden*, general *Bilde* traverſed *Holſtein*, paſſed the *Elbe*, and poured in with a *Daniſh* army into the duchy of *Bremen*. After *Wrangel* had defeated part of his fleet before *Stade*, he was more ſenſible than ever, that the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his meaſures. With theſe ſentiments he offered terms to the ſtates general, ſo advantageous as ſubdued all objections to coming to a rupture with *Sweden*, and entering on engagements with *Denmark*. The ſtates were, however, ſo

[s] PUFFENDORF, ibid. LE CLERC, p. 89.

cautious

cautious as to contract only a defenſive treaty, whereby the parties agreed to aſſiſt each other, if attacked, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and a ſquadron of ſhips, or a ſtipulated ſum of money, as an equivalent.

Diſputes between the court of France and the republic.

IMMERSED in the politicks of the *North*, the ſtates did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to *Cromwel* of the depredations committed on the high ſeas by his privateers; but all were diſregarded, at leaſt no ſatisfaction could be obtained. The *Dutch* commerce ſuffered equally from the ſwarms of ſmall armed veſſels that iſſued out of the *French* ports, and preyed upon the veſſels of the republic. The *Dutch* merchants computed that 328 of their ſhips had been taken by thoſe privateers. M. *Boreel*, the *Dutch* envoy, applied to the *French* court for ſatisfaction, and above fifty arrets of council had paſſed, to oblige the captors to make reſtitution, but without effect. At *Marſeilles* they attacked the *Dutch* conſul publickly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, becauſe he had attempted to enforce the ambaſſador's orders, and the king's arrets. This laſt violence ſo incenſed the ſtates, that they ſent inſtructions to *de Ruyter*, to take all ſhips coming out of *Toulon*. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with two *Toulon* privateers, the one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. Theſe he took, removing all the priſoners on board his own ſhips, where they ſoon introduced a contagious diſorder, of which the greater number of themſelves, and many of the *Dutch* ſailors died. It was well known that theſe ſhips had been built in *Sweden*; that they belonged to the *French* king, and that cardinal *Mazarin* had procured commiſſions for the reputed owners, on condition that he ſhared in the captures. They were the fineſt-going ſhips of *France*, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruiſe. *Mazarin* was incenſed at the preſumption of *de Ruyter*, and the loſs of his ſhips, and the immenſe ſums of money on board. He repreſented him as a pirate who, under falſe colours, made prize of the *French* veſſels. He ſaid, that if the *Dutch* commerce had been injured by private ſubjects of the *French* king, the ſtates ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, eſpecially as the king had iſſued arrets to oblige the captors to make ſatisfaction. It was urged in council, that ſuch an indignity to the crown could only be waſhed out by the blood of thoſe who had committed it, and that if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared againſt the republic, and the whole nation perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour, for ſkreen-

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ing ſo notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the *French* monarchy this ſpirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. *Villeroi*, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the entering upon violent meaſures; however, they could not prevent the cardinal's iſſuing an order for ſeizing upon all the *Dutch* ſhips and effects in the ports of *France*. This was accordingly executed. Alarmed at ſo unprecedented a proceeding, the ſtates ordered M. *Boreel* to repreſent their aſtoniſhment at ſeeing their ſhips arreſted by the king's order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of *de Ruyter*'s conduct, without even reflecting, whether neceſſity did not require that a check ſhould be given the privateers, as they had aſſaulted the *Dutch* conſul, in contempt of the king's own authority.

BOREEL did not wait the orders of the ſtate to fulfill the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He remonſtrated with great ſpirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who ſaid, "His ſpeech was not the declaration of a miniſter, but the declamation of a rhetorician." *Boreel*'s reflections upon the miniſter were indeed ſo free and ſevere, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonſtrance. All he obtained was a tolerably ſilent hearing from the young monarch, guided entirely by his prime miniſter. Nor did *Mazarin* content himſelf with paying no regard to the repreſentations of the *Dutch* ambaſſador. He ſent M. *de Thou* to the *Hague*, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult committed by *Ruyter*, without ſo much as releaſing the *Dutch* ſhipping. *De Thou* entered into a detail of *Ruyter*'s conduct, which he affirmed, before the ſtates, was contrary to the cuſtom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. It deſerved the ſevereſt chaſtiſement, as treachery was added to injuſtice. He had hoiſted the *Engliſh* flag, and deceived the *French* under falſe colours, which was never done, except by barbarous nations and *Turkiſh* pyrates, when they lay in wait for their Chriſtian prey. He had likewiſe ſhewn the utmoſt treachery to the ſieur *de Lund*, captain of the largeſt frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unſuſpecting *Frenchman* to viſit *de Ruyter* on board, where he was detained priſoner. He aggravated the offence by a thouſand additional circumſtances; and concluded with requeſting their high

mightineſſes to reflect well upon the conſequences of ſuch uſage to the ſervants of a great king, and proteſting that his inſtructions would allow him to enter upon no other buſineſs, or receive any propoſitions, until he received a definitive anſwer to his demands. To this M. *de Ghent*, who preſided in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, replied, That the *Dutch* had ſo evidently a right to make repriſals, that his excellency, who was himſelf a lawyer, if he would reaſon impartially, could not but acquit *de Ruyter*, and juſtify the conduct of the ſtates. Two days after an order was iſſued for ſtopping all the *French* ſhips and merchandiſe in the ports of *Holland*. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous reſolution, it was propoſed to augment the navy with twelve capital ſhips, and to block up the coaſts of *France* ſo cloſely as to prevent all attempts of a revenge, and render uſeleſs the ſwarms of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The ſtates of *Holland*, who had projected theſe ſpirited deſigns, repreſented them to the ſtates general; they applauded the conduct of *Boreel*, who had ſupported his character with dignity, and even juſtified *de Ruyter*. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with *France*; but the ſtates general were more moderate. Their firſt care was to guard ſtrictly againſt corruption, as it was inſinuated that M. *de Thou* was charged with large ſums of money for this purpoſe. With this view an oath was drawn up and ſent to the ſtates of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no preſents, ſtrenuouſly to ſtand up in the intereſt of their country; to be biaſſed by no private deſigns, and not only to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining an undue influence, but to render public every ſuch propoſal. At laſt the ſtates general and the ſtates of *Holland*, each in a body, gave their final anſwer to the ambaſſador. They complained of the depredations, pyracies, and robberies, committed by the ſubjects of the *French* king, for which no ſatisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrets granted by the council, reſtitution of the ſhips and effects ſeized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity paſſed on the republic in the perſon of her conſul at *Marſeilles*, particularly for the liberties taken by the commiſſioners at *Rouen*, and other places, of examining the papers, ſealing up the cheſts, and taking poſſeſſion of the warehouſes of *Dutch* merchants.

DE THOU, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for more moderate inſtructions; and

and he was ordered to aſſure the ſtates they ſhould have ample ſatisfaction, upon reſtitution of the two frigates taken by *de Ruyter*, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce ſhould be ſettled. Even this propoſition was rejected; upon which the ambaſſador declared the king would be contented with a promiſe of reſtitution, as an equivalent for the ſhips, and he would in the mean time give all the ſatisfaction required. From ſuch ample conceſſions it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of theſe preliminaries: upon which the ſtates took fire a ſecond time, prohibited all intercourſe with *France*, and gave orders to the naval officers to take *French* ſhips wherever they were found. Never had the ſtates diſplayed more firmneſs and intrepidity than upon this occaſion; but though they bid defiance to all menaces, they were eaſily appeaſed by conceſſions. The king wrote them a letter, which entirely ſubdued by lenity that ſpirit which ſeemed to riſe with oppoſition.

THE conſtancy of the republic was, in a great meaſure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between *Cromwel* and *Mazarin*. Mean time, an accident happened, which had almoſt deſtroyed the effect of the king's letter to the ſtates, and the treaty concluded in conſequence. *Ruyter*, then upon a cruize, was informed by the *Dutch* conſul at *Leghorn*, that five *French* ſhips of war had put into *Via Reggia*, a port belonging to the little republic of *Lucca:* thither he purſued them, but being driven out of his courſe by a ſtorm, they had intelligence of his deſign, and made the beſt ſail for *Porto Lunæ*, a harbour in the *Genoeſe* dominions. Here they were blocked up by *de Ruyter*, who, though he was not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means ſo to diſtreſs them, that they were on the point of ſurrendering at diſcretion, when advice arrived from the ſtates of the treaty ſigned with the *French* monarch. *De Ruyter*'s conduct was ſo much approved on this occaſion, that the ſtates, to ſhew their ſenſe of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in teſtimony of their regard.

Diſputes with Portugal *about the* Braſils.

SCARCE had the republic got clear of theſe diſputes with the court of *France*, when ſhe was involved in others with that of *Portugal*, about their ſeveral pretenſions in *Braſil*. Meſſ. *Tenhoven* and *de Wit* were ſent envoys to *Liſbon* to adjuſt the affair, and preſent the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The *Portugueſe* miniſtry were equally aſtoniſhed at the propoſitions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied. Not a moment

ment was loſt in taking every meaſure for the ſecurity of the kingdom; the guards at *Liſbon* were doubled; all the captains of ſhips had orders to prepare for action, and a body of infantry was encamped on the ſhore to watch the motions of the *Dutch* fleet. After theſe vigorous ſteps had been taken, the miniſters ventured to acquaint the *Dutch* deputies, that the court would not liſten to propoſals made with ſuch an air of defiance, and with all the rigour of conquerors. This was highly reſented by the *Hollanders*, who, in the heat of paſſion, expreſſed themſelves in diſreſpectful terms of the royal family, and *de Solas*, ſecretary of ſtate; upon which orders were iſſued to ſeize upon all the *Dutch* merchantmen in the *Tagus*. To ſuch open violences a declaration of war muſt neceſſarily enſue; the deputies quitted *Liſbon* without taking leave, and *de Ruyter* took ſeveral *Portugueſe* ſhips in the mouth of the river.

War with Portugal.

BEFORE their departure the *Dutch* commiſſaries had left a declaration of war, ſealed up, in the hands of *Don Pedro de Sylva*. *Ruyter* now thought himſelf at liberty to act offenſively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three ſquadrons, and reſolved to cruiſe in certain latitudes for the *Braſil* fleet, daily expected in *Europe*. His own diviſion fell in with a fleet of forty ſail; but the hazineſs of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ſhips were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was ſo numerous. Another fleet, homeward bound from *Braſil*, was every day expected; but the ſcarcity of proviſions obliged *Ruyter* to quit his ſtation, and return to *Holland*. [h]

The ſtates are involved in diſputes with the biſhop of Munſter.

WHILE the ſtates were thus engaged in an open rupture with *Portugal*, an affair happened, at firſt of ſeemingly trivial moment, but in the end of ſerious conſequences, with the neighbouring princes of the *Rhine*. The electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, the duke of *Newburgh*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*, were deſirous of entering into a ſtrict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the ſtates of *Zealand* and *Friſeland*, though the province of *Holland* approved of a treaty of commerce, reſpecting the navigation of the *Rhine*, upon the terms propoſed a few years before by the elector of *Cologne*. This point was under deliberation when the biſhop of *Munſter*, quarrelling with his own ſubjects, interrupted the negotiation, and made the republic and the princes, inſtead of joining in an alliance, embrace

[h] BASNAGE, p. 512.

oppoſite

oppoſite parties, and fight with all the bitterneſs of inveterate enemies. *Bernard Van Galen*, for ſo the biſhop was called, had ſome years before got poſſeſſion of the ſee of *Munſter*, by a ſtroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himſelf ſecure of being elected, when he found himſelf outwitted by his nephew, and diſappointed in his expectations. The pope refuſed to confirm the election of *Van Galen*; but that bold, enterpriſing genius, ſpurning difficulty, maintained his ground, in deſpite of all oppoſition, rendered himſelf reſpectable, and even formed vaſt projects for extending his power and dominion. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his underſtanding the ſword. By nature he was intended for a ſoldier, and he followed his inclinations as ſoon as an opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating ſuch vaſt deſigns with ſuch ſlender forces, he replied, *That little ſaints frequently wrought great miracles.* Beſides the large ſums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his ſubjects for the ſupport of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppreſſion, was uſed to ſay, *That a warrior ſhould have no more compaſſion than the devil.* He ſoon began to practiſe this maxim upon his own ſubjects. Like moſt other biſhopricks in *Germany*, the ſee of *Munſter* is ſubjected to the biſhops in temporals as well as ſpirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre, the croſier and the ſcepter. Some towns, within their juriſdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and among theſe was the city of *Munſter*. The burghers inſiſted, that they were not obliged to receive the biſhop's garriſon, but that the ſole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two years before the biſhop had introduced a body of troops, as neceſſary to the ſecurity of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the diſpute was referred to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who decided in favour of the burghers. *Van Galen* refuſed to ſtand by their award, ſubmitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained ſix months delay, to produce new arguments in ſupport of his pretenſions. Alarmed at this proceeding, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the biſhop, the magiſtrates ſent a deputation to the *Hague*, requeſting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the *Hans* towns. The grand penſionery *de Wit*, who foreſaw the iſſue of entering upon ſuch engagements, would do nothing without conſulting the ſtates, particularly thoſe of *Overyſſel* and *Gronin-*

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gen; but their deliberations were ſo tedious, that the opportunity ſlipped of ſtrengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The biſhop inveſted the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with ſuch fury, that in the ſpace of a few hours above two hundred houſes were ſet on fire, two churches demoliſhed, and a prieſt, as he was adminiſtering the ſacrament at the altar, ſwept off with the conſecrated bread, by a cannon-bullet. This terrible ſacrilege, committed by a biſhop, rouſed all the fury of the townſmen; they ſallied out vigorouſly on the beſiegers, and ſlew great numbers of the prelate's forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themſelves into companies, reſolutely defended the walls. The electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* interpoſed, as vicars of the empire; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike ſon, and blamed the biſhop's ardor to take arms upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requiſite.

WHEN it was known in *Holland* that a war broke out between the biſhop of *Munſter* and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a poſture of defence, and ſent two members from the ſtates general, and one from the council of war, with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the biſhop; but their mediation was rejected, the prelate excuſing himſelf, under pretence it would be an affront to the ſtates of the country, and the princes of the empire, to ſubmit to any other arbitration than theirs: nor would he ſuffer the deputies to enter the city, leſt their preſence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incenſed the ſtates general, and determined them to ſuccour the beſieged; but four towns in *Holland* oppoſed this reſolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command was given to M. *Rhingrave*, commiſſary-general of the cavalry, and governor of *Maeſtricht*, as prince *Mauriæ* of *Naſſau* was at that time in *Friſeland*.

VAN GALEN had minute intelligence of all that paſſed in the ſtates general of the *United Provinces*. He perceived that this affair would ſoon take a very ſerious turn. He made ſome rigorous propoſals to the beſieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who feared to ſee their country made the theatre of war, uſed all their influence with the burghers to accept of an accommodation; and the biſhop, who apprehended he ſhould in a few days be forced by the *Dutch* to raiſe the ſiege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromiſe was ſtruck up, the gates were opened,

opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of *December*, but without being honoured with the uſual rejoicings and acclamations. The *Dutch* were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the biſhop was irritated at not being received with the accuſtomed honours by his ſubjects, and at the march of the *Dutch* forces [i]; he reſolved ſecretly to embrace the firſt opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of *Munſter*. We ſhall ſee, in courſe of our narrative, how he accompliſhed his purpoſes.

Civil diviſions.

THOSE foreign diſputes in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domeſtic broils. The province of *Overyſſel* was involved in violent altercations about certain privileges, for ſome years paſt, and there appeared no proſpect of an iſſue, when ſuddenly the parties came to a reſolution of referring their differences to the prince of *Naſſau*, ſtadtholder of the province, and M. *de Wit*, grand penſionery of *Holland*, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no ſooner ended, than the election of a mareſchal de camp became a new ſubject of diſſenſion in the provinces. The ſtates general had appointed to this office, and the ſtates of *Holland* oppoſed the election, inſiſting that the ſtates general aſſumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the houſe of *Orange* would be ſtrengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been aboliſhed; and that was the true reaſon of their oppoſition. The affair was agitated with great heat, until the rapid progreſs of the *Swediſh* arms, and the miſerable ſituation of the king of *Denmark*, called for the interpoſition of the *United Provinces*, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war, and the deſtruction of the republic [k].

The ſtates aſſiſt the king of Denmark.

FORMER engagements to the king of *Denmark*, the ballance of power in the *North*, and the commercial intereſt of the *United Provinces*, all required that *Sweden* ſhould not become too powerful. As *Copenhagen* was now inveſted, the ſtates general propoſed ſending immediate ſuccours to *Frederic*; but the provinces of *Zealand*, *Friſeland*, and *Guelderland*, inſiſted upon firſt creating a mareſchal de camp. However, this point was dropped, upon the general reſolution that was taken of only ſending a naval force. *Guſtavus* had given the ſtates the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would never moleſt their commerce; he had likewiſe remitted large

[i] LE CLERC, p. 282. BASNAGE, p. 518. & 520.

[k] Id. ibid.

ſums of money to his ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to be duly applied, in order to retard the aſſiſtance intended for *Denmark*; but all his endeavours were fruſtrated by the vigilance of *de Wit*, and the ſpirit of the people, who unanimouſly reſented the encroachments of this enterpriſing prince. A large fleet accordingly ſet ſail, early in the ſpring, for the *Baltic*, under the conduct of admiral *Opdam*, who had orders not only to protect the ſhips of the republic, but to aſſiſt, by every poſſible means, the king of *Denmark*, and fight the *Swediſh* fleet the firſt opportunity: if *Cronenburgh* and *Copenhagen* ſhould be in the hands of the *Swedes* before his arrival, his inſtructions were, to aſſiſt, aid, and abet, all the enterpriſes of the *Daniſh* monarch, and with his fleet to block up ſuch places as the king might chuſe to inveſt by land. In a word, the republic ſeemed determined to keep no bounds with *Sweden*; and *Van Buiningen*, who ſtill reſided at *Copenhagen*, contributed to ſpur on the ſtates, by repreſenting the infamy and danger to the republic that would enſue, from deſerting *Frederic* in his diſtreſſed ſituation, and the benefits ſhe might receive from his gratitude, if a timely, vigorous diverſion was made in his favour. That miniſter had great weight with the penſionery *de Wit*, who entered the more readily into his meaſures, becauſe he was under no apprehenſions from *France* or *England*.

Sea-fight between the Swedes and Dutch.

AFTER *Opdam* had long ſtruggled with adverſe winds, he arrived in the *Sound*, where the *Swediſh* fleet was immediately deſcried; upon which he aſſembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet back for four days, and the *Swedes* ſhewed no inclination to become the aggreſſors. At laſt a freſh gale ſprung up, and *Opdam* advanced in three diviſions, while the *Swediſh* admiral, *Wrangel*, was drawn up in the ſame order to oppoſe his paſſage. *Guſtavus* was in the caſtle of *Cronenburgh*, a ſpectator of the action, and witneſs to the conduct of his admiral, who had already won ſo many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon *Opdam* and *Wrangel*; both fought with equal ſkill and courage; their ſtrength was equal, but not ſo their fortune. *Wrangel* was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortreſs, and yield a victory which he ſold at the expence of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the *Dutch* loſt two admirals, *de Wit* and *Florizen*, they ſuffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy loſt more private men, and ſuffered greater damage in their hulls. *Wrangel*'s own ſhip was pierced through and through; and when he quitted the engagement, he had nine feet

water in his hold. Three *Swediſh* ſhips were taken, the ſame number ſunk, and four more were driven aſhore; but what gave *Opdam* clearly the advantage, was, that he landed two thouſand men, military ſtores, and proviſions, in *Copenhagen*, by which the city was ſaved. *Swediſh* writers have diſputed the victory, only becauſe it was not purſued, and becauſe a proceſs againſt *Opdam* was commenced on his return, for not having deſtroyed the *Swediſh* fleet at *Landſcroon*[1].

THIS engagement gave great diſturbance to *Guſtavus*, as it ſeemed the harbinger of a declared war with the *United Provinces*. It was debated in his council whether he ſhould diſſemble his reſentment at this act of hoſtility, or denounce war openly againſt the ſtates. A variety of opinions were offered in ſupport of both opinions, and the arguments appeared ſo equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In *Holland* the people reaſoned differently. It was not thought ſufficient to have afforded the king of *Denmark* the ſlender aſſiſtance of two thouſand men, when by treaty they were engaged to aſſiſt him with double the number: it was therefore determined to augment the number of auxiliaries to ſix thouſand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with reſpect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies propoſed, that his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould put *Glucſtadt* into the hands of the *Dutch*; but *de Wit* anſwered, that this would excite the jealouſy of *France* and *England*, who were already diſpleaſed with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonſtrances of M. *de Thou*, the *French* ambaſſador.

The ſtates jealous of the protector of England, *and the king of* France.

IT was the firſt intention of the ſtates, to leave only a ſquadron of ſix or ſeven men of war in the *Baltic*, becauſe it was not doubted but *Copenhagen*, with the ſuccours thrown in by *Opdam*, would be in condition to defend itſelf for the winter; but upon advice that *England* was about to declare for *Sweden*, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in *Denmark*, to follow the inſtructions of *Frederic*, to oppoſe the paſſage of the *Swediſh* forces from *Holſtein*, and purſue every meaſure which could contribute to the common intereſt of the allies, and diſappoint the ſchemes of *Guſtavus*. It is certain that *Cromwel* harboured deſigns againſt *Denmark* and *Holland*, but a variety of domeſtic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got poſ-

[1] BASNAGE, p. 325. PUFFEND. tom. vi. p. 144.

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, which had lately been taken from the *Spaniards*, by the joint forces of *France* and *England*. Surrendering *Dunkirk* to the protector, was equally irkſome to *France*, *Spain*, the *Pope*, and the *United Provinces*; but *Cromwel* carried the point with a high hand. The *Dutch* in particular had reaſon to complain. They ſaw the *Engliſh* in the quiet enjoyment of a port, which would ſerve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a ſhort time be filled with the pillage of the *Dutch* ſhipping. The ſtates had rather ſee *Dunkirk* in the hands of the *Spaniards* than of the *Engliſh*; for the intereſt of the former, with reſpect to commerce, began now to be re-united to thoſe of the provinces. They ſaw *France* and *England* now ſtrongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that *Furneſe*, *Graveline*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, and *Oudenarde*, were likewiſe in danger. M. *de Turenne* was fixed upon by the cardinal, to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to aſſure the ſtates, that the king had no other view in the conqueſt of the *Netherlands*, than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and to unite in a form of government, ſimilar to that of the *United Provinces*. He added, that if a republican government was once eſtabliſhed, the king would willingly reſtore all his conqueſts ſince the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of *Artois*. The friends of *France* looked upon this propoſal as ſo equitable, that they preſſed the ſtates to ſecond the deſigns of the moſt chriſtian king; but M. *de Wit* headed the contrary party, from a conviction that *Mazarin*'s deſign was only to ſow diſſenſion among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expence of the *Netherlands*. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the ſudden illneſs of the *French* king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the ſtates were relieved from their apprehenſions on the ſide of *England*, by the death of the enterpriſing, the ambitious, the ſucceſsful, and the ſplendidly wicked uſurper, *Oliver Cromwel*; at the ſame time the horror, the terror, and the admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial throne likewiſe made conſiderable alteration in the ſtate of affairs, and *Holland* was forced to change her ſyſtem with the circumſtances of *Europe*.

Propoſals made by the king of France.

'IT was evident that the *United Provinces* were deeply intereſted in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke *Leopold*, the king of *Hungary*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Newburgh*.

burgh. It was contrary to the intereſt of the republic, to ſee the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; becauſe the ſtates were not ſo thoroughly reconciled to *Spain*, but that ſome articles left undetermined by the treaty of *Munſter* might ſtill be diſputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any oppoſition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would neceſſarily ſpread itſelf to the provinces. The preſent ſituation of the republic, required that *France* ſhould be aſſiſted in ſetting upon the imperial throne, a prince leſs powerful than *Leopold*. However, all their deſigns, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of *Leopold*, without bloodſhed, or ſcarce any oppoſition in the diet[m].

Leopold *choſen emperor.*

LEOPOLD, immediately after his election, ſent M. *Trequet* in quality of envoy to the *Hague*, to acquaint the ſtates with his elevation, and to ſolicit their cloſe alliance with the houſe of *Auſtria*. This miniſter hoped the more readily that his commiſſion would be ſucceſsful, becauſe the union tended to aſſiſt *Denmark*, and oppoſe the growing power of *Sweden*. Beſides, as the ſtates were on the point of ſending another fleet to the *Baltic*, he preſumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though indeed this proved diametrically oppoſite to their deſigns, which were to aſſiſt *Denmark*, but not to allow the houſe of *Auſtria* any footing in the iſlands of the *Baltic*. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromiſing ſome diſputes about certain frontier towns with the *Spaniards*.

It was not ſo eaſy to make up the breach with *Portugal*; as the republic continued to demand reparation of her loſſes, and ſatisfaction for the injuries ſuſtained by her ſubjects. The king of *France* offered his mediation, and *de Thou* exhorted the ſtates to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, in order to ſettle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the ſtates general granted an armiſtice for two months, on condition that his *Portugueſe* majeſty ſhould ſend an ambaſſador into *Holland*, to treat with the ſtates, and that in failure of his arrival, the war ſhould go on with the uſual vigour. In the mean time the admiralty was buſied in preparing for the worſt, and equipping ſuch a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the *Portugueſe* to liſten to reaſon. This fleet ſet ſail under *de Ruyter* in the month

[m] Le Clerc, p. 304. tom. ii.

of

of *June*; but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exerciſing his valour; though his conſtancy met with ſevere trials in a terrible ſtorm, which overtook the fleet ſoon after it quitted the coaſt of *Holland*. At length he arrived in a ſhattered condition in the *Tagus*, which rendered the *Portugueſe* more averſe to an accommodation, relying upon the diviſions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the *India* company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of *Denmark*, that would prevent their paying the neceſſary attention to the affairs of *Braſil*. The commiſſioners met, and diſputed, but ſettled nothing [n].

STILL the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark* raged with unremitting fury. *Copenhagen* was beſieged by land, and blocked up by ſea, while the *Dutch* and *Daniſh* fleets were locked up by the ice, and the *Swedes* making vaſt conqueſts over every port of the *Daniſh* dominions. At laſt, the allies broke the ice, and made way for ſome of their ſhips to put to ſea. Early in the ſpring, they encountered ſix *Swediſh* men of war, who valiantly ſuſtained their firſt attack, though preſſed with the utmoſt vigour and impetuoſity. After an exceeding obſtinate engagement, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly ſuperior ſtrength, and retire with the loſs of two ſhips of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other ſunk, leaving a complete and deciſive victory to the *Hollanders*. A. D. 1646.

THIS defeat, the vigorous deſcents of the *Dutch* fleet, and the treaty concluded between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to reſtore the tranquillity of the *North*, operated powerfully on the mind of *Guſtavus*, who had ſtill obſtinately perſevered in beſieging *Copenhagen*, and ruining the dominions of his adverſary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic ſent *de Ruyter* with another fleet to the coaſts of *Jutland*, and communicated to him the articles entered upon with *France* and *England*, as the cleareſt explication of his inſtructions, and rule for his conduct. His *Swediſh* majeſty now entered into negotiations with the *Dutch* deputies; but the arrival of an *Engliſh* fleet in the *Sound*, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unſteady, and unhinged in its internal government, diſconcerted all the meaſures of the *Hollanders*, and broke off the negotiation after it was far advanced. *Ruyter* and *Opdam* even apprehended an attack from the *Engliſh*, until they received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the contrary

[n] BASNAGE, p. 556.

from the lord *Montagu*; whoſe departure from the *Sound* diſappointed all the hopes of the *Swediſh* monarch. No ſooner were the *Dutch* left there at entire liberty to act, than they renewed their operations, harraſſing the enemy by deſcents on every ſide. It was by the deſperate courage of a body of ſoldiers, headed by *de Ruyter*, that the victory at *Funen* was gained, which gave the firſt ſhock to the fortune of *Guſtavus*; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, thoſe were regarded as of leſs conſequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the *Dutch*, firſt diſpoſed the king of *Sweden* to liſten to reaſonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was ſeized with a diſorder that proved fatal.

THIS event produced various effects; *Charles Guſtavus* was deeply regretted by all the *Swedes*, while the *Daniſh* monarch, and the city of *Copenhagen*, would not refrain from indecent tranſports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both ſides, who were almoſt reduced to the verge of deſperation, by their obſtinacy and implacable animoſity. A peace, under the mediation of *England* and *Holland*, was concluded, and repoſe once more reſtored to *Denmark*, which for near the ſpace of two years had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every ſpecies of diſtreſs and misfortune to the truly miſerable inhabitants. Yet in one reſpect the people were loſers, as their gratitude for the valiant and perſevering defence of the king, moved them to compliment him with their liberty, and render him one of the moſt deſpotic princes in Chriſtendom. °

Peace reſtored to the North.

CARDINAL *Mazarin* now offered his mediation to reconcile his *Portugueſe* majeſty and the ſtates general; but the negotiations proved more difficult than the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obſtruction was the indemnification required by the *Dutch* for the loſs ſuſtained in the *Braſils*; now the *India* company had driven the *Portugueſe* from the iſland of *Ceylon*, thereby engroſſing the moſt valuable of all the *India* ſpices, the cinnamon, which conſtitutes one of the moſt eſſential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquiſition was due to the diligence and valour of M. *Gohens*, counſellor of ſtate at *Batavia*, who firſt made an attack upon ſome of the ſmaller *Portugueſe* factories in the iſland; and encouraged by his ſucceſs, and the invitation of the natives, grievouſly oppreſſed by the tyranny of their old maſters, ven-

The Dutch *take the iſland of* Ceylon.

° BASNAGE, p. 629.

tured upon an attempt in *Jaffanapatan*, the head ſettlement of the *Portugueſe*. The ſituation of this place rendered a formal ſiege impracticable; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the *Dutch* forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take ſhelter in the *Portugueſe* fort, which was in a ſhort time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after the city was firſt inveſted, the beſieged deſired to capitulate, and the *Europeans* were permitted either to remove to *Goa* without their effects, or remain in the country in ſubjection to the conquerors. The king hated the *Portugueſe*; but he was alarmed at the rapid progreſs the *Dutch* made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquiſhed *Portugueſe* and the natives. He accordingly determined to cruſh them in the infancy of their eſtabliſhment, raiſed an army for that purpoſe; but was overawed, and forced to relinquiſh his deſign, by the *Dutch* ſquadron. In the end, he compromiſed matters with the company, and left the *Hollanders* in full poſſeſſion of whatever the *Portugueſe* had claimed in this delicious iſland.

THOUGH the articles of pacification with *Portugal* were rendered more intricate by the late conqueſt in *Ceylon*, yet it contributed to make his faithful majeſty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making reſtitution of the lands and merchandiſe taken from the republic in *Braſil*. Senſibly touched with the loſs of the valuable ſettlements in *Ceylon*, he ſent an ambaſſador to *Holland* with freſh propoſals; and to facilitate the way to an acommodation, he applied to *Mazarin* for the mediation of the court of *France*. *Mazarin* committed this affair to M. *de Thou*, reſident at the *Hague*; and that miniſter acted ſo warmly in the affair as to incur the diſpleaſure of his eminence, who apprehended that *Spain* would reject his taking part in the affairs of *Portugal*, at a time when the two courts were ſettling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the ſituation of *Holland* with regard to *Portugal*, when freſh occaſions of diſcontent aroſe. The *Portugueſe* jeſuits traded, under a variety of ſhapes and diſguiſes, to a prodigious extent in the *Eaſt Indies*. By a thouſand arts and machinations they obſtructed the *Dutch* commerce; and by the eſteem in which they were held in the different countries of *India*, not only foreſtalled the markets, but even ſo far prejudiced the natives, that in many places they refuſed to hold any intercourſe with the *Hollanders*. They not only inſinuated themſelves into the court of the emperor of

China, by their addreſs and ſkill in geometry, aſtronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in *India*, particularly to *Debli*, where the grand mogul reſided, and to *Golkonda*, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the beſt water and ſize, and the moſt precious jewels. The arts uſed by the *Dutch* to counteract them, were not very juſtifiable. They were, however, perfectly conſiſtent with the genius of this people, who ſtick at nothing to promote their intereſt. They are accuſed, and the charge hath never been diſproved, of arreſting clandeſtinely the jeſuit pilgrims, and ſtrangling them privately; they are even charged with uſing poiſon in the moſt baſe and inſidious manner. We have already explicitly related the progreſs of the *Dutch* commerce in *India*[p], and it is not agreeable to us to repeat facts which diſgrace humanity, and ſo deeply ſtain the character of a whole nation. Sufficient it is, that by a ſeries of the darkeſt arts and intrigues, the *Dutch* firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves, ruined their adverſaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives. (A)

THE revolution which now happened in *England*, and the king's reſtoration, affected the politics of the ſtates general, who had never been cordial with *Cromwel*, and ſince his death, were in a ſtate of uncertainty about the conduct they were to obſerve to his ſon *Richard*. How differently now did they behave to *Charles* the Second, to what they had done ſome years before, when that fugitive monarch was in his deplorable condition denied the protection of the republic, and was forced to quit the court of his couſin the prince of *Orange*, without knowing where to find another retreat. The tranſactions in *England* were no ſooner known than *Charles* ſet out for *Breda*, where the ſtates diſpatched a ſolemn deputation to congratulate him on his happy proſpect, and welcome his majeſty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the ſtates general and the ſtates of *Holland*, the former inſiſting not only upon their precedency at *Breda*, but even in the province of *Holland*, as the repreſentatives of the ſeven provinces, and

The ſtates receive the king of England *with great reſpect.*

[p] Vol. x. Mod. Hiſt.

(A) The treaty with the king of *Maccaſſar* was not concluded till the year 1662; but we have here mentioned all the tranſactions in *India* under one head, the better to preſerve the connection, and avoid tranſitions to ſubjects that bear not the leaſt relation to each other.

the

he ſovereign authority in the republic. Both reſolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the *Hague*; but *Charles* interpoſed and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was oppreſſed with honours and civilities during his ſtay in *Holland*, and upon his departure, was followed by a ſplendid embaſſy to his newly recovered dominions. M. *de Beverwert* was appointed the firſt in this embaſſy; and a preſent, which was made by the king to the ſon of that gentleman, became the ſubject of debate among the divines and politicians of the united provinces. *Beverwert* acquainted the ſtates with the preſent made to his ſon; but he ſaid, it could not be regarded as a gratification to the ambaſſador, in any way, contrary to the oath he had taken of receiving no bribes or preſents, which would have the leaſt tendency to bias his integrity. It was the king's unrelative gift to the ſon, from a mere regard to the perſon of that young gentleman, as ſome affirmed, while others were equally confident that the ſon and father were both included in the preſent, and incapable of being diſtinguiſhed in any mark of reſpect. We mention this circumſtance only to ſhew the delicacy of the government reſpecting the conduct of ambaſſadors. It is alſo a proof that the public had nothing of conſiderable importance to gain attention, elſe it would not have canvaſſed ſo rigidly a trivial affair, while the moſt flagrant corruptions had been winked at in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, and in all the embaſſies during the protectorate of *Oliver Cromwel*. [q]

The king of France *ſeizes on the principality of* Orange.

It was this year that the *French* king had taken violent poſſeſſion of the principality of *Orange*, upon an antient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longeſt ſword. The diſputes between the princeſſes dowager furniſhed a pretext for reſuming this claim, and *Lewis* did not chuſe to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alledged, that the princeſs governante had ſhewn him many inſtances of diſreſpect during the minority of her ſon the prince of *Orange*. He likewiſe maintained that he was performing a ſignal ſervice to the prince, by eaſing him of the load of uſeleſs expenſive garriſons. This opinion was ſupported by the enemies of the houſe of *Orange*, who inſiſted that the finances of that family had been ſo miſmanaged and miſapplied ſince the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garriſons, and fortifications, quite intolerable. They could not therefore conceive what

[q] Wicquefort, lib. xiii. p. 555.

deſign

deſign *Maurice* could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place ſituated in the heart of the *French* dominions, which could prove of no uſe to the republic, as a barrier againſt the encroachments of *France*. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in *Holland* was ſufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterpriſe to which he was before diſpoſed. He was at that time in *Provence* upon other affairs, and reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the principality of *Orange*. M. *de Milet* was ſent to ſummon count *Dohna* to ſurrender his truſt to the king, as mediator of the differences between the princeſſes dowagers, and legitimate tutor, and protector of the young prince. Upon *Dohna*'s anſwering, That he would only act by the orders of the princeſſes who had veſted him with the office of governor; *Milet* replied, That he was aſtoniſhed at his preſumption, in refuſing obedience to the command of the king his maſter, adding, that the moſt chriſtian king would ſupport his right with the irrefragable proof of 20,000 men, who would make him repent his obſtinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, perſevered in his duty, and ſent notice of his ſituation to the *Hague*. The court of the young prince was inſtantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the hereditary dominions, and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princeſſes, as the only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconciliation would take away all pretext for ſo unjuſt and oppreſſive an invaſion on the rights of a minor. Mean time the garriſon was unprovided with ſtores and every neceſſary of a ſiege, while the king's army under the mareſchal *Pleſſis Pralin*, advanced to the gates of *Orange*. The count *de Dohna*, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the conſent and advice of the magiſtrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the mareſchal. The king promiſed to exerciſe juſtice in the prince's name, and to reſtore the principality, with all the ſtores, cannon, effects, &c. as ſoon as he arrived at age; or in caſe of his death, to the electreſs of *Brandenburgh*, or the neareſt heirs: but he took care immediately to demoliſh the citadel, erected at a vaſt expence by prince *Maurice*. *Dohna* was accuſed of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princeſſes exclaimed violently againſt the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themſelves upon the protection of the ſtates general, and imploring the aid and aſſiſtance of their high mighti-

mightineſſes, in defence of an helpleſs injured minor. They had no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter terms to the king, accuſed him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of the infancy of a child, and the weakneſs of two women, his only protectreſſes.

LEWIS's deſigns were too evident, and the caſe of too much importance for the ſtates to paſs it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's diſpleaſure. However, inſtructions were ſent relative to the principality, to their ambaſſadors in *France* and *England*. The princeſs herſelf viſited *England*, not only to congratulate the king her brother upon his reſtoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her ſon, his nephew. Before her departure, the ſtates of *Zealand* ſhewed their attachment to the family of *Orange*, by propoſing that the prince ſhould be declared the firſt nobleman in the provinces, and veſted with the authority of ſtadtholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and prerogatives held by his anceſtors, and a penſion of one hundred thouſand florins. They alſo demanded that he ſhould immediately be admitted a member of the council of ſtate, in order to be early inſtructed in the arts of war and government, and the other qualifications neceſſary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They however allowed, that he ſhould not enter upon the functions of his office, until he attained the age of eighteen years; and that neither the ſtadtholderſhip, nor any of the other prerogatives, ſhould in the mean time be exerciſed by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their propoſal, the zealous ſtates of this province went in a body to the *Hague*, and preſented themſelves in a cavalcade of twenty coaches to the ſtates general. M. *de Wit*, their penſioner, recited in a long-laboured oration, the ſervices done the republic by the houſe of *Orange*, and the reaſons why the ſtates of *Zealand* thought the acceptance of their propoſal neceſſary to the ſecurity and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a ſingle argument that could enforce his ſubject; and his views were ſeconded by the ſtates of *Friſeland* and *Overyſſel*. *Holland* however and the other provinces kept aloof; yet to ſhew their reſpect to the princeſſes and the king of *England*, they aſſigned the prince a yearly revenue of 40,000 florins, to ſupport the dignity of his houſe, and the expences of his court and education. They even proceeded ſo far as to aboliſh the act of excluſion, which had raiſed ſuch diſſenſions in the provinces, and was paſſed merely out of dread of *Oliver Cromwel*. In this manner did the complaiſance of *Holland* prevent the other provinces from puſhing their deſigns

ſigns further at that time, and open the way to the young prince of *Orange*, to all the honours and dignities of his illuſtrious anceſtors [r].

A. D. 1661. *Treaty with* Portugal.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* had been extremely ſucceſsful in the war againſt *Portugal*, though they had obtained all they could propoſe to themſelves by the ſword, and though the king had no hopes of recovering his loſſes by the continuance of the war, yet no peace had been concluded. As the hoſtilities were confined entirely to a diſtant country, it could not be expected to be carried on with the ſame vigour as if *Europe* had been the theatre of war. The difficulty of tranſporting troops into thoſe remote regions, and of meeting with others fleets in that vaſt expanſe of ocean, rendered their mutual operations languid, and deciſive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was high time to ſheath the ſword, and turn their thoughts to a ſolid durable reconciliation. The *Dutch* eſpecially gave way to theſe pacific ſentiments, from a deſire to taſte the ſweet fruits of their conqueſts, which could not be done with ſecurity, while the rupture continued with a kingdom ſtill powerful by ſea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of *France* and *England* promiſed their good intentions, from views widely different. His chriſtian majeſty rejoiced at having this thorn in the ſide of the catholic king, and was deſirous by taking off the *Dutch*, to give *Portugal* weight in his negotiations for a peace with the court of *Spain*; while the king of *England*, who was upon terms with *Catharine*, the infanta of *Portugal*, was eager to render ſo ſignal a ſervice to a family with which he was ſoon to be linked in the cloſeſt alliance. The news of this intended marriage was received with more chagrin than ſurpriſe in *Holland*. It was obvious that ſuch engagements muſt neceſſarily cement the king of *England* to the intereſts of *Portugal*. The ſtates repreſented to the king by their ambaſſadors, the injuſtice done them by his *Portugueſe* majeſty, in refuſing to make reſtitution of *Braſil*; but their remonſtrances were coldly received; *Charles* even declared, upon hearing that great preparations were making in *Holland*, his intentions to aſſiſt the crown of *Portugal*. Though he expreſſed himſelf in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his anſwer contained a menace, if the *Dutch* ſhould longer purſue their reſentments. At the ſame time he offered his mediation, which however was too much ſuſpected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of *France* and *England*

[r] SAMSON hiſt. de Guillame III. p. 372.

were

ere both meditating the means of ſupporting *Portugal*; hile the miniſter of *Alphonſo* the Sixth, was diligently nego- ting a peace at the *Hague*, where he had gained over a eat number of friends. The great obſtacle was the reſti- tion of *Braſil*. This the ſtates had long demanded in in; it was now determined to relinquiſh the project, ra- er than proſecute hoſtilities againſt a crown ſo powerfully pported by *France* and *England*, and on the point of being conciled with *Spain*. Four provinces, however, oppoſed s reſolution upon late aſſurances from the *Spaniſh* court, at they were determined to come to no accommoda- n with *Portugal*, and that *Braſil* ſhould be reſtored to the ublic, the moment his catholic majeſty ſhould again be- me poſſeſſed of the kingdom of *Portugal*. *Zealand* in rticular inſiſted, that, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, this reſolu- n could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of ices, which was requiſite in all matters of ſo high im- rtance as the making peace or war. The debate was ſhed to a great length, but it never broke off the confe- nces with the count *de Miranda*, the *Portugueſe* miniſter. length a treaty was concluded, by which his *Portugueſe* ajeſty promiſed to pay the republic 500,000 livres annu- y, in money, ſugar, and ſalt; and a million of money to demnify her loſſes in the *Braſils*. He likewiſe conſented at the *Dutch* ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges of trade to rtugal, *Braſil*, and the coaſt of *Africa*, as the *Engliſh*. oſtilities were to ceaſe in *Europe* two months before the change of ratifications, and in the *Indies*, immediately on public notice of the treaty in thoſe parts [s].

ENGLAND had already manifeſted no favourable poſition to the intereſt of the republic, in the bias the ng plainly ſhewed for the court of *Portugal*: the inten- ns of that court became ſtill more obvious by the pro- ſal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the owns of *England* and *France*, and the *United Provinces*. was the manner rather than the terms of this propoſition, hich gave offence. The coldneſs was increaſed by the ception which the *Dutch* ambaſſadors met with at the urt of *London*, where they were treated with diſtant re- ect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made the late protector. They wrote back to the *Hague* ſoon er their arrival, that their negotiations were likely to ove tedious and difficult, becauſe the king inſiſted upon e concluſion of a treaty favourable to him, before he en- *Tranſactions with England.*

[s] WICQUEFORT, p. 14. BASNAGE, p. 635.

tered

tered upon the ſubject of navigation and commerce. The firſt obſtruction that occurred in courſe of the conferences, were the rights of fiſhing for herrings on the *Britiſh* coaſts. The next, was the prerogative aſſumed by the *Engliſh* of viſiting and examining *Dutch* veſſels at ſea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the wiſh of the *Hollanders*, to aboliſh this cuſtom, equally inconvenient to trade, and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of ſuperiority of which the *Engliſh* were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in *Holland* by the late king, and the not delivering up to puniſhment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken ſhelter in *Holland*, together with certain hoſtilities committed by an *Engliſh* officer on the coaſt of *Africa*, all contributed to encreaſe the coldneſs between the two nations, and render the diſputes of the commiſſaries fruitleſs. It was plain from the king's general behaviour, that his deſigns were rather to avail himſelf of the power of the republic, than live with her upon the ancient footing of friendſhip. His ſupporting the claims of his nephew the prince of *Orange* to the ſtadtholderſhip, his reconciliation with the princeſs of *Orange*, with whom he had been at variance, and his entering into a cloſer union with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, excited the jealouſy of the ſtates, and perſuaded them that *Charles* was no way affected to *Holland*, or diſpoſed to promote the intereſt of the republic. Both the king and the ſtates courted *Mazarin*; but in doing this, *Charles* embroiled himſelf with the penſioner *de Wit*, and inflamed the populace of *Holland*, by diſtreſſing their fiſheries, at the time too when his nephew moſt wanted their aſſiſtance. But what gave the greateſt offence, was the king's inſiſting that the *India* company ſhould allow free liberty to the *Engliſh* to trade to all the ports of *Aſia*, not immediately in the poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the *Engliſh* factories ſhould be an aſylum for all the natives who ſought protection of the *Britiſh* nation. Such demands from a prince, who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aſpiring princes loved to exerciſe over their neighbours, as well as their ſubjects; but it was the buſineſs of the ſtates to ſuppreſs their reſentment to a more ſeaſonable opportunity. In complaiſance to the king, three of the regicides were to be ſeized, in order to be delivered up to puniſhment. *Downing*, the *Engliſh* miniſter, threatened the deputies with the king's reſentment, if they refuſed to ſign an order to that purpoſe. He obtained the order; but the magiſtrates

magiſtrates of ſeveral towns interpoſed, affirming it would be the greateſt injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees; and that, in this inſtance, it would for many reaſons be baſe and inſidious. In deſpite however of their oppoſition, the regicides were taken into cuſtody, embarked at the *Brille*, and ſent to *London*. *De Wit* was the principal manager in this tranſaction, which greatly aſtoniſhed all his friends, who were no ſtrangers to his declared enmity to the king of *England* and the houſe of *Orange* [t].

ALREADY the tutelage of the prince of *Orange* had given birth to various diſſenſions, which were now renewed upon the death of the ſubſtitutes appointed by the princeſs, upon her departure for *England*. That ſhe ſhould nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies to the houſe of *Orange*, ſome of whom were the leading men in the republic, reſented highly her ſubſtituting the king of *England*, who, they ſaid, would educate the prince in deſpotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependant on the *Orange* family with his creatures, and ſap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of ſo vaſt importance, they thought themſelves juſtified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and ſtriking, what they called, a blow of ſtate. Accordingly they ſeized upon a ſtrong box which the princeſs dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the cleareſt information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to eſtabliſh his own ſovereign authority, of the enterpriſe againſt *Amſterdam*, and the ſecret intercourſe he was ſuppoſed to hold with divers members of the ſtates general. *Charles* complained that the laws of nations had been groſsly inſulted by this action; he likewiſe alledged that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the ſecrets of a ſovereign family ſo nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of *England*. To this the ſtates of *Holland*, which had authoriſed the courts of juſtice to execute this affair, could make no reply, beſides the intereſt they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in conſequence of the princeſs's departure. They found means, however, to ſhift off the reſtitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the ſecretary's of-

The ſtates of Holland ſeize upon the papers of the princeſs dowager.

[t] BASNAGE, p. 651.

fice.

fice. It is probable, that the occaſion which the princeſs had for the aſſiſtance and countenance of the ſtates, in her propoſed journey to *France*, to procure reſtitution of the principality of *Orange*, made the king her brother inſiſt leſs ſtrenuouſly upon this point.

State of Holland *with reſpect to* France.

THE death of cardinal *Mazarin*, which happened ſoon after the arrival of the *Dutch* ambaſſadors ſent to demand reſtitution of *Orange*, occaſioned great changes in the court of *Lewis* XIV. That prince was now, for the firſt time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He uſed the aſſiſtance of his miniſters, but he did not ſuffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done; and this he evinced by the ſudden diſgrace of M. *Fouquet*, which the *Dutch* ambaſſadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always oppoſed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of *Colbert*, who ſucceeded, greatly diſappointed the hopes of the ſtates general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambaſſadors were on the point of departing, without advancing an inch in the negotiation. They perceived that the new ſurintendant had formed vaſt projects for the extenſion of the *French* commerce, which was altogether inconſiſtent with the treaty they required; however, they found that the intereſt of M. *Leguier*, *Tellier*, and the mareſchal *Villeroi*, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and reſtrictions. In effect, they perſuaded the king, that it was for his intereſt to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with *Holland*; but *Colbert* guarded againſt their proving injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the deſign he had projected of raiſing the *French* marine to a reſpectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies ſhould be checked, and the offenders puniſhed; that the merchants of both nations ſhould reciprocally trade to each others ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any diſtinction of commodities, except whale-oil. Great difficulties aroſe about the king's guarantying the herring-fiſhery, which the court knew would give umbrage to the *Engliſh*. *Lewis*, under pretence that he could not guarantee a conteſted claim without expreſsly declaring againſt one of the claimants, contented himſelf with general expreſſions; but the *Dutch* ambaſſadors, ſenſible that a general guarantee would be uſeleſs, made preſſing inſtances that the conditions of the king's protection ſhould be minutely ſpecified. In the end, the treaty was ſigned

ſigned upon this footing, but *Lewis* deferred the ratification [b]. A. D. 1662.

No ſooner had the republic ſecured her commerce againſt the attacks of *French* pirates, by the treaty we have juſt mentioned, than ſhe reſolved to check the inſolence of the *Algerines*, who had committed a variety of depredations on the high ſeas, confiſcated the goods and ſhipping, and enſlaved the ſubjects of the *United Provinces*, while the ſtates and they were in profound peace with each other. For this purpoſe *de Ruyter* was diſpatched to the *Mediterranean* with a powerful ſquadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight *Algerine* pirates, which he diſperſed, after taking one, and ſinking another. A violent ſtorm, that aroſe in the middle of the engagement, prevented his deſtroying the whole ſquadron. It was upon this he received a challenge from the dey of *Algiers*, couched in the following terms: "Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we ſhall "agree with reſpect to the following propoſition, and that "you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make: "You have three times given me chace, and if I have "avoided fighting, I deſire you will not attribute it to a "deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my ſtrength. "Mine is only a ſmall bark, your's a large ſhip, and floating caſtle. It is for this reaſon I deſire you will meet me "upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and "valour. If you conquer me, I ſhall be your ſlave; but "if fortune ſhould be propitious to my endeavours, I ſhall "reſt ſatisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this "requeſt, and if I prove backward, rank me among the "number of timid ſpirits. Receive the compliments "which I ſend you." *Ruyter* accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for the engagement; but he heard no more of the *Algerine* bravo. His conſtancy on this occaſion inſpired the *Turks* with the higheſt opinion of his courage and generoſity. They wiſhed to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince of *Tunis* immediately made conceſſions; but the *Algerines* would have perſiſted in their defence, had their ſhips been any way proportioned to *de Ruyter*'s ſtrength. This inequality alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give ſecurity for their future behaviour, and enter upon the ſtricteſt engagements not to moleſt the *Dutch* commerce [c].

Ruyter ſent againſt the Algerines.

[b] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 305. Basnage, ibid. [c] La vie de Ruyter, p. 56.

EVERY foreign occurrence would ſeem to heal the diviſions in the *United Provinces*; but this was only a temporary, not a radical cure. It ſuſpended the animoſity of the parties, but did not remove the cauſe of their mutual reſentments, which gathered ſtrength from their long continuance. The education of the prince became again the ſubject of vehement diſputes between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Holland* inſiſted, that, by the *Roman* law, and the particular laws of the *Netherlands*, the tutelage of a nobleman, or young prince, rightly belonged to that ſovereign power in whoſe obedience the father of the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that *Zealand* had no pretenſions, either by ſovereign right, or teſtamentary election. The *Zealanders* replied, that the young prince of *Orange* was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, ſubjected to certain laws, and chambers erected for factoring his eſtate; the prince's chief territories were ſituated in *Zealand*; it was therefore reaſonable he ſhould have his education under the direction of that province. This diſpute begot other ſubjects of contention, which greatly diſturbed all perſons attached to the true intereſt of their country, though *de Wit* alone, whoſe influence was every day encreaſing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The diſſenſions were not confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*; they ſpread themſelves to *Groningen* and *Utrecht*, and at laſt terminated in an altercation with the duke of *Newburgh*, which was ſoon compromiſed [d].

A. D. 1663. *Colluſion between the king of* France, *and the penſionery* de Wit.

FRANCE and *Holland* appear at this period to have been under the direction of the ſame ſpirit, and to have co-operated in preciſely the ſame meaſures. There ſubſiſted a thorough underſtanding between the penſionery *de Wit* and the count *d'Eſtrades*: the letters of the moſt chriſtian king are full of acknowledgments of the ſervices done him by the penſionery; and, ſpeaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of *France* and *England*, he expreſsly declares, that nothing ſhould be concluded in it contrary to the intereſt of the *United Provinces*. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued without warm oppoſition and loud clamours. The *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* had each their faction in the ſtates general, and both joined with the *Orange* family to diſtreſs *de Wit*, who was thus forced into a dependance on *France*, by which he triumphed for a time over all his adverſaries. *Spain*, jealous of the growing power of *France*, laboured to form a fœderal

[d] BASNAGE, p. 674.

union

n between the republic and the other ten provinces, neir mutual ſecurity. This *d'Eſtrades* traverſed with all ddreſs, and influence with the penſionery. In conſe- ce *de Wit* drew up a counter-project, the apparent de- of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, ch the effect would probably have been to gain *France* ſion of the *Ten Provinces*, without the trouble, hazard, pence of a war (A). *Lewis*, however, was unwilling to

) As this point is curious, ly omitted by *Dutch* wri- and only mentioned by *rench*, we ſhall preſent the : with an abſtract of *de* project, which was to the ing purpoſe. *Firſt*, It ropoſed, that endeavours l be uſed to prejudice the ces under the dominion *ain*, in favour of a free re- : ; and that aſſurances l be given them of pow- ſuccours from *France* and public. *Secondly*, That the ition however ſhould be ef- by the voluntary conſent inhabitants, and particu- the magiſtrates of the ci nd that for this reaſon no ce ſhould be uſed, or arms luced into the *Ten Spaniſh nces*, as it was the intention *rance* and the republic to ain their treaties with . But in caſe of the king *ain*'s death, then the a- mentioned provinces ſhould ntoned by force, if neceſ- and formed into a free re- :. *Thirdly*, That to ſecure ontiers of the *United Pro-* againſt all foreign pow- ll poſſible efforts ſhould be in caſe the ſcheme for ng the *Ten Provinces* in- republic ſucceeded, to nto the hands of the moſt n king the cities and places of *Cambray*, *St. Omer*, *Aix*, *Newport*, *Furnes*, *Bergues*, and *Linch*, with their depend- ing lordſhips and counties: and into thoſe of the ſtates general of the *United Provinces*, the cities, towns, and places of *Oſtend*, *Plaſſendal*, *Bruges*, *Dam- me*, *Blonquenbergue*, with that part of *Guelderland* now poſ- ſeſſed by *Spain*, the four quar- ters of *Outremeuſe*, and the caſ- tles of *Navaigne* and *Argen- taer*, with their dependencies. *Fourthly*, That if the propoſed ſcheme of cantonment ſhould ſucceed, either voluntarily be- fore the deceaſe of the king of *Spain*, or by compulſion after his death, both ſides ſhould hear- tily labour that the ſaid places be put into the poſſeſſion of *France* and the ſtates general reſpectively, as well for the con- ſiderations before alledged, as for ſeveral other reaſons of im- portance to the common wel- fare and peace of both ſtates.

The alterations made by the court of *France* in this project, had an eye to the ſucceſſion of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and ſeemed to foreſee what happened many years after, when the partition- treaty and triple alliance were formed, to prevent the enor- mous growth of *France*, and preſerve a juſt political ballance in *Europe*. Here the king al-

to be put off with the bare poſſibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to poſſeſs; for this reaſon he continued the negotiation, but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an iſſue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealouſy of the ſtates, he laid aſide the maſk and the project together [c].

Cauſes of a rupture between England *and the* United Provinces.

ALL this while Sir *George Downing*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, was ſupporting the negotiations of *Gamarra* the *Spaniſh* miniſter, to form the league of the *Seventeen Provinces*

[c] D'ABLANCOURT's Memoirs, p. 162.

ready ſet aſide the renunciation made by his queen of her right to the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, calling it *null* and *invalid*, becauſe extorted from her at *Fontarabia*, before ſhe came to *France*. He, beſides, accuſed *Spain* of a breach of contract, and the non-performance of ſeveral of the conditions ſtipulated between the two courts. He alledged that theſe truths were ſo well known in *Flanders*, that the principal inhabitants had jointly debated upon the means of defending themſelves againſt the impending evils, and the more prudent had propoſed, as the moſt effectual method, to canton themſelves into a free republic, allied to *France* and the ſtates general. The king, therefore, out of his great moderation, propoſed, in caſe of the king of *Spain*'s death, to wave his juſt claims in *Flanders*, and be contented that the people, who ought naturally to be under his government, ſhould become free, and allied to the lords the ſtates general, under his majeſty's protection, except only ſome places, which lay commodious to the king, for protecting the frontiers of his kingdom. To this he deſired the aſſent of the ſtates general, and alſo their concurrence in preſerving the treaties with *Spain*, during the life of the reigning monarch: and he further added, that, in caſe the ſucceſſion of *Spain* devolved upon his queen, before the inhabitants had taken the reſolution of forming themſelves into a republic, that then his majeſty ſhould be at liberty to poſſeſs, for the greater ſecurity of his kingdom, ſuch other places as might be thought neceſſary for the protection of his frontiers, beſides thoſe ſpecified in the penſionery's propoſal. Such was the ideal ſcheme planned by M. *de Wit* and the court of *France*; from which, however, both ſides deduced no other conſequences than thoſe which publickly appeared. *England* got ſcent of thoſe negotiations, and it proved one cauſe of the ſucceeding rupture between that kingdom and the *United Provinces*; for it was obvious that the execution of ſuch a project would greatly extend the power of *France*, and prejudice the commerce of *Great Britain*. *Lettres d'Eſtrades March* 22, 1663.

we

have already mentioned; but, incenſed at the ſecret
ıſactions between *de Wit* and *d'Eſtrades*, he had inſtruc-
ıs to demand reparation of the injuries done by the ſub-
:s of the ſtates to the *Britiſh* commerce. A variety of
:umſtances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture be-
:en the two nations, to which this remonſtrance was a
lude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies
:very emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Re-
rocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence, and
h in his turn became the aggreſſor. *Holland* had, it is
:, left unperformed ſeveral of the articles of the treaty
peace made with *Cromwel*; but *England* had ballanced
ſe by ſimilar neglects. One circumſtance indeed highly
ected on the dignity of the *Britiſh* crown; namely, that
ſatisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her
ımmerce in *Aſia*, or atonement for the maſſacre at *Am-*
ıa, except the unexecuted promiſe of a trifling ſum of
ney. The *Dutch* contented themſelves with penitential
teſtations on this head, by which even *Cromwel* had been
ɔed, and prevailed on to with-hold puniſhment, when
had the whole nation at his mercy; can we wonder if
inconſtant, irreſolute *Charles*, with all his natural pene-
tion and good ſenſe, which he never exerted, ſhould be
:r-reached by their artifice? The *Dutch*, perceiving the
nour of the *Engliſh*, knew that the king would be forced
ɔ violent meaſures; they therefore publiſhed a long
ırge againſt the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, which like-
:e anſwered the purpoſe of an apology for their own
ıduct; and this was anſwered by a paper, proving that
: charge was a deliberate aſſemblage of frivolous pre-
ıces, and unjuſt and inſolent demands, made without
y regard to honour, truth, reaſon, or the law of nations.
ts of damages were mutually delivered, which both ſides
ɔported by ſeveral ſtrong memorials. We have already
cified theſe particulars in the hiſtory of the *Eaſt India*
mpanies[f]; it will therefore be unneceſſary to ſay any
ɔre here than that *Charles* declared to M. *Cuneas*, the
ıtch reſident in *London*, that he would receive no memo-
ls from his hands, as he expected the ſtates would ſend
ambaſſador in the manner promiſed by M. *Beverwert*,
ıen he took his leave. His majeſty, beſides, laid a great
triction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged
Holland; and he conſidered it as a particular mark of
ı regard for *Amſterdam*, that he confined the uſual time of

[f] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xvi.

performing quarantine to thirty days, inſtead of forty. The precaution would have been juſt, had the fact been true; but in any event it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as *Holland*, which, on this occaſion, was ſingled out, in enmity to the penſionery, and the ſtates of that province.

DOWNING, indeed, by his violent remonſtrances to the ſtates, and the partial accounts remitted to *England* every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He inſiſted in his memorials of reſtitution of two *India* ſhips, called the *Bonadventure*, and *Good Hope*, as likewiſe of ſeveral other *Engliſh* ſhips, rather as ſcaffolds than the building, as collateral circumſtances, but not the main foundation of the propoſed rupture. This is obvious, from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty-five articles of damages now preſented, was contained. As to the *India* ſhips, the *Engliſh* were left, by agreement, to proſecute their claim, and 80,000 florins were depoſited by the *Dutch* company, by way of indemnification, ſhould the deciſion turn out favourable to their adverſaries. The *Dutch* alledged, that the *Engliſh* greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with reſpect to the *India* ſhips. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the diſpute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural intereſt of both parties in the *Guiney* trade, and the extenſion of their commerce in *America*. Sir *Robert Holmes* had been diſpatched with a ſquadron to the coaſt of *Africa*, to aſſert the rights of *Great Britain*, and check the encroachments of the *Hollanders*. This he executed very effectually, by diſpoſſeſſing them of *Cape Verd*, and *Cabo de Corſo*; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himſelf maſter of *Nova Belgia*, ſince called *New York*. Theſe hoſtilities the *Dutch* commiſſaries on the coaſt of *Guiney* reſented, by detaining the *Engliſh* ſhipping and merchandiſe, in the ports belonging to the republic. Theſe veſſels and effects belonged to the new-eſtabliſhed *Africa* company, of which the duke of *York* was governor. *Downing* exclaimed againſt the inſult offered to the king and duke, inſtead of giving ſatisfaction for the hoſtilities which had occaſioned this retaliation. It is for this reaſon we cannot join iſſue with the *Engliſh* hiſtorians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the ſtates general. Had they attributed it to *Charles*'s reſentment of the unatoned barbarities committed in the *Eaſt Indies* upon *Engliſh* ſubjects,

their

their plea would have been paſſable; but to charge the *Dutch* with being the aggreſſors on the coaſt of *Guiney*, evidently proceeds from natural prejudice, and a ſuperficial enquiry into the facts aſſerted by both parties, and inconteſtibly proved by the *Hollanders* [g].

THE grievances of the *Dutch* were ſtill greater on the ſide of *America*. *Hudſon*, an *Engliſh* captain, had made a deſcent on the *Dutch* colonies, ſituated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north ſide of the continent of *America*. This was in the reign of *James* I. From that time the claims of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* were extremely intricate. The ſituation was too remote to admit of a clear ſtate of the objects in diſpute. Mutual hoſtilities paſſed, and each endeavoured, not only to ſupport, but to extend, their ſettlements by force, fraud, and violence. *Holmes* attacked the *Dutch* by the king's authority, the *Dutch Weſt India* company therefore carried their grievances before the ſtates general; but before they could take any meaſures for redreſſing them, advice arrived that the *Engliſh* had landed on the iſland *Monchattan*, and had made themſelves maſters of the town of *New Amſterdam*. *Downing* not only ſupported this action, by affirming, it was a conſequence of the inſults offered to *Britiſh* commerce on the coaſt of *Guiney*; but he ſo warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with reſpect to the *Baltic* trade, that it was manifeſt no terms could be long preſerved. By this means he had the addreſs to involve the ſtates in diſputes with the *Northern* powers, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and even the *French* monarch, from whom *Sweden* received a ſubſidy. His conduct towards the houſe of *Orange* had inſpired the elector with a perſonal animoſity to the penſionery of *Holland*; the ſame cauſe had irritated the king of *England* againſt this miniſter; *de Wit*, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding againſt the impending blow, was to unite cloſely with *France*, and ſacrifice trivial claims to the real and neceſſary protection of that powerful prince. The project with reſpect to the cantonment of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* was again renewed; and the occaſion ſeemed natural, as the king of *Spain*'s life was in great danger, and the infanta labouring under an ardent fever. Matters proceeded ſo far that four deputies were ſent from the *Ten Provinces*, to confer upon the ſubject with M. *de Wit*. At laſt, after ſeveral conferences and propoſals, they were diſmiſſed, without coming to any reſolution.

[g] BASNAGE, p. 713.

Freſh intrigues with the court of France.

No ſooner the project of forming a new republic vaniſhed, than another was ſubſtituted. *De Wit* laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with *France*, whereby the houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould be excluded the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in caſe the emperor *Joſeph* married the infanta of *Spain*. This was no other than a diviſion of the provinces between *France* and the republic. But ſeveral difficulties aroſe in the execution. A miſtake committed by *d'Eſtrades*, in decyphering a letter of inſtructions from his court, had almoſt broke off the negotiation. The ambaſſador inſiſted, that *Ghent* and *Mechlin* ſhould be aſſigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be expoſed to his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming, that he had never demanded the latter, and that his miniſter had miſtaken the former for *Cambray*. Now the greateſt difficulty was, to engage the deputies of the towns in his deſign, and this the penſionery effected by a very extraordinary ſtroke of policy, which, at the ſame time, diſplays his knowledge of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He inſinuated to them his apprehenſions leſt the *Infidels* ſhould, after conquering the empire, penetrate into the *Netherlands*, and eſtabliſh a footing in the vicinage of the republic. The court of *France* laughed at the wildneſs of M. *de Wit*'s project; but they were aſtoniſhed when they perceived the effects, and that he drew from it the very conſequence he propoſed. He perſuaded the deputies of the neceſſity of entering into a cloſer alliance with the king, whoſe power alone could ſtem the torrent of *Turkiſh* conqueſt, and protect the republic of *Holland*. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of viſiting his uncle, he made the tour of *Holland*, and conferred in perſon with all the magiſtrates, while *d'Eſtrades* was taking the ſame meaſures in ſome of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote his ſcheme happened at *Conſtantinople*, where the *Dutch* reſident was arreſted, becauſe a *Dutch* ſhip, freighted by the grand ſignior to *Alexandria*, had fallen into the hands of the *Malteſe*. *Warner*, the reſident, was at length forced to pay the damages, upon which he was ſet at liberty. *De Wit* turned this circumſtance to his advantage, and enflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that the ſtates laid an additional duty on all commodities from the *Levant*, until the loſſes of the reſident ſhould be indemnified. All the magiſtrates of the principal towns were now unanimouſly of opinion, that the republic ought to enter into the ſtricteſt ties with the *French* king. Some towns, however, oppoſed the ſcheme

of a partition of the *Netherlands*, from an apprehenſion that this muſt embarraſs the republic with *Spain* and the emperor [h].

WHILE things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between *France* and *England*, and of an armament equipping by the former, ſaid to be againſt the pontiff, excited jealouſy in the ſtates, and even alarmed the penſioner, leſt *France* might have ſecret deſigns of becoming entirely maſter of the *Netherlands*. The *Spaniſh* miniſter at the *Hague* likewiſe propagated a report, that a treaty between *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, was likewiſe in agitation, which produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this we may add, the revival of the old diſputes between the provinces of *Holland* and the ſtates general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both *de Wit* and the ſtates began to apprehend, they might bewilder themſelves in ſuch a labyrinth of intrigues, as ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings of *Spain* and *England*, while they could have no reliance upon the friendſhip of the *French* monarch. This determined the penſioner to act with more caution, and to caſt about for the means of avoiding a rupture with *England*, until the republic was fortified by alliances, or at leaſt ſecured againſt the reſentment of *Spain*, and the empire. But this point was found impracticable. Hoſtilities had ſo long been purſued on the coaſt of *Africa*, and in *America*, that both nations were highly exaſperated, and there appeared a neceſſity of terminating the quarrel by the ſword. *Walchenberg*, director-general for the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, on the coaſt of *Guiney*, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company, but even of the ſtates general, ſet forth a claim to the whole coaſt, and prohibited all other nations from ſettling in that quarter. The inſolence of this order, extremely irritated the *Engliſh* in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body reſolved, that the wrongs, injuries, and indignities, done to his majeſty by the ſubjects of the *United Provinces*, by invading his rights in *India*, *Africa*, and *America*, and the damages done to the *Engliſh* commerce, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade; his majeſty was therefore intreated to take ſpeedy and effectual methods for redreſſing the grievances of the nation; the commons aſſuring him they would aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes. A. D. 1664.

[h] Lettres de comte d'Eſtrades, June 1744.

NOTWITH-

of ſending a ſmall ſquadron to the coaſt of *America*, ſuch as could afford no apprehenſion that they propoſed acting offenſively. This, at leaſt, is the charge of the *Engliſh* hiſtorians; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that the conduct of the ſtates was extremely ambiguous; but whether from neceſſity, irreſolution, or deſign, we cannot pretend to determine[1].

WHILE *Europe* was in ſuſpence about the iſſue of the intrigues carried on in *France*, *England*, *Spain* and *Holland*, the *Dutch*, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in commerce, were diſturbed by ſome alarms from *Denmark*, the empire, and the buſy reſtleſs biſhop of *Munſter*. The *Danes* complained that the *Hollanders* had monopolized the trade of *Africa*; and every meaſure which might accelerate and inſure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of *London*. It was artfully inſinuated at *Copenhagen*, that the ſtates propoſed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coaſt of *Guiney*; the court of *Vienna* was reminded of the injuries and oppreſſions ſuſtained by the ſubjects of the empire, of the enterpriſing diſpoſition of the *Dutch*, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the biſhop of *Munſter* was taught, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himſelf upon a republic, whoſe meddling policy had obſtructed the accompliſhment of his favourite projects. The *Danes* however were awed by the importance of the *Dutch* trade to his dominions, and the revenue ariſing from the duties they paid in the *Sound*; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repulſing the infidels; he even went ſo far as to propoſe an alliance to the ſtates general, which they rejected, from an apprehenſion it might give umbrage to the *French* monarch. As to the biſhop of *Munſter*, *Downing* the *Engliſh* miniſter found him more ready to liſten to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controverſy about ſome lands, with the prince of *Lichtenſtein*. The proceſs was determined in his favour by the imperial chamber at *Spires*; and believing it neceſſary to profit by this award, the biſhop uſed force, and thereby incurred the diſpleaſure of the ſtates general. He ſurpriſed fort *Eydeler*, garriſoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this proceeding, the ſtates complained that their frontier was in danger; and the biſhop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were ſufficiently guarded by other fortifications. *France* and *Spain* wanted to accom-

Diſpute with the biſhop of Munſter.

[1] BASNAGE, p. 723.

modate

modate the difference, and offered their mediation; but the biſhop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would ſuffer no violence to be done the prelate, and the approaching war between *England* and *Holland*, which he foreſaw would give ſufficient employment to the ſtates general.

INCENSED at the interpoſition of the emperor, and his evident partiality in favour of the biſhop, the ſtates preſented ſpirited remonſtrances to the court of *Vienna*, and ſhewed the neceſſity they were under of ſecuring the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a diſtance ſo enterpriſing a neighbour as the biſhop, and depriving him of his late acquiſition. As this produced no effect, they wrote to the biſhop, that unleſs he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to inveſt *Eydeler*. The firmneſs of the ſtates ſtaggered the reſolution of the biſhop; he now diſpatched an envoy to the *Hague*, begun a negotiation, and had the addreſs to prevail on the ſtates to recal the prince of *Naſſau*, who was laying ſiege to the fort. However, the conferences were broke off, the war renewed, and the prince of *Naſſau* ſent with an army to lay ſiege to *Wilderſkans*, a ſtrong place, before which he died of a putrid fever. We ſhall have occaſion to relate the progreſs of the war in its proper place [k].

A. D. 1665. *The ſituation of the republic at the commencement of the war with* England.

THE ſituation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war, with a bold, reſtleſs, ambitious prieſt, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with *England*, the moſt powerful maritime power in *Europe*. The king of *England*, inſtigated by his brother the duke of *York*, who never forgot the uſage he received at the *Hague* during his exile, and was beſides inflamed with a violent deſire of ſignalizing himſelf againſt a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with *Holland*, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the ſword. Mutual animoſity rather than intereſt actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought ſome advantage, and acquiſition of territory to the victor; but the naval engagements which now coſt ſuch ſeas of blood, produced nothing but glory, and terminated wholly in twining laurels round the temples of a few general officers. Every ſuperiority gained, was dearly purchaſed; and it anſwered no other purpoſe, beſides the deſtruction of a greater number of the human ſpecies, the ſinking, burning, and blowing up of veſſels, which had been built at the ex-

[k] Id. ibid.

pence

pence of oppreſſive taxes upon the ſubjects. The commerce, even of the conqueror, muſt ſuffer irreparably, where the powers at war are upon a nearly equal footing in ſtrength; and it may be queſtioned, whether the worſt peace between trading nations, be not preferable to the moſt ſucceſsful war. The ſtates were ſenſible of this truth, perhaps too late; and after the mutual hoſtilities committed, had fired both nations to a degree of reſentment, not to be appeaſed, but by repeated trials of ſkill and fortune. The prodigality of the king of *England* likewiſe urged him upon this expedient; from the ſupplies which might neceſſarily be granted for the proſecution of the war, he foreſaw he ſhould be able to with-hold conſiderable ſums for the ſupport of his pleaſures. Beſides, that prince had a taſte for ſhip-building, and a paſſion for equipping ſuch an armament as ſhould give law to all the maritime powers of *Europe*.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe obſtacles, the ſtates ſolicited the mediation of *France*, by means of *Van Buiningen*, whoſe vivacity, genius and oratory, began now to give him diſtinction, and raiſe his reputation high in the eſteem of *Lewis*. The *French* king ſeemed to yield to the intreaties of the *Dutchman*, at the very time it was ſuſpected he was ſupplying his brother the king of *England* with money to maintain the war which now appeared inevitable. Another circumſtance likewiſe contributed to render the ſituation of the republic, with reſpect to *France*, very dubious. Several *French* ſhips, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of *Holland*; particularly five large veſſels bought up for the ſervice of the *Eaſt India* company. Theſe the *Dutch* fitted out for the uſe of their own company; they were reclaimed by *d'Eſtrade*, in divers fruitleſs memorials[1]; but the ſtates alledged, that the embargo which the approaching war with *England* rendered neceſſary, ought to extend to the ſhipping of all foreigners. Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the *Dutch* were ſoliciting the friendſhip of *France* publickly by their ambaſſador, they were imploring his mediation between them and the king of *England*, and yet they were privately taking ſuch meaſures, as they ought to know muſt have confirmed *France* in the intereſt of their enemies. Such unſteadineſs can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that ſubſiſted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions ſupported by *de Wit* on the one hand, and the friends

[1] WICQUEFORT, Hiſt. p. 15. Lettres d'Eſtrades, du 23, m. 1665.

of

of the houſe of *Orange* on the other. That miniſter was fixed in the intereſt of *Lewis*, while the oppoſite party wavered between their reſpect for *England*, and the neceſſity of keeping upon fair terms with *France*, at the ſame time that they ſecretly obſtructed the deſigns and projects of the penſioner. This explains the detention of the ſhipping; a meaſure merely calculated to traverſe *de Wit*'s ſchemes. The nation in general had no opinion of the ſincerity of *France*; they complained, that *Lewis* only watched an opportunity of ſeizing upon the *Netherlands*, and to gratify his indignation, and ſtop the cravings of his ambition, they joined iſſue with *de Wit* about reſtoring the ſhipping; which they did in terms the moſt honourable and ſubmiſſive.[m]

NOR was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The diſpute about the ſhipping was no obſtacle to the negotiations of *Buiningen*, who kept his majeſty ſteady in the overtures to *England*, of his mediation. However, the ambaſſador, by expreſs order of the ſtates, had given ſuch a turn to affairs as highly diſpleaſed *Lewis*. While they pretended to relax in numberleſs points, they cloſely adhered in fact, to their old terms, which obliged the king to complain in the moſt lively manner, that they trifled with him, by offering to *England* conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, he could not afford the leaſt hope of accommodation, and that, if ſome propoſals were not made relative to the future ſettlement of trade, he ſhould have reaſon to ſuſpect their deſigns were to engroſs the whole commerce of the world. This did not move the reſolution of the ſtates; they knew it was *Lewis*'s intereſt to ſupport the *Louveſtein* faction againſt the prince of *Orange*, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle the king of *England*; and in fact, notwithſtanding the firmneſs of the ſtates, and the many cauſes of diſpleaſure they had given, *Lewis*, ſtrongly inclined in favour of the penſioner, and particularly reſpected the creature of that miniſter, *Van Buiningen*. Yet he was apprehenſive of declaring againſt *Charles*, leſt he ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of *Spain*, whither that prince had now diſpatched an ambaſſador. To gain time, this politic monarch ſent the duke *de Verneuil*, at the head of a ſplendid ambaſſy to *London*, with further orders of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for ſeveral months, though his conferences proved fruitleſs. The truth is, he found that the republic had not

Differences with the court of France.

[m] Lettres de comte d'Eſtrades, p. 1665.

prepared a ſufficient fleet to oppoſe the *Engliſh*; he had been miſinformed as to the ſtrength of the *Dutch* naval armament, and had ſtrongly recommended a defenſive war, and keeping cloſe in their harbours. It was matter of aſtoniſhment to him, to find that the ſtates had actually in commiſſion a fleet of three hundred men of war, beſides traders, yachts, and fireſhips, manned with twenty thouſand ſeamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of *Holland*, made him now regard the republic with more reſpect. To find that ſuch an armament ſhould be equipped without any noiſe, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inſpire him with ſublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vaſt extent of her commerce [h].

WHILE the *French* king was thus ballancing between *England* and *Holland*, the duke of *York* ſet ſail in the month of *May*, and cruiſed for fifteen days before the *Texel*, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ſhips, homeward bound, before the *Dutch* fleet had aſſembled. On the duke's return to *Harwich*, the fleets of *Holland* and *Zealand* joined; but they were diſperſed by a ſtorm, and ſeveral ſhips forced into the *Engliſh* ports. Again they rendezvouſed at the mouth of the *Meuſe*, to the number of one hundred and twenty ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips, ketches, &c. under the command of admirals *Opdam*, *Evertzen*, *Cartemaar*, and *Van Tromp*, ſon to the celebrated *Tromp*, who had loſt his life in the laſt war. The utmoſt reſolution and ſpirit appeared in all the officers and ſeamen, all emulous of the opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves, and of recovering the loſt honour of the republic; for ſuch they deemed the humble ſupplications made to the uſurper *Cromwel*. The penſioner himſelf went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promiſes of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to ſea, where he delivered the order of the ſtates to fight the *Engliſh* at all hazards. *Opdam*, in compliance with his inſtructions, proceeded in queſt of the enemy; but the wind blowing in ſuch a manner as to give the *Engliſh* the weather-gage, he choſe rather to deviate from the orders of the ſtates, and bear away for the *Meuſe*, than riſk a defeat by fighting under a diſadvantage. His conduct incenſed the penſioner, whoſe intereſt now predominated in the republic. *De Wit* had reſolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce *France* to declare for the ſtates; he

[h] BASNAGE, p. 742.

therefore

therefore obtained an order, requiring *Opdam*, under pain of death, to ſeek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at inſtructions that ſtrongly reflected on his courage. He perceived the orders had been dictated by *de Wit*, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the houſe of *Orange*, and reſolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully diſcharging his duty, and demonſtrating the injuſtice of the aſperſion, and the prejudices of the penſioner. With this view he weighed anchor on the third day of *April*, and in a few hours fell in with the *Engliſh* fleet, of equal force, and under the conduct of the duke of *York*, the earl of *Sandwich*, ſir *George Aſcough*, and the admirals *Pen* and *Lawſon*, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves under the protectorate. The fleets met between *Yarmouth* and *Harwich*; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both ſides maintained it with their uſual intrepidity, conduct, and animoſity. *Opdam* is blamed for ſuffering the *Engliſh* to gain the weather-gage, but unjuſtly; circumſtances would not ſuffer it ſhould be otherwiſe, and yet he was under the neceſſity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and ſhewed them his inſtructions. "We "muſt, ſays he, pluck laurel or the cypreſs; there is no "alternative." He would even ſeem to have ſome foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he ſent all the money back to *Holland* immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a ſea-fight more confuſed or terrible; ſcarce a ſhip kept to its proper ſtation, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valour. The duke and *Opdam*, by a reciprocal miſtake, fought ſhip to ſhip with the moſt deſperate firing. Three perſons of quality were killed by the ſide of the duke of *York*, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and ſoon after admiral *Opdam*, with a great number of volunteers of diſtinction, were blown up into the air, and crumbled into aſhes. Above ſix hundred men periſhed by this accident, which aroſe from a ſpark of fire falling into the powder room. His flag was hoiſted by *Cartemaer*, who was ſoon killed by a cannon ball, that carried away his leg. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have ſeparated the combatants, had not ſeveral *Dutch* captains withdrawn themſelves. They had been promoted, by the intereſt of the prevailing faction, as ſpies on the conduct of *Opdam*, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and ſome in courage. The enemy, flushed by their

The Dutch *fleet is defeated by the* Engliſh.

their negligence, and puſhed with redoubled vigour the ſhips that continued in the line. *Evertzen*, and even *Tromp*, defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but the former was obliged to ſhift his flag, and have his ſhip towed away. This circumſtance, and the deſtruction of ſeveral of the ſhips, either devoured by the flames, or ſwallowed up by the ocean, firſt introduced confuſion, which was ſucceeded by an unuſual deſpondency: in a word, the *Dutch* were defeated with the loſs of eighteen ſhips, either ſunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near ſix thouſand mariners, beſides two of the beſt admirals in *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, however, made an admirable retreat, and by his valour, and the ſkill of his diſpoſition, prvented the enemy from purſuing a victory they had purchaſed with the loſs of the brave admiral *Lawſon*, two thouſand ſeamen, and ſeven capital ſhips. [o]

Admiral *Evertzen* was the firſt who brought the report of this defeat to the *Brille*, where the people were ſo exaſperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reaſon to approve his conduct. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he could paſs under cover of the night to the *Hague*, to lay the ſituation of affairs before the ſtates: his narrative overwhelmed them with conſternation. The *Orange* party demanded an immediate peace with *England*, and the elevation of the prince of *Orange* to the ſtadtholderſhip. M. *de Wit* was greatly diſappointed in his ſanguine hopes of victory. However, he ſupported his opinions with a reſolution, that ſhewed he was prepared for the worſt that could happen. He did not, nevertheleſs, openly oppoſe the faction; but he anſwered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the *French* king. He procured an immediate order for *Van Tromp* to keep the ſea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminiſh the glory of the conquerors, ſuſtain the reputation of the republic, and perſuade the people that the defeat was leſs deciſive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly ſent to *Tromp*; but he refuſed to run further hazards with officers, in whoſe ſkill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependance. Upon this ſeveral captains were tried for cowardice and neglect of duty; three were ſhot, four had their ſwords ignominiouſly broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were ſuperſeded and declared incapable

[o] Id. ibid. SMOLLET, Hiſt. Eng. book vii. c. i.

of ſervice, and the chief pilot was ſentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which he was baniſhed.

By theſe rigid and juſt puniſhments the ſtates gratified the officers of merit, anſwered the public expectation, and inſpired the ſeamen with a ſpirit of emulation, a dread of the conſequences of neglect, and with reſpect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmoſt expedition was uſed in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for *de Ruyter*, daily expected from the coaſt of *Africa*, with his greatly inferior ſquadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no eaſy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. *Van Tromp* had ſkill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the ſeamen, but he had diſobeyed the deputies ſent with orders from the ſtates. He was beſides attached to the houſe of *Orange*, which by rendering him ſuſpected by the penſioner, proved a great obſtacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occaſion only that *de Wit* ſubjected his private reſentments to the public good; he had often raiſed merit without reſpect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of oppoſite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. *Van Tromp* was now without a rival in talents, and he was ſet at the head of the navy until the arrival of *de Ruyter*, an old officer, of at leaſt equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly eſteemed by the penſioner. In this poſt he had not continued long, when *Ruyter* arrived, after having happily eſcaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no ſooner arrived in the port of *Delfzil*, in *Groningen*, than the ſailors mutinied, inſiſting upon being ſet on ſhore and diſbanded, before any orders came from the ſtates. They were diſguſted with the toilſome, tedious and ſickly voyage; they dreaded being immediately again ſent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the *Engliſh* had uſed their priſoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence, which the admiral repoſed in their honour, the leave he gave them to viſit their friends upon their promiſe to return on the firſt notice, ſecured them in his intereſt ſo ſtrongly, that not an individual deſerted.

The ſafe arrival of *de Ruyter*'s ſquadron diffuſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction and ſpirits; it was particularly agreeable to the penſioner, whoſe intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raiſe him

to

to the rank of lieutenant admiral general. The council of ſtate made the propoſal to the ſtates of *Holland*, who immediately accepted it, ordering *de Ruyter* to take the oaths, receive his commiſſion, and enter upon his employment. *Tromp* complained of the preference given to his rival, and refuſed to ſerve in a ſubordinate capacity; but the ſtates ſent orders for the fleet to ſail immediately to ſea, for *Tromp* to keep the ſtation appointed him, and denounced vengeance againſt the leaſt oppoſition to their will, being determined to purſue the general good, without regarding the humours of party, and of diſappointed ambition. So impatient was *de Wit* for the departure of the fleet, that to accelerate matters he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he expoſed thereby his fortune and character to the cenſure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his deſertion of his proper buſineſs on ſo critical an occaſion. The *French* king was alarmed at ſo unprecedented a meaſure; and his own party imagining he intended ſerving in the expedition, being left without a head, ſunk into deſpondency. His friends applied to him, and M. *de Wit*'s anſwer plainly indicated what were his reſolutions. He reſolved to hazard his life, and replied, "My perſon and my "intereſt are inſeparable from the preſervation of the ſtate; "a ſecond naval engagement will determine the fate of "my country. *Tromp* has ability and courage; but he "may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his ſuperior, and in experience to conduct an important action. "The impetuoſity and ardor of the officers may blind their "judgment and occaſion the loſs of the faireſt opportunities, and thoſe rivalſhips may generate diviſions; I there"fore think my honour, my conſcience, and my duty to "my country, require that I ſhould prevent the fatal conſe"quences either of too much pride, or too much valour."

DE WIT's inflexibility raiſed a univerſal clamour; he was accuſed of having brought the republic into the moſt imminent danger, and then deſerting the helm, at the moment his ſteadineſs and ability were moſt required. At *Paris* it was believed, that he took this ſtep to avoid the perſecution of his enemies. The clergy in *Holland*, always attached to the houſe of *Orange*, declaimed violently from the pulpit againſt the adminiſtration, and the ſtates were under the neceſſity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs: however they ſtill perſiſted, and ſome of them were ſuſpended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the ſtate, a mutiny broke out among the

ſailors, which could only be appeaſed by violent remedies, and the execution of the ringleaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverſe winds, ſhallow water, and other accidents, while the king of *England* was meditating a project, the ſucceſs of which muſt deeply affect the commerce of *Holland*, and ſtrike at the being of the republic. A vaſt fleet of *Eaſt India* and *Turkey* merchantmen, having ſailed north-about to avoid the *Engliſh* cruizers, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*, where they propoſed laying until *de Ruyter* ſhould conduct them to *Holland*. It was propoſed to the king of *Denmark*, by the *Engliſh* envoy at *Copenhagen*, that he ſhould ſeize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his loſſes in the *Swediſh* war, in which the *Dutch* had involved him. The *Northern* monarch could not withſtand the powerful temptation; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the meaſure highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute ſo important an enterpriſe. This was directly his language to the *Dutch* ſome years before, when they adviſed the ſeizure of the *Engliſh* merchantmen put into *Copenhagen*, to avoid their ſquadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of *England*'s aſſiſtance, which he did not fail to embrace; upon this the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize ſhould be equally divided. Lord *Sandwich* had orders to ſail immediately to *Norway* to execute the project; but he contented himſelf with diſpatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the *Dutch* with great impetuoſity. As the governor of *Bergen* had not yet received orders to join the *Engliſh*, or even remain paſſive, he thought himſelf bound by the laws of nations, to protect a fleet, that had taken ſhelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the *Hollanders*, and gave ſo warm a reception to the *Engliſh* admiral, as forced him, with conſiderable damage, to abandon the enterpriſe; both kings reaping only the diſhonour of ſo baſe a compact.

SCARCE had the count *d'Alefeldt* delivered the *Dutch* merchants from the hands of the *Engliſh*, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large ſum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his *Daniſh* majeſty ſuſtained upon their account. This unjuſt claim, he was preparing to enforce by violent meaſures, when, fortunately, *de Ruyter* arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet ſet ſail for *Holland*.

Holland. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, diſperſed, ſhattered, and ſome of the ſhips thrown into the hands of the *Engliſh*, the remainder arriving in a wretched plight, in different parts of the *United Provinces.* The utmoſt expedition was uſed, in collecting and repairing the ſhips, ſo that in a ſhort time a more powerful ſquadron than the former put to ſea, under the ſame commanders, and with much the ſame fortune. A ſtorm aroſe more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his ſhattered armament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the elements ſeemed combined againſt the republic, the ſtates, encouraged by *de Wit*, reſolved upon one more effort, for fear the *Engliſh*, who had ſuffered in the ſame tempeſt, ſhould have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the ſpoils of the *Dutch* commerce. The vigilance and activity of the penſioner met with the thanks of the ſtates; he was the actuating ſpring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmoſt diligence to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow, which might at the ſame time ſilence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the terrible plague which was at this time deſolating the capital of *Great Britain*, contributed more to the ſecurity of *Holland*, than all the endeavours of the ſtates and M. *de Wit*. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's diſpoſition, damped the ſpirit of the *Engliſh*, enfeebled every reſolution, and infuſed a languor into the councils of that nation.

WHILE the third expedition was preparing, the ſtates general propoſed revoking the commiſſion granted to the deputies *de Wit*, *Huygen*, and *Boreel*, to attend the armament, which they believed diſpirited the officers, and rendered men who had not ſtudied the art of war, the chief directors of military operations. This was oppoſed by the ſtates of *Holland*, who not only refuſed to comply with the ſtates general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the penſioner reſigned his naval employment. *Ruyter* was recompenſed for his ſervices, with a preſent from the admiralty of *Amſterdam*, and invited to ſit as preſident of that college, until the ſeaſon permitted his putting to ſea.

ALL this time the king of *France* kept aloof. He apprehended, leſt *de Wit*'s party ſhould, in his abſence, be

forced to ſink under the weight and popularity of the oppoſite faction, now greatly ſtrengthened by the penſioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. *Van Buiningen* plied his majeſty cloſely, and endeavoured by every artifice to draw *France* into the quarrel; but could obtain only general aſſurances, until the arrival of M. *de Vaal* from *Bergen*, when he ordered his ambaſſador to declare to the ſtates, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promiſed guarantee. To give this declaration the ſtronger air of ſincerity, the ambaſſador preſented to the ſtates a memorial drawn up by his court, reſpecting the operations of war, ſhould it be found neceſſary to come to an abſolute rupture with *England*. Here it was examined whether the war ought to be puſhed with vigour, and determined by general battles, or ſpun out, in order to tire the *Engliſh* nation, and rouſe the clamours of the people againſt the government. *Lewis* hoped, he ſaid, to become maſter in the *Mediterranean*, with a fleet of twelve *French* men of war, joined by an equal number of the ſhips of the republic. He propoſed blocking up *Tangier*, now annexed to the crown of *England*, by the king's marriage with the infanta of *Portugal*, and thereby to diſturb and annoy the *Britiſh* trade to the *Levant*. As to the grand fleets, *Lewis* propoſed maintaining a ſquadron of thirty two capital men of war, to act in conjunction with the *Dutch* fleet, which he expected ſhould at leaſt be as numerous as it was before he entered into a treaty of alliance with the republic. A variety of ſchemes were likewiſe propoſed for diſtreſſing the common enemy, though in fact *Lewis* had not yet finally reſolved to break with *England*, and was actually mediating a pacification, by which he hoped to obtain greater advantages, than if he came to extremities, and forced *Charles* into a union with *Spain*.

In this fluctuating ſituation was *France*, upon the return of M. *de Wit*, and his reſuming the employment of penſioner. It ſoon appeared what the preſence of one great man can effect in a ſtate, whoſe councils are languid and diſtracted, by oppoſite opinions and intereſts. The penſioner no ſooner arrived at the *Hague*, than the face of affairs were changed, and freſh vigour and ſpirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were ſilenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wiſdom, the policy, and the ſagacity of the penſioner, who now was deemed the life and ſoul of the ſtates.

ſtates. The enemies of the republic were multiplying, but her reſources and ſtrength ſeemed likewiſe augmented, by the ardour inſpired by *de Wit*, who made ſure that his return would engage *France* openly to declare againſt *Great Britain*. *Van Galen*, biſhop of *Munſter*, excited by ambition, and engaged by a conſiderable ſubſidy from *Charles* the Second, determined to purſuing his inflexible animoſity to the ſtates. This prelate perceived that the whole attention of the provinces was employed in equipping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garriſoning their ſtrong holds, in order the more readily to man, and fit out their ſquadrons. In *Guelderland* and *Overyſſel* the fortifications were totally neglected, and all conſideration for ſo petty, though implacable an enemy, as the biſhop of *Munſter*, abſorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence againſt the powerful monarchy of *Great Britain*. *Van Galen* reſolved either to profit by this conjuncture, or to loſe his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of *Overyſſel*, at the head of eight thouſand men, ſeizing upon *Almelo* and other places, before any meaſures were concerted to ſtop his progreſs. *Berkelo* alone made any reſiſtance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the biſhop, who, as ſoon as he had it in his power, ſlaughtered in cold blood the ſoldiers and burghers, without diſtinction. Terror diffuſed itſelf through all the provinces, and the ſtates of *Holland*, and the penſioner, laboured diligently to apply remedies to a diſorder, obſerved when too late. New levies were made, a treaty ſtruck up with the duke of *Lunenburgh*, and inſtructions ſent to *Van Buiningen*, to demand of the *French* king, the 6000 auxiliaries ſtipulated by treaty [p].

War with the biſhop of Munſter.

EVERY day the biſhop was increaſing his ſtrength, and acquiring freſh vigour by his ſucceſſes. Not ſatisfied with ravaging *Overyſſel*, he meditated an enterpriſe againſt the city of *Groningen*, the capital of a province of that name. Leaving a part of his army, to reſiſt the forces raiſing by the dukes of *Lunenburgh*, *Zell*, and the biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, he marched into the heart of *Groningen*, with intention firſt of ſurpriſing *Delfzil* in which the *Engliſh* promiſed to aſſiſt him; but a party of his troops being repulſed with loſs, by a ſmall corps formed out of the neighbour-

[p] BASNAGE, p. 675.

ing garriſons, defeated his deſign. However he proceeded, after ravaging the territory of *Drent*, to lay ſiege to *Groningen*, into which the princeſs of *Friſeland* threw herſelf and family, to animate the garriſon by her preſence; a reſolution worthy of the daughter of prince *Frederic Henry* of *Orange*. She had ſold her plate and jewels, to raiſe a ſufficient body of men for the defence of the city, and took ſuch vigorous meaſures, as retarded the operations of the enemy, and gave time for the *Dutch* forces, and the *French* auxiliaries, to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and ſhe was the inſtrument of the ſafety of *Groningen*, expreſsly contrary to the commands of the princeſs of *Orange*, who wiſhed to ſee the biſhop ſucceſsful, that the adminiſtration of the penſioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army, the biſhop was forced to raiſe the ſiege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the enſuing campaign.

LEWIS's firſt ſtep towards a declaration in favour of *Holland*, was the body of auxiliaries he had ſent to
A. D. 1666. check the aſpiring views of the biſhop of *Munſter*. He now went farther, recalling his ambaſſadors from *England*, and taking every meaſure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The ſuſpenſe he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and conſequently the power, of the republic, occaſioned his ſo long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king *Charles* into an union with *Spain*; but he now was more apprehenſive of the ruin of the republic, ſince the real ſtate of affairs had been preſented to him by the count *d'Eſtrades*, who demonſtrated, that the ſtrength of a commercial people was not always to be eſtimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this, that he recalled his ambaſſador from *London*, and in the month of *January* declared war againſt *England*, though he never entered heartily into the quarrel, or ſupported his allies with the expected vigour and ſpirit. The ſtates found means likewiſe to engage the king of *Denmark* in their intereſt, by virtue of a large ſubſidy, in conſideration of which he obliged himſelf to maintain a fleet of thirty ſail for their ſervice. The judicious diſtribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour; and the biſhop of *Munſter*, who had lately been ſo formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raiſed againſt him by the republic,

public. Little confidence however was placed in the doubtful conduct of *Lewis*, who ſeemed equally inclinable to ſerve the ſtates, and avoid entering the liſts with *Charles*. Friends and enemies in vain, looked out for the *French* fleet, to give the *Engliſh* battle, and join the *Dutch* ſquadron; but the admiral had the addreſs never to be found, while his court was ſtipulating with the ſtates about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it ſhould belong to *Beaufort* the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant admiral of *Holland*. The mode of operations were likewiſe diſputed, and at laſt each determined to purſue their own particular views and intereſts, without regard to the common cauſe. It was the deſign of the *Hollanders* to come to a general engagement, to which *Lewis* was averſe, leſt his own infant marine might be deſtroyed, or the *Engliſh* power ſuſtain ſuch a blow as would give too great a naval ſuperiority to the republic [q].

Sea fight between the Dutch *and* Engliſh, *which continued for four days.*

When the *Dutch* fleet was ready, *Ruyter* put to ſea, in three diviſions, aſſiſted by the admirals *Evertzen*, *Tromp*. *Meppel*, *Nes*, and *Vries*, the whole fleet conſiſting of eighty-three capital men of war, beſides the ketches, tenders, and fireſhips. To prevent confuſion, each of theſe ſquadrons was ſubdivided under the conduct of an admiral, the ſignals were all agreed upon, and in this order they proceeded in queſt of the enemy. As to the *Engliſh*, they were equal in number; but the duke of *York* declined taking the command, becauſe his force would be unequal, ſhould the *French* fleet join itſelf to the *Hollanders*. The command therefore was given to prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, the ſame officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the name of *Monk* in the laſt war. On advice that the *French* ſquadron approached, prince *Rupert* ſailed, with twenty-five ſhips, in queſt of the duke of *Beaufort*, who was ſaid to be cruiſing off *Belleiſle*, ready to enter the Channel. By this ſeparation the advantage was greatly on the ſide of the *Hollanders*; however *Albemarle* bravely reſolved upon giving battle, for which purpoſe he bore down upon *Ruyter* on the firſt day of *June*, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The *Dutch* admirals, no leſs eager to engage, ſlipt their cables, that they might be the more able to cloſe with the enemy. Both ſides were determined to exert their utmoſt valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had ſhewn the moſt ſkill, obſtinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled in-

[q] Comte d'Eſtrades Lettres.

trepidity.

trepidity. *Tromp* and *de Ruyter* were both forced to ſhift their flags, becauſe their ſhips had ſuſtained ſuch damage as rendered them unfit for ſervice. While Sir *William Berkly*, an *Engliſh* admiral, ſailed with his diviſion into the midſt of the *Dutch* fleet, where, after a gallant reſiſtance, he was killed, and his ſhip taken; *Evertzen* was engaged in perſon with *Albemarle*, and after an obſtinate engagement killed, juſt as two of his ſhips blew up. Several ſhips were ſunk and deſtroyed on both ſides; yet the battle raged with unremitting fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either ſide full of admiration of each others ability, intrepidity, and obſtinate reſiſtance.

NEXT day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. *Van Tromp*, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardor, deſperately crowded into the midſt of the *Engliſh*, attacking with the utmoſt efforts of valour, guided by conduct; but his ſtrength proving unequal, he was reduced to the laſt extremity, when *de Ruyter*, his mortal enemy, generouſly came up to his relief, ruſhed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival in glory and intereſt, with a dignity of mind that cannot be ſufficiently applauded. By this time the *Dutch* were reinforced with ſixteen ſhips, and the *Engliſh* ſhattered in ſuch a manner, that not above thirty ſail remained fit for action. This determined the duke of *Albemarle*, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardor of a youthful warrior, to make the beſt of his way for *England*, and leave the glory of victory to the *Dutch*, after he had ſhewn them how deſerving their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the beſt order poſſible, and was cloſely purſued by *de Ruyter*, when a calm enſued that prevented the *Hollanders* from beginning a freſh attack.

NOT all the horrors of the battle, which was deſperate beyond deſcription, could diſcourage the *Dutch*; they determined to purſue the advantage obtained by their ſuperiority, while the duke of *Albemarle*, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, diſpoſing his fleet in a rear-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze ſpringing up about four next morning, *Ruyter* bore down a third time, and begun the action, when the duke diſcovered prince *Rupert* and his ſquadron to the ſouthward, making all the ſail in his power to come in for a ſhare in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this ſeaſonable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of *Ruyter* to prevent their junction, though with the loſs of a firſt-rate,

com-

commanded by admiral *Ayſcough*, that had the misfortune to ſtrike upon the *Galloper Sands*, where ſhe was ſurrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous reſiſtance. The endeavours of the ſeveral admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage by a variety of different motions, conſumed the third day; but on the fourth the battle was again renewed with the ſame impetuoſity as if all the ſhips had come freſh to the engagement. Four ſucceſſive charges were ſuſtained and given by both admirals, who, like *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, fought as if the one would not ſuffer a ſuperior, or the other an equal; at laſt, a thick fog interpoſed, under cover of which the *Engliſh* retired, but with ſo formidable an appearance as gave them ſome title to diſpute the victory, which the *Dutch* claimed. *Ruyter* twice broke the enemy's line in the laſt day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ſhips, and burnt or ſunk an equal number. The ſlaughter on both ſides was prodigious, and hardly a ſhip of either ſide eſcaped undamaged; in a word, it was the opinion of *de Wit*, who was no friend to the *Engliſh*, "That if they were defeated, their misfortune redounded "more to their honour than all their former victories. No "fleet but theirs, after the ſevere uſage of the firſt day, "would have continued an engagement for three ſucceſ-"ſive days longer. *Engliſhmen* may be killed, *Engliſh* "ſhips may be burned, but *Engliſh* courage is invincible[r]." Such a teſtimony from an inveterate and judicious enemy, reflects real honour on the nation (A).

THOUGH,

[r] SMOLLET, lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 36. BASNAGE, p. 775. D'ESTRADES Lettres, die 17 Juin, 1666.

(A) Though bonfires were made in *London*, and thankſgivings for the victory ordered to be obſerved in all the churches, candor muſt confeſs, that victory declared clearly on the ſide of *Holland*, though obtained with the moſt terrible carnage. Three admirals and ſeven captains were killed; above two thouſand ſeamen were thrown dead into the ſea, to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ſhips taken by the enemy, but ſeven were ſunk, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, and the whole miſerably ſhattered. *Ruyter* and *Van Tromp* had ſhifted their flags to fix different ſhips; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompenſe of all the danger and labour they had undergone. Lord *Arlington*, the *Engliſh* ſecretary of ſtate, in fact acknowledges that the king's fleet was defeated. In a letter to Sir *William Temple*, he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Neither do I "take

Another engagement.

THOUGH, in conſequence of theſe bloody engagements, neither the *Engliſh* nor *Dutch* were able to keep the ſea, both had vaſt reſources; they exerted them to the utmoſt, and both fleets ſoon ſet ſail as formidable as before. *De Ruyter* had orders to join the *French* ſquadron under the duke of *Beaufort*, who had artfully ſuffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's ſquadron in the quarrel. Even the *Engliſh* themſelves allow, that had he joined *de Ruyter* when he might, the victory muſt have been deciſive, and the conſequence fatal to the naval power of *Great Britain*, which however was by no means the intention of the moſt chriſtian monarch. *De Wit* applied with his uſual activity to repair the fleet, and the great object of the ſtates was, to deſtroy the *Engliſh* ſhipping, in the docks and yards, in the river *Thames*. With this intention they ſet ſail on the 10th of *July*; but ſome accounts received from *England*, and the ignorance of the pilots with reſpect to the ſoundings, obliged him to lay aſide the enterpriſe. It was next propoſed to make a deſcent on the coaſt of *England*, near *Harwich*; but all the places of debarkation were found ſo well lined with troops, that this ſcheme too was found impracticable, and a reſolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of the war by another general engagement. By the 24th he fell in with the duke of *Albemarle* and prince *Rupert*, who commanded a fleet of one hundred ſail, while *de Ruyter*'s did not amount to eighty-two men of war and ſome fire-ſhips. Fluſhed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuoſity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and ſpirit; but *Evertzen*, brother to the admiral of that name, killed in the laſt engagement, was at length ſurrounded, overpowered, and defeated, by Sir *Thomas Allen*, vice-admiral of the white, with the loſs of three inferior admirals, and dreadful ſlaughter of the ſea-

" take pleaſure in repeating " any thing of this engage- " ment. This advantage, I " am ſure, they had of us, that " they have carried home their " trophies; whereas we have " not one, what we took be- " ing all drowned or burnt." He might have added ſtill more indiſputable proofs, tho' this teſtimony from a miniſter will alone appear ſufficient. As to what biſhop *Burnet*, and other writers alledge, of the penſionery *de Wit*'s being in the engagement, it has no foundation in truth. The penſionery indeed viſited the fleet before it ſet ſail; but the clamours raiſed againſt his laſt expedition deterred him from repeating the experiment.

men,

men. *Van Tromp*, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir *Jeremy Smith*, admiral of the blue ſquadron; but, purſuing the chace too eagerly, he was entirely cut off, and ſeparated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between *de Ruyter* and the duke of *Albemarle*. Here *Ruyter* ſuſtained for three hours the utmoſt efforts of the whole *Britiſh* fleet, maintained the fight with ſeven ſhips only in the line, and at laſt yielded the victory, not until his men were ſo wounded, faint, and exhauſted, as to be unable to work the ſhips, and keep up a continued regular fire. It was now only he made that ſignal to retreat, which was readily obſerved by all the fleet, which was ſaved from deſtruction by the ſeaſonable calm that enſued. *De Ruyter's* diſpoſition, however, was ſo excellent, as to deter the victors from purſuing, and indeed his conduct through the whole action was ſo cool, reſolute, and determined, that even his defeat added luſtre to his former glory. Had he been duly ſupported by *Tromp*, the victory would at leaſt have proved doubtful.

Now the *Engliſh* crouded in purſuit of *Van Tromp*, who had been ſeparated from the main fleet ever ſince that deſperate effort, by which he broke through their line. They diſcovered him near *Harwich*, and attacked him with vigour; but that gallant officer ſuſtained the ſhock with ſuch admirable firmneſs as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loſs to the *Texel*; notwithſtanding which loud complaints were made by *Ruyter* to the ſtates, that the loſs of the battle was owing to his raſhneſs and miſconduct. The number of killed and wounded was very conſiderable on both ſides; ſome writers alledge, that the *Dutch* loſt above two thouſand men, beſides three admirals. How warmly *Ruyter* had been engaged, we may judge from the loſs on board his own ſhip, in which two hundred men were killed, and near an equal number wounded. Twelve captains were beſides ſlain, and ſeven ſhips ſunk and deſtroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the *Engliſh*, by its conſequences. The *Dutch* took ſanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, terrifying their coaſts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the ſtates were turned into mourning; and as the expectations of the populace are always ſanguine upon every inſtance of proſperity, their clamours and diſcontents riſe in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embaraſs the government ſtill more, the animoſity between the two beſt admirals of the republic broke out with

with redoubled violence; their reſentments were now implacable, and their hatred mortal. The ſeamen likewiſe, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two oppoſite factions, came to blows, and threatened the diſſolution of the government. *Tromp* was ſupported by the houſe of *Orange*, and greatly beloved, on account of his generoſity and valour, by all the ſeamen; yet had the ſtates courage enough to ſuperſede him, and proſecute his family for a paper they publiſhed in his juſtification, becauſe it reflected on their conduct. The *French* king, however, did juſtice to his merit, by ſending him the order of St. *Michael*, his picture finely ſet with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, teſtifying his ſenſe of that gallant conduct which had brought off a ſmall ſquadron of no more than eight ſhips, though furiouſly attacked by thirty ſhips of the enemy. It was, nevertheleſs, true, that his impetuoſity in the beginning of the action had occaſioned the ſucceeding misfortunes, though he now glorioufly effaced that error. In his defence he ſays, "I "cannot ſuffer *de Ruyter*, actuated by envy and animoſity, "to ſtain my honour with ſo diſagreeable a reflection, as to "attribute the enemies ſucceſs to my wilful miſconduct. "Errors I may have committed, but my private reſentments "ſhall ever yield to the intereſt of my country. The "moſt glorious triumph I could wiſh over my rival "would be, to approve myſelf worthy of his eſteem and "gratitude[a]."

Van Tromp is ſuperſeded.

MEANTIME M. *Buat*, a diſcarded domeſtic of the prince of *Orange*, had, by the inſtigation of lord *Arlington*, the *Engliſh* miniſter, entered into ſecret meaſures for concluding a peace, ſeparating *France* from *Holland*, and reſtoring the prince of *Orange* to all the honours held by his anceſtors. This plot was diſcovered by a blunder committed by *Buat*, who, inſtead of another letter, delivered lord *Arlington*'s to the penſionery. *De Wit* was aſtoniſhed with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by *Buat*, who was ſeized, impriſoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above ſixty accomplices, ſome of them the principal perſonages in *Holland*; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's deſire of ſaving his own life, many of the perſons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, *Buat* ſuffered upon a public ſcaffold, and the plot was ſuppreſſed.

[a] BASNAGE, ibid.

To

To fill up the meaſure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the *Engliſh* fleet entered the road of *Vlie*, under Sir *Robert Holmes*, piloted by a *Dutch* ſkipper, and burned 140 merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coaſt (B), the whole damage being computed at ſix millions. It is the opinion of ſome writers that this enterpriſe formed a part of the conſpiracy for which *Buat* was executed, but the conjecture is rejected by the beſt hiſtorians. The merchants on whom this immenſe loſs fell, raiſed loud clamours againſt the government, and endeavoured to ſtir up the people to revolt. The *Orange* faction reared her head, and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with ſuch a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herſelf, and implored a pacification; but the ſpirit of *de Wit* was invincible, and the reſources of his genius inexhauſtible. He applied himſelf diligently to the means of quieting the ſeditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to proſecute the war with vigour. In this deſign he gained the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expence. He approved himſelf maſter of the art of governing parties, by a due attention to their paſſions and intereſts. By the proper and judicious diſtribution of a large ſum of money, he appeaſed all the mutineers in the fleet, and the diſcontents among the ſeamen; while *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* miniſter, was no leſs ſucceſsful in his practices upon the ſtates. Had the court of *France* intended the deſtruction of the republic, as is intimated by ſome writers, it needed only to withdraw her countenance upon this occaſion. The very exiſtence of the ſtates depended on the pleaſure of *Lewis*; his ſentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preſerve a rival to the maritime power of *England*: accordingly, the king no ſooner received advice of the defeat of the *Dutch* fleet, and the diſpirited condition of the government, than he determined to riſque his infant naval force, the firſt and deareſt child of his policy, reared by the hand of the ſage *Colbert*. The duke *de Beaufort* now had expreſs orders to join the *Dutch*

The Engliſh *inſult the coaſts of* Holland.

(B) This village was called *Brondaris*, in the iſland of *Schelling*, a rich, populous, and flouriſhing place, containing above a thouſand families, all of which were now reduced to extreme miſery, their effects having either been pillaged, or conſumed in the flames.

fleet,

fleet, and to act in the moſt vigorous manner againſt the common enemy. Accordingly, he returned to *Rochelle*, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction as ſoon as the allies of *France* ſhould be ready to put to ſea. M. *Bellefonte* was diſpatched to the *Hague*, to concert with the penſionery and the count *d'Eſtrades*, the moſt probable means of accompliſhing this delicate and important meaſure, with the utmoſt ſafety and expedition; yet, after all, *de Wit* harboured ſuſpicions of the *French* ſincerity, and a warm altercation paſſed between him and M. *de Lionne*[t].

THESE diſputes did not divert the penſioner's attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible ſhort time. It put again to ſea under *de Ruyter*, with inſtructions to cruiſe between the ſtreights of *Dover* and the mouth of the river *Thames*, to watch every motion of the *Engliſh*, until it was certainly known in what manner the *French* king intended to diſpoſe of the duke *de Beaufort*'s ſquadron. *Ruyter* ſet ſail on the 10th of *September*, and had no ſooner arrived at his ſtation, than prince *de Rupert*'s fleet was deſcried at a diſtance, bearing down full ſail before a favourable gale. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that *de Ruyter* had thrown out the ſignal to engage, and his ſhips were clearing for that purpoſe, when the interpoſition of night, and abating of the wind, obliged prince *Rupert* to retire. Others go ſo far as to affirm, that his diſpoſition diſconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave *Ruyter* an opportunity of clearing for ſeveral hours; the very contrary of which is reported by *Engliſh* hiſtorians. It is certain that a ſtorm came on, which damaged both fleets conſiderably, and reduced the *Dutch* admiral to take ſhelter in *St. John*'s road, near *Boulogne*. Here he was ſeized with a fever, and the whole fleet grew ſickly; upon which the ſtates ſent orders for him to return to *Holland*. As to the duke of *Beaufort*, he ſailed up the Channel as far as *Dieppe*, upon a ſuppoſition that the *Dutch* were ſtill in the neighbourhood of *Boulogne*; and finding his miſtake, directed his courſe to the coaſt of *Britanny*, where three ſhips in the rear of the ſquadron fell in with the *Engliſh*, maintained an obſtinate engagement, and were defeated with the loſs of one man of war.

IT was upon the return of the fleet that the ſtates reſolved to ſend three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the aſſiſtance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of *Zealand* and

[t] WICQUEFORT, lib. 15.

Friſe-

Friſeland, which were each to ſend a deputy, diſapproved of the meaſure. This determined M. *de Wit*, nominated by *Holland*, to charge himſelf with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found *Ruyter* in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that he was ſent to *Amſterdam*, where he remained until the month of *September*. However, the fleet proceeded to ſea, under admiral *Van Nes*, ſubject to *de Wit*'s orders, arrived on the coaſt of *England*, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a ſecond time driven back by a furious tempeſt, which occaſioned the *French* king to complain that his ſquadron was expoſed to the mercy of the *Engliſh*. In fact, however, the *Engliſh* were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had deſtroyed great part of the capital; public credit was affected; univerſal deſpondency ſeized the minds of the people, and all was fear, ſuſpicion, diſtruſt, and diſſenſion, the miniſtry and the nation being divided among themſelves. The conflagration, which had deſtroyed above ſix hundred ſtreets, was ſuppoſed to be the effect of malicious deſign, and erroneouſly attributed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the ſtream of faction happened to be directed. Hence aroſe the jealouſies and diſſenſions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the diſturbances in *Scotland*, ariſing from the perſecution of the preſbyterians in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaiſance for the king and miniſtry. This ſituation of the *Britiſh* nation was the great ſecurity of the republic. *Charles*, now tired of a war grown irkſome to the nation, from which he had not reaped the propoſed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of *Sweden* offered his mediation. Yet ſtill he kept in view the antient pretenſions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading ſubjects in *India*, and elſewhere. He demanded that the ſtates ſhould ſend their deputies to *London*, to adjuſt the preliminaries of a peace. Other marks of ſubmiſſion were beſides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some aſſerted that the advantages gained by *England* were not ſo conſiderable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought thoſe inſtances of an aſſumed ſuperiority and pride, of too little conſequence to obſtruct a neceſſary accommodation. The ſtates however declared, that they had no objection to the propoſal of holding the congreſs at *London*, but the conſideration for their allies the kings of *France* and *Denmark*, who refuſed to treat in any part of *England*. Several towns of *Holland* and *Zealand*

Propoſals of peace made by the king of England.

were earneſt for a congreſs, without regard to punctilios; but *de Wit* found means to ſecure the ſtates, and exerted his utmoſt influence with the court of *France* to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with reſpect to the terms of negotiation. *Lewis*, however, had now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his credit in *Holland*, and diſappointed the extenſive ſchemes of *England*. Growing jealous of lord *Sandwich*'s negotiation at *Madrid*, and that an union between *Spain* and *Great Britain* might take place, he reſolved to eſtabliſh peace; and for this purpoſe not only recommended, but enjoined the ſtates, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted *Ruvigny* to correſpond with the earl of *St. Albans*, to bring the court of *London* to the moſt pacific diſpoſitions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in ſuch terms as ſhould excite the jealouſy of the *Hollanders*. However, that the ſtates might have no reaſon to tax the king of *France* with duplicity, the letter was firſt communicated to the penſioner, and he found it ſo general and ambiguous, that it was impoſſible to make objections. On receipt of *Ruvigny*'s letter, the earl of *St. Albans* ſignified to the court of *France*, that his *Britannic* majeſty was not averſe to treating in a neutral place, provided *France* would preſerve a neutrality. The *Engliſh* miniſtry took advantage of this clandeſtine correſpondence to inſinuate notions that his moſt chriſtian ma-
A. D. jeſty was treating without the participation of his allies.
1667. This alarmed the provinces in general, and eſpecially the towns and cities of *Holland*, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and ſtop the torrent of abuſe thrown out in *Holland* againſt the inſidious conduct of his miniſtry, the king ordered the count *d'Eſtrades* to give the ſtates the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his reſolution to adhere ſtrictly to the terms of his alliance, tho' he was deſirous of effecting a peace, in which he ſhould chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic [a].

In the mean time the king of *England*, as if perfectly ſatisfied with the apology made by the ſtates for declining to open the congreſs in *London*, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the *Hague*, where the ambaſſadors of the allies then reſided. This motion gave the alarm to M. *de Wit* and the *French* party, who concluded that it muſt imply ſome deep and dangerous ſcheme, to divide the republic, and diſſolve the confederacy. The pro-

[a] Basnage, p. 779. Smollet, lib. ix. cap. i. Carte's life of the duke of Ormond, vol. ii.

poſal

poſal immediately begot diſſention, no leſs than four provinces taking the occaſion of expreſſing their animoſity to the penſioner. To oppoſe ſo growing and imminent an evil, the utmoſt addreſs of the *French* and *Dutch* miniſtry were neceſſary. It was not thought adviſeable to ſhew any ſuſpicion of the king of *England*'s deſign; a letter was therefore ſent to him from the ſtates, recommending the choice of *Maeſtricht*, *Boiſleduc*, or *Breda*, for holding the congreſs, as more convenient and ſecure than the *Hague*, which being an open town, afforded no protection to the miniſters of the different powers; that conſequently, while thoſe powers were at variance, they were expoſed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy inſtances of which had already happened, in violation of juſtice, and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majeſty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the conſiderations mentioned. To this letter from the ſtates to the king of *England*, ſucceeded one from the *French* king to the ſtates; in which he enlarges upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the miniſters of an hoſtile prince, who would not fail to raiſe ſuſpicions, foment diviſions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impreſſions of falſe and real ſuggeſtions. Afterwards he proceeds to recommend *Dover*, as a place not improper for carrying on the negotiation; though it appears, from Mr. *Lionne*'s letter to *d'Eſtrades*, that the court was ſenſible that the propoſal would not be reliſhed in *England*.

It was plain, from the ſtrange conduct of *Lewis*, that he muſt have farther deſigns than mere friendſhip to the ſtates; and indeed the *Orange* faction began thus early to declare their ſuſpicions, that he would approve himſelf more dangerous as an ally than he could as an open enemy. The penſioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the *French* king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the beſt ſupport againſt the houſe of *Orange*, bent upon his ruin. It was viſible indeed to all *Europe*, that the court of *France* was paving the way for the execution of their ſchemes upon *Flanders*. The emperor, who had a reverſionary claim to this fine country, began likewiſe to think it his intereſt to interpoſe in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. In purſuance of this opinion, the baron *d'Iſola* was diſpatched to the court of *London*, under pretence of offering his imperial majeſty's mediation; though it is probable the real buſineſs was to diſſuade *Charles* from an accommodation, as *Lewis* would thereby have leſs leiſure to purſue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this conſummate politician the propoſal

made by *Charles* of opening the congreſs at the *Hague*; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual meaſure for keeping up the reſentments of both nations, and fruſtrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either ſtate. The ſuperficial politicians regarded it as the higheſt compliment ever paid to the ſtates, to have the honour of bringing the ambaſſadors of the three greateſt powers in *Europe* to treat of peace in the dominions of the republic; while the more diſcerning viewed the overture in a very different light. Even the firſt mention of the propoſal ſet the provinces at variance; *Holland* and *Frieſland* poſitively refuſing to furniſh their contingents, if it were rejected [a]. At length *Breda* was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences ſhould be opened in this city; and thither the ſeveral parties ſent their plenipotentiaries.

Congreſs at Breda.

THE firſt point debated at the congreſs was the reſtitution of the two *Engliſh* ſhips, which had partly given birth to the war; and of the iſland of *Poleron* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which had been firſt violently wreſted from *England*, then reſtored by a ſubſequent treaty, and now retaken ſince the commencement of the preſent rupture. Upon this *Charles* inſiſted as an eſſential preliminary; but the *Dutch* deputies appearing determined in their refuſal, he relaxed in the laſt article, and thought there would now occur ſo little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of theſe ſentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own uſe the ſums granted by parliament for the proſecution of the war, he ordered all his large ſhips to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a ſmall ſquadron of cruizers for the protection of the coaſts. Of this precipitation *De Wit* reſolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige *Charles* to make peace upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be thought requiſite for the honour and ſecurity of the republic. While he cruiſed the preceding year upon the *Engliſh* coaſt, he had taken care to have the mouth of the *Thames* exactly ſounded, with a view probably of puſhing his way into that wealthy river, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer.

The Dutch *enter the river* Medway.

Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in perſon. *France* diſapproved his quitting the helm of ſtate to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by *d'Eſtrades* prevailed on the penſioner to ſubſtitute his brother, *Cornelius De Wit*, in his room, to aſſiſt *De Ruyter* to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet ſet ſail from the *Texel* in the beginning of *June*, and was hardly out of

[a] Auct. ſupra citat.

ſight

ſight of the coaſt when it was driven back by a furious tempeſt, in which four tranſports filled with ſoldiers periſhed. When the ſtorm abated, *Ruyter* again ſet ſail with a fleet of fifty large ſhips, beſides frigates and tranſports, ſteering directly for the river *Thames*, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth of *June*. He began his operations with reducing *Sheerneſs* fort, which he effected with little difficulty. Next he broke down a ſtrong boom, laid acroſs the mouth of the river *Medway*, and deſtroyed three guard-ſhips, moored within ſide for its protection. M. *De Ghent*, advancing in boats as far as *Rocheſter*, burnt and carried off a great number of ſmall veſſels, which rode in the river without apprehenſion of danger. *De Ruyter* cleared a paſſage through ſome veſſels which had been ſunk, by order of the duke of *Albemarle*, in the channel: then ſailed up as far as *Upnor-caſtle*, which he took and demoliſhed. His laſt exploit was the burning three ſhips of the line, in executing which he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance; and then he fell down the *Medway*, with intention of attempting the river *Thames* [b].

THE ſailors, who had eſcaped the conflagration at *Chatham*, ſpread the alarm through *London*, and filled that capital, not yet recovered from the dreadful devaſtation made by fire the preceding year, with conſternation. Troops immediately filed off towards *Graveſend*, ſhips were ſunk at *Woolwich* and *Blackwall*; platforms were raiſed in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the beſt poſture of defence that circumſtances would admit. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented *De Ruyter* from pillaging and deſtroying the moſt flouriſhing city in *Europe*, beſides the want of a ſufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without theſe he found it impoſſible to ſucceed, and therefore ſet ſail for *Portſmouth*, which he attempted in vain to reduce. Then he directed his courſe to *Torbay*, where he made prize of a great number of veſſels, with which he proceeded to bombard *Plymouth*. This enterprize failing, he ſailed up the Channel, inſulted *Harwich*, gave chace to a ſquadron commanded by Sir *Edward Spragge*, once more entered the *Thames*, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom in terror and confuſion: after which glorious exploits he returned to *Holland*, where he was preſented by the ſtates with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraved the actions at *Sheerneſs*, *Chatham*, and *Upnor-caſtle*. He made a kind of triumphal entry at *Dort*, amidſt the acclamations of the people, the roar

[b] Id. ibid.

of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magiſtrates, and ſupported by the two oldeſt burgomaſters. *De Wit* met with the ſame honours, and had beſides the particular thanks of the ſtates general. Nor was M. *Van Ghent*, the lieutenant-admiral, forgot. He had the thanks of the ſtates, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms.

THE kings of *England* and *France* equally exclaimed againſt this expedition, while the *Engliſh* nation was fired with indignation at ſeeing itſelf expoſed to the inſult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. *Charles* complained, that the *Dutch*, taking advantage of his ſecurity, ravaged his coaſts with the utmoſt barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alleged, they had violated the faith of treaties, though, in fact, no armiſtice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, *Lewis* diſapproved of an enterprize which tended to retard the pacification; and at the ſame time reproached, by implication, his biaſs towards the intereſt of *England*, and little regard to the alliance contracted with the republic. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, inſtead of retarding, ſerved actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of *De Ruyter's* ſquadron, the bad terms upon which the king of *England* ſtood with his ſubjects, and the defenceleſs ſtate in which he left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to ſet aſide all airs of ſuperiority, and treat with the *Dutch* deputies upon a footing of equality. By this means every difficulty vaniſhed, and the peace was ſigned upon the following conditions: that *Acadia* ſhould be yielded to the *French* king, who had agreed to reſtore to the *Engliſh* the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's*, and ſome other inconſiderable conqueſts he had made in the *Weſt Indies*: that *England* and *Holland* ſhould reciprocally retain their acquiſitions, by which means the colony of *New York* in *North America* remained with the former, and the iſland of *Poleron*, one of the *Moluccas*, with the latter. The rights of the flag were the moſt difficult to adjuſt: though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. *France* was ſo ſenſible of the conſequences of theſe honours, that ſhe now inſiſted upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. *Lewis* refuſed to ſuffer his men of war to lower their top-ſails to thoſe of *England*. *Charles* pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obſtinate; and, to avoid its breaking off the negotiation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions ſome years afterwards enſued.

Peace concluded at Breda.

WHILE

WHILE *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, were negotiating at *Breda* the tranquillity of *Europe*, *Lewis* was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at univerſal empire, again threatened to involve Chriſtendom in the flames of war, and particularly the Empire, *Spain*, and the United Provinces. His ambition graſped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aſpiring wiſh. On the death of his father-in-law *Philip* IV. he prepared to invade the *Netherlands*, though, before the ſolemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their deciſion was ſupported by the ſecular arm, and M. *Turenne* at the head of forty thouſand men. Already *Aeth*, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Charleroi*, and *Oudenarde*, conſeſſed his power, by receiving his garriſons; and *Lewis* waited only for the death of the ſickly *Charles* II. of *Spain*, to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every ſtate in *Europe* took the alarm. The *Dutch*, from the nature of their ſituation, were immediately expoſed to his deſigns: they wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with *England* in a confederacy, that ſhould be able to oppoſe a ſufficient barrier to the ſoaring ambition of the *French* monarch. Now, when too late, the artifice of *Lewis*'s friendſhip was diſcovered: ſtill, however, the ſtates imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promiſed; and that by ceding *Courtray*, *St. Omer*, *Aire*, and *Franche Comté* to *France*, the reſt of the *Netherlands* might be put under the protection of the Empire, *England*, and the Republic. It was the *Dutch* that ſuggeſted the idea of the triple alliance, which took place ſoon after. The king of *England*, finding his credit on the wain with his ſubjects, willingly embraced any meaſure that was likely to retrieve his popularity; and no ſcheme promiſed ſo fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in ſupport of the liberties of *Europe*. The court of *Spain* too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raiſe a powerful confederacy againſt *Lewis*: though ſhe entertained the higheſt opinion of her own ſtrength, and the courage and ability of her forces; yet it was impoſſible to avoid ſeeing the ſuperiority of the *French*, as far as could be judged from the moſt rapid ſucceſſes. The *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors repreſented to *Holland* the proximity of the danger, while they flattered *England* with the glory of holding the ballance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier ſhould be formed to ſtop the progreſs of *Turenne*; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed, by the addreſs of Sir *William Temple*, who ſubdued all the ſcru-

A. D. 1668.

Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

ples of M. *De Wit*, the penſioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample teſtimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined ſtateſman. At firſt, *England* and *Holland* were only the contracting powers; but *Sweden* ſoon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates aſſumed to themſelves the office of arbiters in the differences between *France* and *Spain*, with reſpect to the *Low Countries*. They even pretended to take cognizance of the diſpute between *Spain* and *Portugal*. The object was to reſtrain the power of *Lewis*, ſupport the tottering *Spaniſh* monarchy, and prevent the direful conſequences of a war, in which all *Europe* would probably be involved [a].

THE next ſtep was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to ſet the army upon a reſpectable footing. For ſome years all military employments were held by the children of burgomaſters, becauſe they were generally in the intereſt of the penſioner; while the old experienced officers were laid aſide, on account of their attachment to the prince of *Orange*, under whoſe anceſtors they had acquired all their knowledge. The biſhop of *Munſter*'s late invaſion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly uſeleſs: they therefore began to clamour about the diſtribution of commiſſions, and to inſiſt that all the old officers ſhould be reſtored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained conſtantly in the ſervice. It was with reluctance the penſioner had yielded to the neceſſity of the late treaty concluded againſt *France*: the blow now meditated ſtruck deeper at his power, and tended obviouſly to change the ſcale in favour of the oppoſite faction. It was impoſſible, however, to ſtem the tide of popularity: he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion, that the chief command of the army ſhould be conferred on a foreigner, notwithſtanding this preference was offering the greateſt injury to prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, to whoſe valour, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reaſonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in ſome meaſure gratified.

As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige *Lewis* to execute the propoſals he had made to the court of *Spain*, of relinquiſhing the rights of his queen, provided the *Spaniards* would either conſent to his keeping the conqueſts he had already made in the *Low Countries*, or in lieu of thoſe cede

[a] BASNAGE, p. 789.

to him the *Franche Comté*, with the towns already ſpecified; the queen-regent of *Spain* kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the *Dutch* and the king of *England* in a war with *Lewis*, under pretence that he refuſed ſtanding by the alternative which they guarantied. But finding herſelf diſappointed in this hope, ſhe conſented to his retaining his conqueſts, on the ſuppoſition, that, ſhould he ever attempt to extend them, he would neceſſarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This ceſſion paved the way to a congreſs, which was immediately appointed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. We have already ſpecified the particulars of this treaty [a]. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that the *Dutch* ordered a pompous medal to be ſtruck, in which they arrogated to themſelves the whole honour of having given [b] peace to *Europe* (A). Nothing could be more abſurd than ſuch an inſtance of unneceſſary vanity, at a period too when *De Wit* was propoſing a new alliance to *D'Eſtrades* between *France* and the republic, jointly to oppoſe the pretenſions of his *Britannic* majeſty to the ſovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ſhips to pay the due honours to the *French* flag. To facilitate this meaſure, which muſt have inevitably kindled a new war with *England*, he reminded the *French* miniſter of the conduct of the *Engliſh* admiral, Sir *Thomas Allen*, towards *De*

Deſigns of the different powers.

[a] Vol. xxv. Mod. Hiſt. [b] Le Clerc, p. 94. Hiſt. Medul. Sir. William Temple's Lett. p. 79. tom. ii.

(A) This medal is preſerved by M. *Le Clerc*. Here *Holland* is repreſented by a young beautiful female figure, ſurrounded by trophies, holding in her hand a pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the United Provinces. On the reverſe is the following inſcription. 'After having confirmed the laws, reformed the abuſes in religion, aſſiſted, defended, and conciliated kings, ſecured the liberty of the ocean, eſtabliſhed by valour and dint of arms a glorious peace, reſtored tranquillity to *Europe*, the ſtates-general of the United Provinces have ordered this medal to be ſtruck, in the year 1668.' This pompous inſcription gave equal offence to the kings of *France* and *England*; but what chiefly incenſed *Lewis*, was the inſolence of *Joſhua Van Beuningen*, the *Dutch* plenipotentiary at the congreſs. This miniſter had the weak vanity to have a medal ſtruck, in which he compared himſelf to *Joſhua* ſtopping the courſe of the ſun, which was the device of the *French* monarch. This fact we have upon the authority of the beſt *French* and *Engliſh* writers, though *Le Clerc* omits the medal in his curious hiſtorical collection.

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la Rooke at *St. Helen's*; an indignity, he ſaid, which, if winked at, would encourage that proud nation to commit further inſults. *D'Eſtrades* ſupported this opinion, and repreſented to his court, that nothing but embracing the propoſal could prevent the penſioner's being forced into the intereſt of *England*, however contrary to his reſolutions, and diſagreeable to his ſentiments and inclinations. How far M. *De Wit* was ſerious in this propoſal, can only be conjectured: perhaps he had already reaſon to ſuſpect that *Charles* was falling into his old biaſs of cultivating the cloſeſt union with *France*. This might therefore be either an expedient to ſound the diſpoſitions of *Lewis*, or fruſtrate the overtures made by the king of *England*. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Lewis* allowed little weight to the requeſt of the penſioner, though ſupported by all the arguments his own ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades* could urge. On the contrary, he ſent M. *Colbert de Croiſſy*, brother to the celebrated miniſter of that name, his ambaſſador to the court of *London*, and recalled *D'Eſtrades* from the *Hague*; yet the harmony between *England* and *Holland* ſtill ſubſiſted. Sir *William Temple* was diſpatched to the ſtates, veſted with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the continuance of the king of *England*'s good intentions towards the republic, but to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee, on the plan of the late triple alliance [c].

A. D. 1669. *FRANCE* was quick-ſighted in diſcerning her own intereſt, and alert in purſuing it. The acquiſitions which *Lewis* had made in *Flanders*, ſerved only to inflame his ambition to poſſeſs the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the *Franche Comté*, the very name of which diſtrict ſeemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to diſſolve the triple alliance, as a neceſſary prelude to his other deſigns; and *Spain*, by refuſing to pay the *Swediſh* ſubſidy, furniſhed the means of accompliſhing this important affair. Such progreſs indeed had *Colbert* made at the court of *London*, that M. *Puffendorf*, the *Swediſh* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, acquainted the penſioner, as early as the month of *January*, 1669, that *England* was already changed, with reſpect to all thoſe councils ſhe had formed in conjunction with *Sweden* and *Holland*, notwithſtanding the ſecret was yet in few hands; and lord *Arlington* confeſſed, about the ſame time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the *Swedes* were gained over to the *French* intereſt. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumſtances, which more plainly indicated the deſigns of his

[c] Le Clerc, ibid.

Britannic majeſty. Beſides the refuſal of a propoſal made by the ſtates of a defenſive and offenſive alliance, Sir *William Temple* was ſuddenly recalled; and, as if the king had ſought an opportunity of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yatch, ſent for lady *Temple*, to ſail through the *Dutch* fleet, then in the Channel, inſiſt on the admiral's lowering his top-ſails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours ſhould be paid to the *Britiſh* flag. It is evident, that *Lewis* had now fully digeſted his project to invade the *Netherlands*; that he had gained the king of *England*, whoſe neceſſities made him the penſioner of *France*; and that theſe inſtructions to the captain of the yatch were intended as a plauſible excuſe to the nation for entering upon a war, equally unjuſt, unneceſſary, and imprudent. *Lewis* practiſed the moſt inſinuating arts to ſeduce *Charles* from his real intereſt, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the *French* monarchy, and blind him to the conſequences of his ambitious projects. Beſides the private ſubſidies remitted to ſupport the king of *England* in his extravagant pleaſures, the dutcheſs of *Orleans* was ſent to *England*, upon a viſit to her brother, where ſhe ſpent a fortnight in a continual round of diverſions. She was accompanied by mademoiſelle *Queroüaille*, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching addreſs, elegant accompliſhments, and a fund of wit and vivacity ſufficient to engage a heart more inſenſible than that of *Charles*. This lady was carried with him to *London*, created dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and retained in the higheſt favour during the whole courſe of his life, ſuffering her to govern his conduct with a ſway that rather proved him the tender lover than the prudent monarch. It was by means of this artful viſit, and the addreſs of mademoiſelle *Queroüaille*, that *Lewis* firſt gained the intire aſcendent over his *Britannic* majeſty, and made him the inſtrument of thoſe bonds he was forging for the liberties of *Europe*[a].

A. D. 1670.

Alliance of England *and* France.

THUS ſtood affairs when ſir *George Downing*, leſs beloved by the penſioner, leſs in the friendſhip of the ſtates, and the intereſt of the republic, was ſent to *Holland* to ſucceed Sir *William Temple*, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yatch, who was committed to the Tower for not having ſufficiently aſſerted the dignity of the *Britiſh* crown, and reſting ſatisfied with a ſalute from the guns of the *Dutch* admiral. The prince of *Orange*'s viſit to *England* made no alteration in the councils of that nation; for after that event Mr. *Coventry* was ſent to *Stockholm*, to ex-

[a] LE CLERC's Hiſt. Med. p. 93.

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ert his utmoſt abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, ſo inconſiſtent with his *Britannic* majeſty's engagements to *Lewis*. Theſe changes in the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors were deemed ominous by the more diſcerning. *De Wit* had the greateſt friendſhip for Sir *William Temple*; but he regarded his ſucceſſor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the ſtates. *Downing*, indeed, on his firſt arrival ſolemnly proteſted, that the king his maſter was determined ſtrictly to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that *Charles* had no other deſign in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himſelf reſpectable among his neighbours, and guard againſt the deſigns of the moſt Chriſtian king, whom he had good reaſons to diſtruſt; and, indeed, this was all that *Charles* had acknowledged to the parliament when he demanded ſupplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ſhips of the line into commiſſion, beſides the cruizers and the ſquadron already in the *Mediterranean*. Nor was *Downing* ſatisfied with theſe inſidious declarations; he complained of the backwardneſs of the ſtates, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which reſpected the colony in *Surinam*, and ſpecified ſome cauſes of difference between the *Engliſh* merchants and the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company. The penſioner had too much penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the beſt intelligence of the tranſactions in the *Britiſh* cabinet, and was well informed of every circumſtance of the negotiation between the courts of *France* and *England*: he, therefore, conſidered every change of meaſures as a ſtep towards an approaching rupture. But he moſt dreaded the ambitious projects of *France*, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invaſion, but thoſe of domeſtic faction and confuſion. The ſmalleſt alarms on the ſide of *Flanders* would ſtir up the populace to demand the reſtitution of their former honours to the *Orange* family; than which nothing appeared more
A. D. 1671. dreadful to the penſioner, in regard to its conſequences on public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, ſhould *Lewis* purſue his deſigns, how could the provinces provide for their own ſecurity without a military force? and how could that force be raiſed, regulated, paid, and diſciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under theſe embarraſſments he ſought the friendſhip of *Spain*, tho' his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of *Lewis* and *Charles* became ſo very apparent, that the *Spaniſh* miniſtry

miniſtry were at length reduced to the neceſſity of ordering Don *Emanuel de Lira*, the king's ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to enter into a defenſive treaty with the republic. This affair was conducted by *de Lira* and count *Monteroy* with ſo great ſecrecy, that it remained for ſome time unknown to all the powers in *Europe* beſides the contracting parties [b]. Both *de Lira* and *Monteroy* were the declared enemies of *France*: the former deteſted the perfidy of her politics, the ambitious ſchemes of her miniſtry, and the inſidious methods ſhe practiſed to deſtroy the liberties of Chriſtendom, and eſtabliſh univerſal empire: the latter was the ſon of Don *Lewis d'Haro*, and conſequently no friend to meaſures erected upon the foundation laid by cardinal *Mazarin*, the implacable rival of his family.

Treaty between Spain and the republic.

WHEN the treaty between *Spain* and the republic was divulged, ambaſſadors were ſent from *France* and *England*, to uſe the utmoſt efforts to render it void. *France* ſpoke in a high ſtrain of authority, while the *Britiſh* ambaſſador endeavoured to ſap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the artifice of the one, nor the inſolence of the other, could prevail. The court of *Spain* ordered *Lira* and *Monteroy* to proceed in the treaty with the republic, and uſe every method to draw the knot of union harder, and ſo blend the intereſts of the two nations as to render them inſeparable. The firmneſs of *Spain* proved extremely encouraging to the ſtates; but it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed againſt them between the crowns of *France* and *England*, the elector of *Cologn*, and the turbulent, ambitious, enterpriſing, and warlike *Van Galen*, biſhop of *Munſter*, who embraced every opportunity of diſplaying his implacable animoſity to the republic. Beſides, the *Orange* faction openly eſpouſed the claims of *England*, inſiſting that the required ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his majeſty, in hopes not only of warding off the impending ſtorm from that quarter, but of cementing the two nations in a ſtrict union of intereſts. Had *Charles* ſtudied his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the intereſts of *Europe* in general, the faireſt opportunity now offered of nipping in the bud all the aſpiring projects of *Lewis*, which afterwards filled Chriſtendom with blood and carnage. On the other hand the ſtates, under the influence of *De Wit*, ſought to pacify the indignation of the moſt Chriſtian king, who highly reſented the inſolence of the republic, that broke out in various inſtances, ſubſequent to the peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. They made the moſt abject ſubmiſſions; they

State of parties in the provinces.

[b] Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Letters, ibid.

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diſavowed the medals which had given ſo much offence; and they promiſed immediately to redreſs all his majeſty's complaints, to remove from their councils every perſon who had incurred his diſpleaſure, and to ſquare their conduct intirely by his royal will. But *Lewis* had another object in view beſides the mere gratification of revenge; and this oppoſite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliments to *Lewis* and *Charles*, but as meaſures to deſtroy each other. Could *France* be appeaſed, the *Orange* family muſt remain in obſcurity; and could the king of *England* be gained over, there would probably be an end to the influence of the penſioner and his party. Neither ſide appeared to have any thoughts of preſerving the republic by a coalition, or even a ſuſpenſion of their animoſity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the ſtates heſitated about making theſe ſubmiſſions to *Charles* which *Lewis* refuſed, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of *France*, *Cologn*, and *Munſter*, their commerce ruined, and their fleets deſtroyed by the combined ſquadrons of *France* and *England*. Nothing retarded the immediate commencement of hoſtilities but the indigence of *Charles*, who was always receiving ſupplies from his parliament, and always needy and diſtreſſed.

AMONG the ſchemes projected to fill the royal coffers, one may be regarded as a barefaced act of piracy againſt the *Dutch*, with whom he had hitherto come to no open rupture. The attempt was equally perfidious and unſucceſsful: before any declaration of war, and previous to the departure of Sir *George Downing* from the *Hague*, it was propoſed to intercept the *Dutch* fleet of merchant ſhips from *Smyrna*, eſtimated worth two millions of money. Sir *Robert Holmes* was ſent in this ſervice with a ſmall ſquadron. In his voyage he fell in with *Spragge*, returning with his ſquadron from the *Mediterranean*; but reſolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himſelf, he concealed his purpoſe from the other *Britiſh* admiral, ſuffered him to purſue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprize, becauſe his ſtrength was too inconſiderable. *Van Neſt*, who convoyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no ſooner deſcried the *Engliſh* flag, than he put his little ſquadron into an admirable poſture of defence. *Holmes* attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, ſkill, and obſtinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and maintained with the ſame fury, until night ſeparated the combatants. On the third

Attempt on the Smyrna *fleet.* A. D. 1672.

third day the action was again renewed; but *Van Ness* had taken ſuch meaſures, that he now got off with the loſs of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were ſunk and uſeleſs to the enemy, diſappointed in all their ſanguine hopes, and left only the diſhonour of having, unſucceſsfully, violated the moſt ſolemn laws of nature and nations. The *Dutch* exclaimed againſt the baſeneſs of an action which would have diſgraced one of the piratical ſtates of *Africa*; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a caſual rencounter, occaſioned by the obſtinate refuſal of the *Hollanders* to pay the due honours to the *Britiſh* flag. *Holmes*, however, though he was the inſtrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowledged that the *Dutch* admiral had actually lowered his topſails and paid him the uſual compliment.

By this action the ſtates were convinced they had nothing to expect from *Charles*, and that their diligence muſt be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The ſeizure or confiſcation of four of their *Eaſt-India* ſhips corroborated theſe ſentiments, which were ſoon confirmed by the king's declaration of war againſt the republic. In this frivolous and impertinent piece the world is deſired to believe that nothing but abſolute neceſſity, a regard to the liberties of his ſubjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majeſty to carry matters to extremities; but the evaſions of the ſtates with regard to the claims of the *Britiſh Eaſt-India* company, their refuſal to ſend home the *Engliſh* families ſettled at *Surinam*, agreeable to the treaty of *Breda*, their denying to pay the due honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of *England* in arrogant medals and inſcriptions, had obliged him to uſe the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their inſolence and ſecure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdoms. Two very remarkable circumſtances were mentioned in this declaration; *viz.* that the ſtates had made a propoſal of acknowledging the king's ſuperiority at ſea, provided he would join them againſt *France*, and never uſe their conceſſions upon this occaſion as a precedent to their diſadvantage; and that they had ſent to *England* an ambaſſador extraordinary, who in poſitive terms refuſed giving the ſatisfaction required, and indeed promiſed in former treaties. Notwithſtanding theſe pretences, it is certain that Sir *George Downing*, when ſent to the *Hague*, was bound by his inſtructions not to accept any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days preſcribed; a method of proceeding in ambaſſies always irregular and unuſual,

England *declares war.*

uſual, eſpecially in *Holland*, where the very nature of the conſtitution renders all deliberations tedious. In a word, there was ſo much chicane and artifice in the conduct of the miniſters, that the whole people of *England* clamoured againſt the war, their antient animoſity to the *Dutch* being abſorbed in their reſentments againſt the meaſures of the adminiſtration. As to the *Dutch*, they anſwered the king's declaration with great propriety and ſtrength of argument, refuting irrefragably almoſt every article it contained. They denied that the *Engliſh* families in *Surinam* were detained, and demonſtrated that they had refuſed to quit the colony: they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to ſtrike ſail on their own coaſt to an *Engliſh* pleaſure boat; this alluded to the affair of the yatch: they aſſerted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inſcriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of *England*: they declared it had always been their ſtudy to cultivate the friendſhip of *Great-Britain*, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repoſe of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very exiſtence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the inſolence of *Downing*, the *Engliſh* miniſter at the *Hague*; the intention of the *Engliſh* miniſtry in recalling Sir *William Temple*, who had engaged the affection of the ſtates, by the juſtice, honour, and openneſs of his proceedings, as well as the amiableneſs of his character, the iniquitous attempt upon their *Smyrna* fleet, and the inſidious capture and unjuſt detention of their *Eaſt-India* ſhipping [a].

THE court of *Spain* could not be perſuaded that *England* would ever come to extremities with the *Dutch*, and enter upon an iniquitous war upon groundleſs and at beſt but frivolous pretences. Even *France* could hardly depend upon the promiſes and engagements of a monarch incapable of conſtancy and perſeverance. Nor did the ſtates imagine their calamities were ſo near: all *Europe*, indeed, ſtood aſtoniſhed at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was ſudden and unexpected.

France *and the other allies declare war.*

LEWIS now entered upon the ſcene of action, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, that *Charles* ſeemed little more than the harbinger to uſher in the giant. His declaration of war againſt the ſtates-general was publiſhed in the month of *April*, under the ſuperb title of *An Ordonnance by the King*. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of *England* to his intereſt, but he retained *Sweden* by his ſubſidies,

[a] LE CLERC, ubi ſupra.

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and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces againſt the republic. He did not condeſcend to ſpecify particulars in his ordonnance: it was ſufficient that the inſolence of the ſtates had incurred his diſpleaſure, and merited chaſtiſement. It was in this lofty ſtile his miniſter *de Gremonville* talked to the emperor when he deſired the court of *Vienna* might not interpoſe in his quarrel with the *Hollanders*. At other Roman Catholicc ourts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the *Dutch* with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the cloſeſt alliance with a heretic monarch, and the head of the Proteſtant church; though four hundred thouſand crowns were given annually for the friendſhip of a nation which had by ſevere laws prohibited the reſidence of Catholics in the kingdom (A). Scarce any thing can convey a higher idea of the power, weight, and importance of the republic, than a conſideration of the variety of precautions taken by the two kings before they ventured to declare their hoſtile intentions. *Lewis*'s power was unrivaled by land; and *Charles* might juſtly regard himſelf as the moſt potent maritime prince in *Europe*. *Holland* was divided by faction at home, and had ſcarce time to form any ſolid meaſures for the ſecurity of the ſtate; yet were the efforts of this republic ſufficient to baffle all the attempts of the moſt formidable combination *Europe* had beheld ſince the famous league of *Cambray*, againſt another republic, contemptible in reſpect of power, grandeur, and territory, to her enemies. The biſhop of *Munſter* declared war againſt the *Dutch*, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns; and the elector of *Cologn* received a body of *French* troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own ſecurity.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces ſeemed now to be devoted to deſtruction. Nothing appeared capable of ſuſpending its fall. *Lewis* was ready with three armies to burſt like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions; while on her ſide there was no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppoſe the inundation; the whole valour and power of the ſtate conſiſting in her navy, upon which the penſioner had beſtowed all his attention. *France* had no

(A) This was the ſubſidy paid to *Sweden* by the allies, for holding herſelf in readineſs to act againſt the emperor or the empire, ſhould they offer to interpoſe. If the *Swedes* took the field, the ſubſidy was to be augmented to ſix hundred thouſand crowns (1).

(1) *Le Clerc*, *p.* 102. *Neuville*, *t.* iii. *p.* 54.

ſooner veered round than *De Wit* loſt his credit, and with ſome degree of reaſon, as enmity to the prince of *Orange* had certainly carried him too far in his oppoſition to *England*, and complaiſance for the court of *France* had occaſioned his extinguiſhing every ſpark of military ſpirit in the republic, diſbanding the greater part of the army, and filling up all commiſſions in the remainder with the ſons and kinſmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of an enemy. His confidence in *France* prevented his acting with his uſual vigilance and caution. Fear of giving offence, by ſuſpicion, hindered his making preparations againſt the impending invaſion. The populace demanded that the prince of *Orange*, a youth juſt attained to the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of the army, if a body of twelve thouſand men, little better diſciplined than militia, merited that name. There was no reſiſting the voice of a whole nation; *De Wit* yielded, and reſolved to make one powerful effort by ſea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raiſe the ſpirits of the people, revive diſcipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every neceſſary for a vigorous reſiſtance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the ſtorm would fall, and where to direct the ſtrength of the republic, which was too inconſiderable to admit of being divided. Every thing was kept ſo cloſe in *France*, that not a ſyllable about the army tranſpired; no letter was ſuffered to paſs into *Holland* that contained the moſt diſtant hint of the intended invaſion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay ſiege to *Maeſtricht*: we have ſhewn the reaſons why he declined this meaſure [b], and rather choſe to penetrate in three diviſions into the provinces, take advantage of the preſent forlorn and diſpirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort deſtroy all preſence of mind and hope of reſiſtance. We have ſeen with what rapidity he over-ran the *Netherlands*, and reduced the *Dutch* to the neceſſity of laying their country under water. All *Europe* ſtood amazed at the king's irreſiſtible progreſs, while the republic was given up for loſt, and without the ſmalleſt proſpect of deliverance. The preparations of the ſtates could not keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from *Flanders* were juſt ſufficient to draw complaints againſt the court of *Spain*, from the two allied kings, but too inconſiderable to do the republic real ſervice. Tho' the ſtates were negotiating a treaty offenſive and defenſive at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, it was probable their fate would be determined

Preparations in Holland.

[b] Mod. Hiſt. vol. xxv.

before it could take place. They were beſides harraſſed in every ſtep by the enemy, and their applications to the elector of *Brandenburg* and the princes of *Lunenburg*, it was feared would be fruſtrated by the machinations of *Lewis*, and the terror of the *French* arms [c].

In this ſituation it was hoped a bold puſh with the fleet might produce ſome favourable change. The ſhips of the republic were as numerous, her ſtores as full, her mariners as abundant, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever: it was therefore reſolved to employ them in the moſt vigorous manner for the preſervation of the laſt remains of the commonwealth. *Ruyter* was accordingly ſent to ſea with ninety ſhips of war, and forty frigates and ſtoreſhips, *Cornelius De Wit* acting on board as deputy from the ſtates. The firſt intention was to prevent the junction of the *French* and *Engliſh* ſquadrons; but this was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in *Solebay*, under the command of the duke of *York*, the earl of *Sandwich*, and the count *D'Eſtrees*, to the amount of one hundred and thirty ſhips of the line. The chief authority was veſted in the duke of *York*, who imprudently affronted the earl of *Sandwich*, for repreſenting that the ſhips lay in great diſorder, and expoſed to the utmoſt danger, if attacked in that ſituation. He refuſed ſtanding out to ſea, as the earl adviſed; and, indeed, regarded nothing beſides his pleaſures, which ſome political *Engliſh* hiſtorians relate he carried, on this occaſion, to unuſual exceſs. It is certain, the *Dutch* began the attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged: ſeveral ſhips were forced to cut their cables with the utmoſt precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in ſuch confuſion, that the veſſels ran foul of each other. *Van Ghent* oppoſed himſelf to the earl of *Sandwich*, who led the van of the enemy, and a moſt dreadful action enſued, in which the *Dutch* admiral was killed, after performing prodigies of valour. *Sandwich* ſuſtained for a while the whole weight of the *Dutch* fleet, that the duke might have time to reduce the reſt of the ſhips into order. He deſtroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he ſunk three fire-ſhips, before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almoſt killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardour, until another fireſhip ran him aboard on the quarter. Even now he might have eſcaped into another veſſel; but he diſdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of *York:* his ſhip was blown

[c] Neuville, t. iii.

up, and the earl and every perſon on board were deſtroyed. The benefit of the diſpoſition he had made was felt after his death: Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, his vice-admiral, ſtill purſued the ſame plan of gaining the windward, and at laſt ſucceeded; by which he was enabled to come to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *York*, who was hotly engaged with *De Ruyter*. Now the engagement was ſo cloſe for above two hours, that the *Dutch* admiral afterwards declared it was the moſt obſtinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both ſides fought like men accuſtomed to diſpute the empire of the ocean. The duke and *Ruyter* each ſhifted their flags twice; but the duke did not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; but it belonged to the latter, if we may judge by conſequences; for *Ruyter*, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen ſafe into the *Texel*, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one ſide, while it ſunk under the preſſure of misfortunes on the other (A).

A DISPUTED victory, however, could not ſerve the purpoſes of *De Wit*, as affairs were then circumſtanced. He had no proſpect of ſtanding his ground, and fruſtrating the views of the young prince of *Orange*, except by ſome ſignal ſucceſs and deciſive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impoſſible to put the fleet again to ſea with ſufficient expedition, to remedy the miſchief that aroſe from the preſent diſappointment. He ſaw the *French* king extending his conqueſts on all ſides, three provinces wholly ſubdued, and *Lewis* exerciſing not only the power of a conqueror, but the authority of a ſovereign; changing conſtitutions, enacting laws, publiſhing edicts, creating magiſtrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himſelf the allegiance due only to the majeſty of the ſtates general. Believing longer reſiſtance fruitleſs, and perhaps dreading more to become vaſſals to the prince of *Orange* than tributaries to *France*, the *Loveſtein* faction determined, as the laſt reſource, to appeaſe by ſupplica-

(A) Some *French* writers alledge, that *D'Eſtrees* was hotly engaged with his whole ſquadron of thirty ſhips, with the diviſion of *Fluſhing*, whoſe fire he ſuſtained with the utmoſt reſolution and valour. The truth is, only a few *French* ſhips were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might deſtroy each other. *Voltaire* confeſſes as much (1).

(1) *Daniel, t. v. p.* 115. *Volt. Siec. t. i. p.* 143.

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tions the power they were unable to withſtand. Accordingly deputies were diſpatched to *Lewis* and *Charles*, with hopes at leaſt of breaking their union, if they ſhould fail in ſubduing their reſentments. On the arrival of *De Groot* at the *French* court, his propoſals were demanded; but he anſwered, he was come to know the king's pleaſure, his maſters deeming it more reſpectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that *Lewis* expected propoſals, in which the ſtates ſhould conſider all that his majeſty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the farther progreſs of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this anſwer the deputy returned to the *Hague*, and was immediately ſent back with full powers to treat, and conclude a peace on the beſt terms that could be obtained. After repeated conferences, *Louvois* gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretenſions of the king his maſter, upon granting which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehenſions of the ſtates were ſo extravagant as to offer that every thing ſhould be ſurrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and ſovereign power could be preſerved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expences of the war, yet this was inſufficient. *Lewis* demanded that the commodities of *France* ſhould be imported, free of duty, into all the provinces; that the ſtates ſhould permit the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion, ſhare the churches between them and the Proteſtants, and appoint regular ſalaries for the *Romiſh* prieſts; that they ſhould cede not only all the frontier towns, but *Skenk*, *Nimeguen*, *Knotzemburg*, part of *Guelderland*, the iſlands of *Bommel* and *Voorn*, and the forts of *St. Andrew*, *Loveſtein*, and *Crevecœur*; in a word, that they ſhould make him as completely maſter of all the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the ſword: and, beſides, pay an immenſe ſum of money to indemnify his expences; ſend a yearly embaſſy to *Paris* with a golden medal, confeſſing the ſubjection of the republic, and that to the king ſhe owed the preſervation of that liberty which his anceſtors had enabled her to acquire. Finally, that in the ſpace of ten days the ſtates ſhould ſignify their aſſent to theſe inſolent propoſals, in which caſe he would withdraw his forces [a]. Here it is remarkable that not the leaſt mention was made of *England:* we ſhall ſee how that court ſeemed to be wholly directed by the will and pleaſure of *Lewis*.

They implore peace.

[a] Voltaire Siecle. Neuville, ibid.

THE deputies ſent to *England* were met at *Graveſend*, forbid entering *London*, and conveyed directly to *Hampton-court*, where they met with a very harſh reception, though they excited the compaſſion of a generous people, ſeduced into an unjuſt war againſt a republic with which they had no real quarrel. At *Hampton* they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement, until the pleaſure of *Lewis* ſhould be known, and whether they were to be favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accommodation. Biſhop *Burnet* intimates, that the deputies gave lord *Arlington* to underſtand, that the ſtates were diſpoſed to advance the prince of *Orange* to the dignity of ſtadtholder, and all the other offices poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, as was plain from their giving him the intire command of the army. They requeſted, that his majeſty would appoint plenipotentiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the *French* monarch; and their petition was granted, merely becauſe *Charles* was at a loſs in what manner to act ſingly, and before he had his inſtructions from *Lewis*. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Arlington* were accordingly nominated to attend the *French* king, at that time with his whole court at *Utrecht*. It would ſeem, however, that though *Charles* did not chuſe to treat ſeparately of a peace, that he felt uneaſineſs at the rapid progreſs of his ally, and at the high ſtrain of authority in which he talked; that he foreſaw the intire conqueſt of the provinces would be a formidable acceſſion of power to *Lewis*, who might forget his engagements, and think it his intereſt to have the king of *England* dependent on his ſubjects. Beſides, *Charles* ſhewed an inclination to ſhare in the ſpoils of the republic. Poverty had made him avaricious, and now was the opportunity of gratifying the new-born paſſion, and of adminiſtring to the gratification of all his pleaſures. *Holland* was in ſuch a ſituation, that he doubted not of procuring whatever conditions he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. His demands were exorbitant. In concert with the court of *France*, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following preliminaries to the *Dutch* deputies: That the ſtates ſhould do honour to the *Britiſh* flag, without limitation; that whole fleets ſhould ſtrike their colours, and lower their topſails, to any ſingle king's ſhip in the *Britiſh* ſeas, or on the coaſts of *Holland*; that his majeſty's ſubjects at *Surinam* ſhould have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms preſcribed by the treaty of *Breda*; that all the king's enemies and calumniators ſhould for ever be baniſhed the republic; that the prince of *Orange* and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy, by hereditary right, the dignities of captain and admiral general, and of ſtadtholder of the United Provinces, in as ample a manner

Propoſals made by the kings:

as

as they had ever been held by his anceſtors; that a million ſterling ſhould be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten thouſand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fiſh in the *Britiſh* ſeas; that a treaty of commerce ſhould immediately be ſet on foot, wherein all his majeſty's claims, reſpecting the affairs of *India*, ſhould be acknowledged, without contradiction; and that the iſles of *Valcheren*, *Cadſant*, *Goree*, and *Voorn*, with the town and caſtle of *Sluys*, and their dependencies, ſhould be put into the king of *England*'s hands, by way of ſecurity for the performance of the ſeveral articles of this treaty [b].

GRIEVOUS as theſe terms were, to the prince of *Orange* alone it was owing they were not accepted. He had infuſed ſuch a ſpirit into the people, that on him depended the alternative of embracing or rejecting the propoſals. Nor were the allied kings ignorant of this. They addreſſed themſelves chiefly to him: they knew his ambition, and they plied him on that ſide with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced, that, in the end, he muſt yield to the temptation. The ſovereignty of the provinces was preſented to his view, to dazzle his eyes with the luſtre of the object; but *William*'s ambition aſpired higher. Eager to become the ſaviour of his country, he ſpurned the thoughts of trampling on her liberties, at a time when ſhe moſt wanted his aſſiſtance; he deſpiſed owing his elevation to tyrants, and ſacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary ſovereignty. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of *Lorrain*: the example was recent, ſtriking, and ſufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendſhip, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whoſe ambition graſped at ſubjecting all the neighbouring powers. Full of theſe heroic ſentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or periſh in the laſt dyke. The ſpirit of the prince infuſed life and vigour into his party; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the paſſions of the populace againſt the penſioner and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to *France*. To this, and the ſubjection in which the houſe of *Orange* was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their moſt proſperous condition the vulgar panted for a ſtadtholder, with the glitter of whoſe authority they were dazzled: in adverſity, they knew no other relief than from an application to the deſcendants of thoſe heroes who had by perſeverance, valour, and magnanimity, re-

[b] RAPIN, SMOLLET, TEMPLE, &c.

ſcued the ſtate from the inſolent dominion of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and eſtabliſhed religion and liberty on a ſolid baſis.

Tumult at the Hague, *in which the* de Wits *are maſſacred.*

THE penſioner *de Wit* was deemed the ſource of the ſtrong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence ſufficient to overwhelm the conſtitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his anceſtors: his nobility aroſe ſolely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vaſt abilities: but he was ſubject to the frailties of humanity. His ſtaunch republican principles, and oppoſition to the aſpiring views of the houſe of *Orange*, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of *England*, and the prince his nephew, threw him into the arms of *Lewis*, by whom he was now deſerted and betrayed. In the full luſtre of proſperity, the penſioner was envied and admired; in his decline, he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his account that their commerce was a prey to the *Engliſh*, that their town were ſwallowed up by the *French*, the dignity of the republic loſt, and public liberty and religion tottering. He was preſumed to be, as a *Dutch* writer expreſſes it, the *Jonas* of the ſtate, whom by throwing overboard the ſtorm would be appeaſed. Actuated by theſe prejudices the provinces fell into the moſt violent ferment: the dregs of the people buoyed up to the ſurface, floated like ſcories upon the ſuperficies, and dictated to their maſters. The ſtates were diſregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the houſe of *Orange*, and the univerſal cry was a ſtadtholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged, upon oath, never to acknowledge the prince of *Orange* as governor-general, or to veſt him with the dignities poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. The two brothers, *John* and *Cornelius*, ſtill continued to oppoſe the repeal from motives of true patriotiſm: they ſaw the madneſs of the people, and apprehended that, in the tranſports of their zeal for the prince, they might diſpoſe of their liberty, and by one act of indiſcretion afford matter of perpetual inquietude. At length the populace broke through all reſtraint. At *Dort*, where *Cornelius de Wit* was ancient burgomaſter, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of *Orange* to come thither, and forced the magiſtrates to inveſt him with all the dignities belonging to his family. Five days after (*June* 30) the ſame ſcene was acted at *Rotterdam*, *Amſterdam*, the *Hague*, *Middleburg*, and in general through all the provinces. Nor did the popular fury ſtop here: they purged the public offices of all diſagreeable perſons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magiſtracy all the adherents of his family, and inſiſted that their own deputies ſhould have

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ſeats in the adminiſtration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the conſtitution. At *Amſterdam* the populace were in continual tumults. In one riot the magiſtrate equivalent to high ſheriff was wounded, and a burgomaſter carried off in triumph, inſulted, and confined priſoner in the town-houſe. At *Dort* the pictures and ſtatues, erected in honour of *Cornelius de Wit*, were pulled down and broken. Their rage againſt both the brothers was inexpreſſible; but it ſeems to have riſen to the greateſt height againſt *Cornelius*, who had firſt refuſed to ſign the inſtrument whereby the prince was elevated to the ſtadtholderſhip. *John de Wit* had, between reſentment and deſpair, reſigned the office of penſioner, after having been aſſaulted by four ruffians, and left for dead in the ſtreet. The gallant *de Ruyter* was attacked in the ſame manner at *Amſterdam*; and *Cornelius de Wit* was beſet in his own houſe, and, being confined to his ſick-bed, was with the utmoſt difficulty protected by his ſervants. It was a ſhort time after that this honeſt patriot was accuſed, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thouſand guelders for attempting the life of the prince of *Orange*. The charge was improbable and abſurd; but the times favoured the accuſer, and prevented the magiſtrates from doing juſtice to the accuſed. So ſtrong was the current of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced, againſt their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confiſcate his eſtate, diveſt him of his dignities and employments, and ſentence him to perpetual baniſhment. His conſtancy never ſhrunk under the moſt excruciating pains, which he bore with unſhaken fortitude, proteſting his innocence; and at every reſpite from the pangs of torture, repeating that beautiful ode of *Horace*, beginning with *Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum*. His brother the penſioner, with truly fraternal affection, not only countenanced him through the whole proceeding, wiped away his tears, and conſoled him in his adverſity, but determined to ſhare his misfortunes, by accompanying him in his exile[a]. While he was viſiting him in priſon, the deluded multitude aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the priſon-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embrued their ſavage hands in the blood of thoſe ſons of liberty, who had merited ſo well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the moſt inhuman indignity (A). THE

[a] NEUVILLE, ibid. BASNAGE Introduct. LE CLERC, p. 93. Gazette Amſter. N° 104.

(A) Moſt writers have related, that with this ſacrifice the popular rage was appeaſed, and tranquility once more reſtored;

THE elevation of the prince of *Orange* was almoſt an immediate conſequence of the tragical end of his two greateſt enemies.

ſtored; but the opinion is erroneous. Like the waves of the ſea, their paſſions rolled high after the tempeſt had ceaſed. When the criminal magiſtrate at the *Hague* had deſired and obtained leave of the prince of *Orange*, to make inquiry after the principal actors in this tragedy, and for that purpoſe asked their names of the captain of the burghers, the people replied, "We are all guilty; "if you are diſſatisfied with our "conduct you ſhall ſhare the "ſame fate." They even proceeded ſo far as to depoſe him immediately from his office, in reſentment of the compaſſion he had ſhewn for the deceaſed virtuous patriots. For the reader's farther ſatisfaction we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin the following natural and affecting account of a tranſaction, which will always be regarded as a material incident in the annals of human nature, and peruſed with that eager curioſity which accompanies tragical events and ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed.

'I tremble when I take pen in 'hand to acquaint you with 'the ſad ſpectacle here exhi-'ted in the perſons of *Cornelius* 'and *John de Wit*, the former 'having the ſame day received 'ſentence, whereby he was de-'clared incapable of holding 'any employments in the ſtate, 'and baniſhed for ever. The 'barber who accuſed him be-'ing ſet at liberty, went up and 'down the ſtreets, telling the 'people that *Cornelius*'s puniſh-'ment was by no means ade-'quate to the heinous nature 'of his crime. About the 'ſame time the penſioner *de* '*Wit* going in his coach to the 'priſon to carry away his bro-'ther, they were both, as they 'were coming away, ſtopt by 'the watch, who would have 'diſcharged their muſkets upon 'them, had they not imme-'diately retired to the priſon. 'In the mean time, the people 'being highly diſſatisfied with 'the lenity of the above ſen-'tence, and it being reported 'that the boors were coming, 'with no good intention, to 'the *Hague*, the drums were 'beat for aſſembling the burgh-'ers under arms. Six compa-'nies poſted themſelves before 'the priſon-doors, where they 'continued almoſt the whole 'day, when they began to 'break down the priſon-doors, 'notwithſtanding three troops 'of horſe were drawn out to 'prevent diſorder. Theſe the 'burghers kept off with their 'pikes, afterwards obliged 'them to retire, then broke 'into the priſon, dragged out 'the brothers, wounded them 'in divers places, trampled 'them under foot, and igno-'miniouſly dragged the dead 'bodies round the ſtreets. Firſt 'their two fingers, which they 'had held up at ſwearing to 'the perpetual edict, were cut 'off, and their ears, which 'were taken up by ſome boys 'and preſented as a gift to the 'firſt perſon they met of diſtinc-'tion. After this they hung 'the dead bodies by the heels,

'on

enemies. He was promoted, with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy on the ſide of the people, to the whole adminiſtration of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyſſel*, were in the hands of the enemy; and the young prince *John-Caſimir* of *Naſſau*, now under the guardianſhip of his mother, had already been in poſſeſſion of the government of *Frieſland* and *Groninguen*. But the inſolence of the populace did not ſubſide with this favourable change of meaſures. Their proſperity rather increaſed their arrogance. At *Amſterdam* the following demands were poſted up on the exchange: That the colonels, captains, and other officers of the burgomaſters, be immediately caſhiered, and their commiſſions be given to ſuch perſons as the prince-ſtadtholder ſhall judge worthy: that henceforward none of the burgomaſters ſhall be appointed directors of the *Eaſt India* company, and that thoſe who at preſent enjoy that office be caſhiered: that an account of all money received and expended be laid before the burghers: that all the privileges of the burghers, reſpecting the liberty of fiſhing round the towns, be confirmed: that thoſe who refuſe to accede to theſe conditions, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the *de Wits* were at the *Hague*: and that whoever ſhall preſume to pull down this writing, may expect immediate capital puniſhment. In a word, the power of the nobility was every where the object of jealouſy; and the great

'on a gibbet, their cloaths being all torn off, and their fleſh 'mangled in a barbarous manner, every one ſtriving to 'come in for a piece, which 'they afterwards ſold up and 'down the town. One joint 'of a finger ſold for twelve ſtivers, a whole finger for fifteen, a piece of an ear for 'twenty-five ſtivers, and ſo in 'proportion. In this manner 'the bodies remained hanging 'till midnight, expoſed to the 'brutal inſolence and more 'than ſavage cruelty of the 'mob, when ſeveral perſons in 'diſguiſe came and removed 'them. A ſadder ſpectacle 'hath never been ſeen in this 'or any other country. It is 'ſaid, that a woman coming 'from *Scheveling*, being informed of what had happened, fell upon her knees 'and thanked God for it; ſo 'ſtrongly were the people enraged againſt two patriots, 'whoſe names will be tranſmitted with thoſe of the moſt 'renowned heroes to the lateſt 'poſterity.' Nothing, indeed, can more ſtrongly characterize the cool deliberate phlegmatic barbarity of the people than this ſimple narration, which bears all the marks of authenticity. We have in a former volume given our ſentiments upon the ſhare the prince of *Orange* probaby had in this horrible tranſaction. It would be diſagreeable and unneceſſary to repeat truths which bear hard upon the memory of that great ſoldier and ſtateſman.

deſign

deſign ſeems to have been, to ſhare the government between the ſtadtholder and the populace. Whatever demands were made by the people, the prince immediately granted. All authority was veſted in his highneſs, the ſtates were ſcarce ever named, the legiſlative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the conſtitution ſeemed intirely unhinged.

The ſtadtholder encourages the ſtates to proſecute the war.

THE firſt good effect which this change of meaſures produced, was the putting an immediate ſtop to the treaty with *France*. At an extraordinary aſſembly of the ſtates, aſſembled merely for the ſake of form, the young ſtadtholder repreſented, in a ſpeech that held three hours, the pernicious conſequences of accepting the terms propoſed by *Lewis*: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perſeverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet reſcue their liberties: he demonſtrated the poſſibility of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with obſerving, that too great a price could not be paid for the ſecurity of religion and liberty. His knowledge was ſo extenſive, his judgment ſo ſolid, his arguments ſo irrefragable, his calculations ſo clear, and his nervous manner ſo animating, that the ſtates appeared at the ſame time aſtoniſhed and convinced. New ſpirits ſeemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inſpired with courage and hope from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young ſtadtholder: that grief and deſpondency which had long clouded every face, were now diſpelled before the radiance of his riſing ſun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which ſeemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themſelves with vigour in defence of their country. Wiſe deliberations paved the way to vigorous reſolutions; the propoſals of the two kings were rejected, the deputies recalled, and every neceſſary diſpoſition made for defending themſelves to the laſt extremity. It was even reſolved, rather than ſubmit, to tranſport themſelves, their families, and effects to the *Eaſt Indies*, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have ſecured a retreat againſt the greateſt calamities.

A. D. 1673. BY this time ſeveral of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the *French* conqueſts, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* had made ſurpriſing efforts to aſſemble an army capable of taking the field. His firſt attempt was on *Naerden*; but the vigilance of marechal *Luxemburg* rendered it unſucceſsful. Still, however, the chief hopes of *Holland* centered in the *Engliſh* parliament, which it was believed would thwart the king's inclinations, oblige him to break off from *Lewis*, and purſue the

real

real intereſt of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was ſoon perceived by the new levies made in *England*, and the vaſt armament ſent to ſea under the conduct of prince *Rupert*, the earl of *Oſſory*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, who immediately joined the *French* ſquadron commanded by *d'Etrees*. It was now that the project was formed of invading *Zealand*. A conſiderable body of land-forces were put on board the fleet, and ſuch diſpoſitions made as threatened the republic with unavoidable deſtruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for ſucceſs. The *Dutch* fleet was not yet put to ſea; the prince of *Orange* could poſſibly make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coaſt was covered with the ſhips of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption: but it pleaſed the Divine Providence to interpoſe in defence of this injured and oppreſſed republic. A tempeſt came on, which drove the enemy from the ſhore, and forced them, in a ſhattered condition, to ſhelter themſelves in their own ports. Nor was this all: the ſame ſtorm which had removed danger, brought the moſt ſeaſonable relief to the provinces. In the abſence of the combined ſquadrons, a large fleet of *India* merchant-ſhips, richly laden, entered the *Texel*, and added nerves to all the operations of war, and meaſures of defence. Twice in the ſame war the ſtates were ſaved from certain ruin, by the immediate interpoſition of the hand of the Almighty. *Luxemburg* was on his march over the ice to attack *Amſterdam* and the *Hague*, when a ſudden thaw had almoſt ruined himſelf and his army. To proceed was impoſſible; to return was attended with a thouſand difficulties, had the *Dutch* officer of a fort ſtood firm, and diſcharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the ſafety of *Luxemburg*, who was equally aſtoniſhed at the conduct of his daſtardly enemy, and his own good fortune. Theſe are events which the republic has cauſe to remember with gratitude and admiration [a].

At this time ſcarce a ſingle power in *Europe*, of any conſideration, purſued its real intereſt. The policy of all was falſe and deluſive. *France* graſped at ſo much, that there was danger of exciting a combination of enemies, who would deſpoil her of all her conqueſts, and leave her feeble, exhauſted, and emaciated, with the loſs of blood and treaſure ſpent in the fruitleſs purſuit of ideal projects. *England* acted in direct oppoſition to common ſenſe in joining *France*, and endeavouring to exalt the houſe of *Bourbon* above that of *Auſtria*. The em-

[a] Volt. Siecle.

peror,

peror, the empire, and *Spain*, loſt many opportunities of reſcuing *Europe* from the impending bondage. Their tedious deliberations ſuffered *Lewis* to acquire ſtrength, *Holland* to be reduced to the laſt gaſp, and the foundation of a bloody general war to be laid, when one ſeaſonable vigorous effort would have checked the pride of *France*, and ſecured the tranquillity of *Europe*. *Holland* herſelf committed the groſſeſt blunders. At firſt her whole attention was given to her marine, and the means of oppoſing *England*, though it was impoſſible to avoid ſeeing a ſtorm gathering in another quarter. She connected herſelf with *France*, relied upon the faith of treaties, and ſhut her eyes to all conſequences. Now, however, ſhe determined to repair her errors by a ſeries of the moſt ſpirited conduct. *Ruyter* was ſent to ſea with a powerful fleet in queſt of the *Engliſh*, whom he found on the coaſt of *Holland*, under the command of prince *Rupert*. Before the action the *French* ſquadron had joined the prince; but *Ruyter* was not deterred from his purpoſe. He made the ſignal to attack, bore down with the moſt undaunted reſolution, and maintained an obſtinate bloody engagement with his uſual intrepidity and conduct. The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either ſide, though both claimed an advantage. They put into their ports to refit, and ſoon appeared again, with intention to finiſh the diſpute more deciſively. On the fourteenth of *June* they met a ſecond time off *Flushing*, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a general engagement by tempeſtuous weather. Prince *Rupert* was, indeed, ſuppoſed to be averſe to the war, and for that reaſon leſs eager to exert himſelf than uſual, agreeable to his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. *Ruyter* would have come to an engagement; but the prince, being deſtitute of many neceſſaries, had retired into port. He was no ſooner ſupplied than he again appeared on the coaſt of *Holland*, and was attacked by *de Ruyter* and *Van Tromp*, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the ſtadtholder, who laboured to unite all parties in the ſervice of their country. The action was ſcarce begun when each of the *Dutch* admirals ſingled out the commanders of the combined fleet. *De Ruyter* oppoſed himſelf to the prince, *Van Tromp* engaged Sir *Edward Spragge*, and rear-admiral *Bronkert* attacked *d'Etrees*, the *French* admiral. Never did greater emulation appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardor, and determined courage, which diſtinguiſhes true military genius. *Bronkert* ſhot ahead of the *French* diviſion, ſeparated prince *Rupert* from the diviſion of Sir *John Chichely*, and cloſed him between two fires;

Sea fights between the Engliſh *and* Dutch.

fires; *Ruyter* plying him with fury on the one ſide, while the rear-admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite ſurrounded, *Rupert* fought with undaunted valour and preſence of mind, which ſeemed to riſe with the danger. After ſeveral deſperate efforts, he at length extricated himſelf; and joining *Chicheley*, bore down to the aſſiſtance of *Spragge*, almoſt overpowered by *Van Tromp*. He had ſhifted his flag from the *Royal Prince*, in which he had fought until the ſhip was beat to pieces with the enemy's ſhot. He then engaged in the *St. George*, and fought her while ſhe could ſwim; but going in the pinnace to ſhift his flag on board a freſh ſhip, he was ſunk by a cannon-ball [b], after having gained the eſteem and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. *Van Tromp* had been in much the ſame ſituation: he had twice ſhifted his flag, after his ſhips had been diſabled; and at laſt bore ſo hard upon the earl of *Oſſory*, who ſucceeded *Spragge*, that he forced him to retire. *Engliſh* writers however alledge, that had the *French* obeyed prince *Rupert*'s ſignal to engage, when he put the *Dutch* fleet in confuſion by his fireſhips, the victory would have been undiſputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all that we know for certain is, that, finding himſelf extremely roughly handled, he collected his ſtraggled ſhips, and hauled off to the *Engliſh* coaſt. *Ruyter* was greatly careſſed for his conduct: the ſtadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the faſt friend of the penſioner *de Wit* (A). Happily, indeed, the ſpirit of party ſeemed now extinguiſhed, and all men united in the common defence of their country.

EVERY thing began to take a turn favourable to *Holland*. *Spain* renewed her alliance with the ſtates, was raiſing an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with *France*. The emperor had ſent the famous *Montecuculi* into the field, to oppoſe his great rival *Turenne*. The elector of *Brandenburg* was at the head of a body of troops, making a diverſion in favour of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* took *Naerdin*, and by a ſeries of maſterly motions, and judicious encampments, left all the *French* generals behind him, joined the Imperialiſts, and inveſted and reduced *Bonne* in the ſpace of a few days. The biſhop of *Munſter* had been driven out

[b] LE CLERC, ibid. VOLT. c. x. SMOLLET, b. vii. c. ii.

(A) It was after this battle that *d'Estrees* wrote to M. *Colbert*, 'I would have ſold my life for 'half the glory which *d'Ruyter* 'has obtained (1).'

(1) *Voltaire*, *t.* i. *p.* 150.

of

of *Groningen*, and ſeveral places in the electorate of Cologn, and forced to receive *Dutch* garriſons; in conſequence of which *Lewis* was forced to abandon all his conqueſts, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with *France*. Immediately upon this event the king of *Sweden*, ſeeing the parties grow more equal, and *Europe* likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded ſo heartily for peace, that a congreſs was opened at *Cologn*. The *Dutch* were no longer under the neceſſity of abjectly imploring compaſſion. They refuſed liſtening to terms, unleſs the two kings would recede from the inſolent conditions they had before preſcribed: they ſunk in their own offers, and their ambaſſadors now again began to aſſume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The *French* endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but at laſt, finding themſelves greatly embarraſſed, they retired from *Cologn* with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of *Furſtenberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologn*, and now apprehended by an order of the court of *Vienna*, as a ſubject of the empire, who had betrayed his country.

THOUGH the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Hanover* had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced from the intereſts of *Europe*, the one ſigning a neutrality with the court of *France*, the other ſuffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet ſtill *Holland* was ſufficiently ſupported not to be diſcouraged. The treaties with *Spain* and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be deſired: there every meaſure of defence was ſtipulated, and a variety of offenſive ſchemes concerted. In the treaty with *Spain*, the firſt ſeven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either party was attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumſtances of ſuch mutual aid, were likewiſe ſpecified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace ſhould be concluded by either contracting party, without the conſent of the other; and alſo, that no engagements ſhould be formed that were not perfectly conſiſtent with the preſent treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and proviſion was made for the due obſervance of the treaty of *Munſter*, the guarantee of the treaty of *Aix*, and the triple league, when the war with his *Britannic* majeſty ſhould be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of *Spain* promiſes not only to co-operate with the ſtates-general in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engages,

Conditions of the treaty with Spain.

eir propoſals be rejected, to declare open war againſt and that his governor-general ſhall in the mean time to aſſiſt the prince of *Orange* with all the ſtrength *Spaniſh Netherlands*. In the fifteenth article it was d, that no peace ſhould be negotiated without full n made of all towns, cities, and countries, which night be taken from the ſtates; the republic, on the nd, entering upon the ſame engagements, until all been taken from *Spain* ſince the peace of the *Pyre-* ld be reſtored. By the eighteenth article, the ſtates to ſurrender the town of *Maeſtricht*, the territory of , and all they poſſeſſed beyond the *Meuſe*, to his together with their pretenſions to the villages of re- n. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to ſub- he ſpace of twenty years, and the ratifications to be ed in two months. What reſpects *Great-Britain* is ticular, and therefore deſerves to be inſerted at full eſpecially as we find it but imperfectly related in the *Engliſh* hiſtorians.

WITHSTANDING, by the preſent treaty between the tholic king and the republic of the United Provinces, ſty only engages to declare war againſt *France*, ſhould oſitions of peace be rejected; yet the king will find him- er the neceſſity of coming to a rupture with his *Britan-* ſty, likewiſe ſince every thing plainly indicates that he ates with *France* in obſtructing the pacification, and would be impoſſible effectually to aſſiſt the ſtates-ge- nd keep upon friendly terms with *Great-Britain*. It fore agreed, that if the means of pacification, pro- his Catholic majeſty, ſhould prove fruitleſs, his ma- all then declare war againſt the king of *Great-Britain*, ſame manner as againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. eleſs, to ſhew his good inclinations towards his *Bri-* najeſty, the ſtates general are required to make one ort to bring the king to a peace, offering him ſuch ns as muſt appear reaſonable. This almoſt was fol- by the ſubſequent propoſals; firſt, that the affair of ; be adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of the king of *England*: y, that reſtitution be made of all places that have or : taken by the ſtates-general from *Great-Britain*, ſince mmencement of the preſent war; by this article are ood places out of *Europe*, of which the reſtitution : reciprocal: thirdly, that a ſum of four, five, ſix, or thouſand doubloons be made payable at the following ents, *viz.* a fourth upon exchange of the ratifications;

another fourth at the cloſe of the firſt year after the peace; and the remainder in the two ſubſequent years [a].

A. D. 1674. SUCH was the treaty by which *Spain* and *Holland* became again united in the ſame cauſe, after they had been at variance and open war for near the ſpace of a century. In conſequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* denounced war againſt *France*, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, aſſiſted with their forces. It was likewiſe to the peremptoriness of this treaty, and the determined reſolution of the Catholic king, that the ſtates owed the peace ſoon after concluded with *Great Britain*. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed againſt the ruinous meaſures ſupported by the *Engliſh* miniſters. They were incenſed at the conduct of the *French* admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unproſperous iſſue of the laſt action to the artifice of *d'Eſtrees*, who paid no regard to prince *Rupert*'s ſignal. They clearly penetrated into the deſigns of the *French* monarch, and determined, by refuſing the ſupplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the United Provinces. But firſt it was reſolved to wait the event of an enterprize formed by the earl of *Oſſory* upon *Helvoetſluys*. As this ſcheme came to nothing, the *Dutch* commiſſioners and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador renewed their application to detach *England* from *France*, and they ſucceeded. As this was a matter of the higheſt importance, the ſtates did not ſcruple writing a ſubmiſſive letter to *Charles*, and impowering the marquis *de Freſno* to conclude peace upon terms nearly ſimilar to thoſe recited in the treaty between *Spain* and the republic. *Charles*, finding it would be impoſſible to ſupport the war without the conſent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the ſolicitations of the *Spaniſh* miniſter. He made a virtue of neceſſity, communicated the propoſals ſent him by the ſtates to the two houſes of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their ſentiments were well known: they exhorted his majeſty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis *de Freſno* was referred to Sir *William Temple*, and at three meetings the whole affair was finiſhed. The treaty of *Breda*, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the baſis of the preſent pacification. Little more was added, than that the ſtates ſhould compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or in ſingle veſſels; and that they ſhould pay a ſum of money to defray the king's expences.

Peace with England.

[a] LE CLERC, t. iii. p. 97.

How

How little they regarded the article reſpecting the flag, appears from a man of war's refuſing to ſtrike to a king's yacht, with an *Engliſh* ambaſſador on board; an incident that happened before the ratifications were exchanged. The truth is, the ſtates were perfectly informed of the temper of the *Britiſh* nation and parliament, the breach between them and the court; and they reſolved to profit by this circumſtance, and to improve their terms in proportion to the king's neceſſities. This appeared more obviouſly from the ſupercilious air with which the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors were treated at the *Hague*. On their return from *Cologne* they waited on the prince of *Orange*, to know his ſentiments of the king's mediation with *France*: they were forced to ſolicit this audience by the interpoſition of *Sr. Gabriel Sylvius*, and to wait ſeveral days before it was granted. It was indeed the deepeſt reflection on the weakneſs of the *Engliſh* adminiſtration, to ſee the ambaſſadors of the *Britiſh* crown ſupplicating an audience of a prince of *Orange*.

THOUGH *Charles* had negotiated the peace with *Holland* in a dirty, clandeſtine manner, the *French* king's pride was by this time ſo mortified, that he did not reſent the ill uſage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by *Charles*, from whom he had reaſon to expect ſome partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the *Engliſh* monarch with an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds. *Charles* made the offer, to qualify his deſertion, and *Lewis* accepted it, as the moſt rational means of warding againſt the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the ſame reaſons that induced him to reliſh the propoſed mediation, rendered the overtures from the *Britiſh* king diſtaſteful to the emperor, *Spain*, and *Holland*, who ſcrupled not avowing that the court of *England* retained the ſame attachments it formerly had to the *French* king's intereſt, though the king's immediate neceſſities obliged him to accommodate matters with the ſtates general. This it was, which had probably occaſioned the prince of *Orange*'s cool behaviour to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador.

WHILE the mediation was in ſuſpence, the prince of *Orange* took the field with a numerous army, and tried every ſtratagem of war to bring the prince of *Condé* to a battle; we have ſeen the progreſs of this campaign, and the manner in which *William* of *Orange* expoſed a wing of his army at *Seneffe*, of which the vigilant *Condé* did not fail

taking advantage [b]. The conduct of both generals was ſuch as engaged their mutual eſteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deſerving it. The rencounter however was deciſive in one reſpect; it fruſtrated the ſcheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of *France*, and diſappointed that project upon which the prince of *Orange* had ſet his heart, of drinking wine in *Champagne*, before the end of the ſeaſon. It likewiſe facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the *French* to penetrate into *Franche Comté*, which they ſoon reduced. *Turenne* was ſuperior to the allies in *Alſace*, he defeated the duke of *Lorrain* and *Caprara* at *Zintzheim*, attacked and routed a body of *Germans* at *Mulhauſen*, drove the elector of *Brandenburgh* from *Colmar*, obtained a victory over him at *Turkheim*, and at length forced the enemy to repaſs the *Rhine*, and abandon their deſign of invading the king's frontiers, with damage and diſgrace.

THESE ſucceſſes did not prevent the king of *England* from perſiſting in the offers of his mediation, or animate *Lewis* to proſecute the war, could reaſonable terms be obtained. The ſtates general themſelves were diſpoſed to accommodate matters; but the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* formed ambitious projects, of clipping the ſoaring wings of *Bourbon*, and of humbling the pride of *Lewis*. The ſtadtholder too was inflamed with the deſire of military glory, and he puſhed his reſentment to *France* ſo far, that the penſioner *Fagel* acknowledged, it would not be poſſible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had ſettled the ballance of *Europe*, on ſuch a footing, as muſt for years check the elevation of the *French* monarch. Animoſity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm *William* in thoſe ſentiments, and we find he already ſketched the general plan of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of *Great Britain*. Actuated by theſe principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the *Engliſh* miniſters during the campaign, and at laſt told them, until *France* received further mortifications, nothing ſalutary to the peace of *Europe* could flow from a negotiation. In the ſecond conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards coſt *England* and *Holland* ſuch an immenſity of blood and treaſure, that it was the intereſt of both, to ſet bounds to the power of *France*; whence he took occaſion to urge, that

[b] Univ. Mod. Hiſt. vol. xxv.

the

the king ſhould actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince *Lewis*, that he had the ſame views with the other confederates; namely, the ſecurity of the repoſe of *Europe*, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to purſue his deſign, that the elector of *Brandenburgh* had again broke with the *French* king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thouſand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement ſcarce ſufficient to ballance the inconveniences ariſing from diſſenſions among the generals, and troops of different princes, ſince the battle of *Zintzheim*. The *Lunenburghers* had openly condemned the conduct of the imperialiſts in this action; for ſeveral hours they ſingly ſuſtained the whole weight of the enemy, they had ſuffered extremely, and were with reaſon loud in their complaints. The *Brandenburghers* embraced their cauſe againſt the imperialiſts; a diverſity of intereſts produced a diverſity of opinions; councils only created confuſion, and every tranſaction was as perfectly known by *Turenne* as if he had been preſent. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. *Montecuculi* again reſumed the command, oppoſed himſelf to *Turenne*, reduced all things to order, diſplayed the moſt extenſive capacity, held the ſcale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, ſuddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then reſigned the command, becauſe the enemy had no general worthy of oppoſing the man who had ſhewn himſelf equal to the great *Turenne*. At this time the illuſtrious *Condé* was employed in *Flanders*, where, with an inferior army, he had kept at bay the prince of *Orange* for the whole campaign. He was ſent to ſucceed *Turenne*, but the ſame reaſons which had prevailed with *Montecuculi* to withdraw, now influenced *Condé*. He retrieved the king's affairs, and then reſigned, with the dignity of a hero [c].

A. D. 1675.

Congreſs appointed at Nimeguen.

IT was during the receſs from military operations, that the ſovereignty of *Guelderland* had been offered the prince of *Orange*, under the antient title of duke, which it was pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occaſioned various conjectures. Thoſe who had no opinion of *William*'s patriotiſm, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alledged that he was himſelf the main ſpring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the ſtates of *Guelderland* to make the

[c] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxv.

propoſal. His friends and admirers were of contrary ſentiments. They inſiſted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had ſo bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and reſcued almoſt beyond probability the liberties of the *United Provinces*. *William* wiſely deliberated on the offer, and ſubmitted it to the ſtates of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The laſt temporiſed, and were for his accepting it; the ſecond were as poſitive, in diſſuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to aſperſe his character, and ſtain real patriotiſm with the infamous blot of hypocriſy. Before *Holland* came to any reſolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour, which would have coſt more than it was worth, by diminiſhing his popularity, while it increaſed his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the ſtates of *Utrecht*, was his conduct in that province, upon his firſt reſolution after he had been elevated to the ſtadthoulderſhip. In order to reform abuſes, and ſettle the government upon the antient principles of the conſtitution, he convened an aſſembly of the provincial ſtates. Here it was determined, that new members ſhould be elected to compoſe the body of the nobility and the magiſtracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In conſequence the old conſtitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was veſted in three diſtinct ſocieties, the counſellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of *Orange* upon this occaſion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave riſe to the motion of rendering the ſtadtholderſhip hereditary in the heirs-male of his body. The *Louveſtein* faction was now wholly ſuppreſſed, and there ſcarce was heard a murmur againſt a propoſal in which the gratitude of the people, and the intereſt of the republic, appeared intereſted. The inſtrument for this proviſion was made out, and the example was followed by ſome of the other provinces.

THE calamities of war, which had almoſt depopulated the empire and the *Netherlands*, excited the compaſſion of divers princes, who laboured to eſtabliſh a negotiation. In this none was ſo hearty as the king of *England*, for the reaſons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the intereſts of *Europe*. His mediation at laſt operated ſo powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to ſend plenipotentiaries

tentiaries to *Nimeguen*, where a congreſs was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious however, that the courts of *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *Berlin*, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining ſuch advantages as would induce the *French* monarch to acquieſce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his preſent ſituation. The ſtates general, likewiſe influenced by the ſtadtholder, did not expreſs that forwardneſs for a negotiation which became their former profeſſions. Hence it was that the armies of every ſide took the field, and military operations were puſhed with vigour, while the miniſters were treating about peace in the cabinet. *Lewis* appeared early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced *Condé*, *Aire*, and *Bouchain*. The prince of *Orange* retaliated, by laying ſiege to *Maeſtricht*, which he puſhed with the utmoſt impetuoſity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the ſcarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterpriſe. With this event ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*, when immediately the eyes of all *Europe* were again turned upon the congreſs at *Nimeguen* [d]. A. D. 1676.

THE *Spaniards* were averſe to peace, from a full conviction that the court of *England* could not long remain blind to the intereſts of *Europe*. They perſuaded themſelves, that rather than ſee *Lewis* in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, *Charles* would join the confederates. On the other hand, the *French* monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a ſeparate peace with *Holland*. *Charles* aſſiſted in this deſign, the ſtates general lent an ear to the propoſal; but the ſtadtholder of himſelf refuſed to enter upon a meaſure which might have incurred the imputation of treachery, and given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whoſe defence they engaged in the quarrel. It was a bad recompence of their generous ſervices, and ſeaſonable interpoſition, to be now deſerted, and left to extricate themſelves out of a dangerous war, by the beſt means in their power. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as ſome writers aſſert, might have ſome influence with the prince; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that his ſentiments are founded upon juſtice and generoſity. Beſides, he perceived that the *Engliſh* nation in general deteſted their ſovereign's attachment to *France*; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiſcriminate depredations of the *French* privateers, who made no diſtinction between *Dutch* and *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips, and regarded as lawful

[d] Mod. Univ. Miſt. vol. xxv. LE CLERC, p. 99.

prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in *England*. His valour, ſteadineſs, zeal for the good of *Europe*, implacable reſentment to *France*, and unvariable attachment to liberty, raiſed him extremely high in the opinion of a people enamoured above all others of patriotiſm, and oftener the dupes of hypocriſy than any other nation. The ill-humour of the *Engliſh* was increaſed by an indignity put on the flag by a *French* ſquadron, which refuſed the compliment to captain *Herbert* of the *Cambridge*. The tame conduct of *Charles*, who contented himſelf with demanding ſatisfaction by a letter, further incenſed the people, and at laſt the houſe of commons exhorted the king to contract ſuch alliances as would be ſufficient to check the ambition of the *French* monarch.

ANOTHER circumſtance likewiſe contributed to prevent the ſeparate peace between *France* and *Holland*: ſo ſucceſsfully had the *French* miniſtry laboured in eſtabliſhing the navy, that *France* might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in *Europe*. One of the firſt remarkable inſtances of the ſtrength and ſpirit of her navy, appeared off the coaſt of *Sicily*. *Meſſina* had lately revolted from the *Spaniards*, and the duke *de Vivonne* was ſent with a ſquadron to ſupport the citizens in their rebellion. This occaſioned the junction of the *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* fleets, who ſet ſail to oppoſe *Vivonne*. On the 7th of *January* they fell in with the enemy, conſiſting of twenty-two men of war, ſix fire-ſhips, and ſeveral bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freſhened, and the ſea rolled ſo high, that the *Spaniſh* galleys were forced to put into *Lipari*. *Ruyter* however did not decline the combat. He bore down upon the enemy, begun the action early, and ſuſtained it with admirable conſtancy to five in the evening, when the *French* found means to withdraw, and accompliſh their deſign of ſuccouring *Meſſina*. *Ruyter* upon this ſeparated himſelf from the *Spaniards*, and repaired to *Leghorn*; where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the Catholic king's ſquadron, which produced a ſecond junction of the fleets, and a reſolution to lay ſiege to *Auguſta* by ſea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the *Spaniſh* viceroy. Three days after the place was inveſted, the *French* ſquadron quitted the port of *Meſſina*, for the relief of the beſieged. The fleets were nearly equal in ſtrength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, the one determined to gain, and the other reſolved not to loſe the empire of the ocean. The *Spaniards* fired at too great a diſtance,

diſtance, and did little execution; *de Ruyter* with his diviſion ſupported the brunt of the engagement, broke the *French* line, gave chace for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a ſhot from the ſtern-chace of a *French* ſhip. A fever enſued, by which this gallant officer was carried off in the ſpace of a week, to the irreparable loſs of his country. He yielded his laſt breath in *Syracuſe*, lamented as the ornament of *Holland*, eſteemed by all *Europe*, and recorded by the ableſt pens as an example for poſterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and rigid republican patriotiſm. This contributed to render the prince of *Orange* ſtrenuous againſt concluding a peace until *France* ſhould be humbled. He ſaw *Lewis* aſpiring after maritime power, which of conſequence muſt ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches, and he hoped to combine *England* with *Holland* in deſtroying his marine, while the confederate land-forces were retrenching his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the ſide of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

THE event which ſoon followed juſtified the prince's zealous enmity to the houſe of *Bourbon*, and his dread of the riſing naval power of *France*. After the late action, the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* proceeded from *Syracuſe* to *Palermo*, where they were purſued by the duke *de Vivonne*. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, compoſed of twenty-ſeven men of war, nineteen gallies, and four fire-ſhips. The mole was on their left, the baſtions of the town on the right, and the fortreſs of *Caſtle Mare* compoſed the center. This diſpoſition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet *Vivonne*, or rather *du Queſne*, the greateſt genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this ſituation, with a ſquadron ſcarce equal in ſtrength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely ſuſtained on both ſides, when the *French*, taking advantage of a favourable wind, ſent their fire-ſhips among the allies, obliged them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, which however rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital men of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thouſand men periſhed on this occaſion; and, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*, *Lewis* became maſter of the *Mediterranean*, and juſtly claimed the empire of the ocean[e]. We have thrown theſe facts together, though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more

[e] LE CLERC, p. 102, 103. Vol. ii, SMOLLET, lib. vii. paſſim.

diſtinct

diſtinct view of the policy by which the prince of *Orange* was influenced in his oppoſition to the negotiations of a ſeparate peace.

A. D. 1678. *WILLIAM* had great reaſon to expect that the king of *England* would at length find himſelf under the neceſſity of declaring againſt *Lewis*. The nation in general expreſſed the utmoſt averſion to the meaſures of the adminiſtration, and the houſe of commons addreſſed his majeſty to break off his connections with the court of *France*. Some of the leading perſons of the kingdom were in the prince's intereſt, and negotiating a marriage between him and the princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of the duke of *York*. The earl of *Denby*, by the ſuggeſtions of ſir *William Temple*, firſt propoſed the match to the king and the prince. At firſt the king was averſe to it, then neutral, and at laſt well diſpoſed to the alliance, in hopes it might engage *William* to favour his deſigns, and liſten to the ſeparate peace propoſed by the *French* monarch, while the prince always reliſhed the proſpect, becauſe he imagined it would engage the *Engliſh* the more ſtrongly to eſpouſe his intereſt, and enter into his views, with reſpect to the war. It was from this conſideration he accepted the invitation his majeſty had given him of viſiting *England*, as ſoon as the campaign ſhould be finiſhed. He accordingly arrived in the month of *October*, and repaired to the court at *Newmarket*, and after various difficulties celebrated his nuptials with the princeſs: after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of *York*, the earl *Denby*, and ſir *William Temple*. Now it was agreed that *Lewis* ſhould reſtore all he had wreſted from the emperor and duke of *Lorrain*; that there ſhould be a reciprocal reſtitution between *France* and *Holland*, and that *Spain* ſhould have certain terms ſpecified. This point the prince gained, that *Charles* ſolemnly engaged to renounce all connection with *Lewis*, and openly to eſpouſe the confederate cauſe, ſhould he refuſe to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All theſe projects, however, had almoſt been diſconcerted by the king's unſteadineſs, who was cajolled by the *French* court to forget all he had promiſed to his people, and the prince of *Orange*. It was the earneſt wiſh of *Charles* to be ſet above the neceſſity of applying to his parliament for money, and *Lewis* artfully turned thoſe inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly ſubſidy to a conſiderable amount. To dazzle the eyes of *Europe*, he ſtruck up a defenſive alliance with *Holland*; but this neither ſatisfied the prince of *Orange* nor the commons. Both inſiſted that he would

would denounce war againſt *France*, unleſs *Lewis* accepted the plan drawn up by the prince of *Orange* and the *Engliſh* miniſtry.

WHILE the king was thus involved with his parliament, and the republic in ſuſpence whether ſhe was to rely on the good offices of *England*, in liſtening to the propoſals made by *France*, the armies took the field with the ſame views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining ſome advantage which might give the negotiators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related; we ſhall only obſerve, in this place, that towards the cloſe of the ſeaſon, the ſtates general came to a reſolution of accepting peace for themſelves and the *Spaniards*, provided certain towns were ceded to the latter, and ample reſtitution made to the former. Juſt as the treaty was on the point of being ſigned, *Lewis*'s tergiverſation had almoſt broke up the congreſs. He refuſed making the required ceſſion to *Spain*, unleſs certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previouſly granted to *Sweden*. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmneſs of the ſtates; the treaty was concluded, the frontier of the united provinces was ſecured, the tranquillity of the republic eſtabliſhed, and in a few months all *Europe* enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the iſſue of a war, which had brought the *United Provinces* to the verge of deſperation, and almoſt eſtabliſhed the *French* monarch in that univerſal empire, after which he eagerly aſpired. [f] (A) *Peace of* Nimeguen.

SECT. XII.

Comprehending the affairs of the republic from the peace of Nimeguen, *to the general treaty of pacification at* Ryſwick.

AN embaſſy, ſent to *France* by the republic immediately after the peace had been ſigned at *Nimeguen*, gave birth to certain diſputes about the honours due to the re-

[f] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxv.

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the hiſtory of *France*. Our intention is no more than to convey a juſt idea of the policy of the republic.

preſentatives

The Dutch diſpute about the honours due to their ambaſſadors.

preſentatives of their high mightineſſes, who ſeemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and inſolent inſcriptions and devices, had occaſioned all their late calamities. Becauſe the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the *Louvre*, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambaſſadors paſſed, they refuſed proceeding to the audience, though *Lewis* was expecting them, until they ſhould be received with the ſame honours as the laſt embaſſy ſent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the miniſters of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambaſſadors, it was merely the effect of chance, the guards poſſibly being relieving as they paſſed. This was denied by the ambaſſadors, who proved, by the regiſters of former miniſters, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the united provinces, but to *Venice* and the duke of *Savoy*, and cantons of *Switzerland*. At laſt this affair was adjuſted to their entire ſatisfaction, and the ambaſſadors were introduced with all the honours of ſhew and reſpect they required.

LEWIS had his deſigns in this condeſcenſion. He was labouring a defenſive treaty with the ſtates, and had given inſtructions to that effect to his ambaſſador at the *Hague*, the count *d'Avaux*. To this Mr. *Sidney*, the *Engliſh* envoy, oppoſed himſelf, declaring, in poſitive terms, that his majeſty ſhould regard this treaty as a league againſt *Great Britain*, and a reſolution again to diſturb the peace of *Europe*. A whole year had paſſed in negotiating the point, and *France* had made no progreſs, the ſtates contenting themſelves with general expreſſions of eſteem and regard for his majeſty. Enraged at the diſappointment, *Lewis* ordered *d'Avaux* to have recourſe to menaces, where ſolicitation and intreaty had failed. An attempt was made to awake the antient terrors of the republic, by a thundering memorial delivered to the ſtates by the ambaſſador. Here he repreſented the king's aſtoniſhment and diſpleaſure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the ſtates, his reſolution to wait only a few days for their anſwer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the ſubject, but to refuſe all propoſals relative to the defenſive alliance, ſo beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity of ſecuring his majeſty's friendſhip, they muſt expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumſtances to the beſt advantage he could to his own ſubjects, and the advancement of the commercial intereſts of his kingdom. Mr. *Sidney* perceived the drift of *d'Avaux*'s memorial, and reſolved

ſolved to fruſtrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of is *Britannic* majeſty, which was preſented next day to the ates of *Holland*. This piece was drawn up by a maſterly en, and produced the conſequence propoſed. The ſtates jected the *French* propoſals, and ordered their deputies to eclare their ſentiments to the ſtates general, from whom ie count *d'Avaux* was to receive his anſwer. Before their igh mightineſſes could be prevailed upon to communicate ie reſolution of the ſtates of *Holland*, a great number of bels were diſperſed by the friends of *France* and *England*, id it again appeared that the *Louveſtein* faction, always at- ched to the *French* monarch, was not yet wholly ſubdued. he hydra faction again recovered its head, and the op- ſition to *England* aroſe ſolely from a deſire of haraſſing the ews of the prince of *Orange*. The defenſive treaty pro- ſed became the ſubject of all converſation, upon which ery man expreſſed himſelf agreeable to his connections, tereſts, or prejudices. Thoſe who approved the defenſive liance with *Lewis*, inſiſted that the *United Provinces* could ot remain neutral, becauſe they had already entered into defenſive treaty with *England* in the year 1678, by which ie contracting parties were bound to aſſiſt each other if tacked, and in the ſpace of two months to come to an en rupture with the enemies of either nation. What aſon, they aſked, could be urged for increaſing the reſent- ent of *Lewis*, by refuſing him the ſame terms which had en given to *Charles?* Beſides, *England* was ſo torn with vil diſſenſions, that the republic could have little depend- ice from that quarter, ſhould ſhe be attacked. It was herwiſe with *France*; it was not only in the power of *ewis*, but it was his intereſt to defend the republic againſt l the neighbouring powers. The faction did not to recol- ct that *Lewis* himſelf was the only dangerous neighbour, id that his pretended friendſhip had led the provinces into e moſt critical ſituation they had ever experienced. On e contrary, the houſe of *Orange*, and the adherents of *gland*, affirmed, that *Great Britain* was the moſt natural y of the republic, and by means of her fleets the moſt power- l protectreſs. The provincial ſtates were divided; thoſe of *iſeland* and *Groningen* were for accepting the *French* pro- ſals; *Holland* remained fixed in the refuſal; ſome of the her provinces propoſed a neutrality; and this at length oved the opinion of the ſtates general, who communicated eir reſolution in the moſt delicate terms to the *French* am- ſſador, aſſuring him of their ſincere deſire to culivate and ſerve the friendſhip of the moſt chriſtian king, and their

They refuſe the alliance propoſed by Lewis.

A. D. 1680.

full determination religiouſly to adhere to the peace of *Nimeguen*.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe proteſtations, they extremely reſented the demands of the *French* king, of the arrears due upon the contributions raiſed in the laſt war in the territory of *Boiſleduc*, the barony of *Breda*, and other parts of the dominions of the republic. Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed it was obſervable, that ſcarce were the bonfires which had been lighted for the late pacification extinguiſhed, before a diſpoſition to a freſh war began to ſhew itſelf. The courts of *Verſailles* and *Madrid* entered into diſputes about the title of the duke of *Burgundy*; theſe paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other ſubjects, in conſequence of which the envoy extraordinary of *Spain* at the *Hague*, preſented a memorial to the ſtates general, containing a long liſt of the infractions of which his catholic majeſty demanded redreſs. The ſtates ſent an order to their ambaſſadors at the court of *France*, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in compoſing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from laying the foundation of another war, which might diſturb the peace of all *Europe*. *Spain* at length yielded to the firm reſolution of *Lewis*, and produced a temporary harmony between the two courts, by ceding the title of *Burgundy*. The court of *Madrid*, nevertheleſs, endeavoured to fortify herſelf by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly ſolicited on the one part, and as cautiouſly avoided on the other, from an apprehenſion of giving umbrage to the *French* monarch.

WHILE the ſtates were uſing their good offices to terminate all differences among their neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For ſome years they had been in a ſtate of hoſtility with the little pyratical ſtates of *Barbary*, though no tranſaction worth regarding had occurred. That the ſtates were at war, could only be known by petty depredations, and the ſeizure of ſome *Dutch* merchantmen. However, it was thought convenient to negotiate a peace with the *Algerines*, which was ſigned the preceding year. This did not prevent the dey of *Algiers* from annoying the *Dutch* commerce, when he could do it to his own advantage; he had taken ſeveral ſhips ſince the publication of the treaty, and was full as dangerous under the maſk of friendſhip as when he profeſſed open enmity. The *Dutch* commiſſaries complained of theſe infractions, and the dey alledged that the treaty had not been ratified, becauſe he had not received the preſent of cannon which the ſtates promiſed. At laſt the expected preſent arrived at *Algiers*, was received with

with great demonſtrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was publiſhed by ſound of trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey ſolemnly declaring that he would ſtrictly obſerve the peace with their high mightineſſes [z].

THE court of *Spain* had for ſome time been ſoliciting *England* to conclude a defenſive treaty. His catholic majeſty perceived that *Lewis* had little regard to the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and the ſubſequent agreement about the title of *Burgundy*; he was therefore deſirous of fortifying himſelf by alliances. *Charles*, during the civil broils in his kingdom, liſtened patiently to his propoſals; but he no ſooner found himſelf at liberty to conſult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correſpondence with *Spain*, and renewed his connections with the *French* monarch. *Lewis*, notwithſtanding his late diſappointment, and the rough checks he ſuſtained in the proſecution of his plan of univerſal monarchy, had not yet wholly abandoned that deſign. After the peace of *Nimeguen*, when other powers had diſbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, dictated to the neighbouring ſtates, and inſolently erected chambers at *Metz* and *Briſaac*, for enquiring into titles, and reſuming ſuch territories as had ever belonged to his new conqueſts. The authority he aſſumed was extravagant. He ſummoned ſovereign princes to appear before his chambers, and occaſionally iſſued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in caſe they diſobeyed his imperial mandate. He ſeized upon *Caſſal*, and the free town of *Straſburgh*; demanded *Aloſt* of the *Spaniards*, and in conſequence of their refuſal to cede that place, he reduced *Luxemburgh*. This incenſed the catholic king to ſuch a degree, that he declared war againſt *France*, without reflecting on his inability to ſupport it, and had the mortification to ſee all the *Spaniſh Netherlands* over-run without oppoſition. *Lewis*'s conduct alarmed all *Europe*, and in particular the ſtates general, whoſe vicinity to the *Spaniſh Netherlands* made them peculiarly intereſted. It was this conſideration which ſuggeſted the idea of a treaty with *Sweden* for the guaranty of the peace of *Nimeguen*. As *Great Britain* was likewiſe deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, M. *Van Buiningen* was ſent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances, to which the king liſtened attentively, but to little purpoſe; for though conferences were appointed to

A. D. 1681.

A defenſive treaty between the ſtates and Sweden.

[z] Suite de Hiſt. de M. de la Nuville, par Anonym. p. 28. et ſeq.

negotiate

negotiate the affair, he ſtill adhered to the intereſt of *Lewis*, and in the end declined the propoſed treaty.

THE treaty of guaranty concluded between *Sweden* and the republic was not at all reliſhed by *Lewis*, who ordered his miniſter at the *Hague* to preſent divers memorials upon the ſubject, to the ſtates general. In theſe he declared, that he regarded this alliance as an aſſociation injurious to himſelf, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more fatal in its conſequences than the former. The ſtates vindicated their conduct, by alledging, that as his majeſty had repeatedly acknowledged the republic, he muſt neceſſarily allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances ſhe might think proper, which was the eſſential and diſtinguiſhing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they affirmed, was to ſecure the freedom of *Europe*, and preſerve the repoſe of the republic, as well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to preſent the count *d'Avaux* with a copy of the convention; and defended themſelves with ſo much candor and force of argument, that *Lewis* appeared ſatisfied. An unfortunant accident however happened, which had almoſt been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, and an open rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garriſon of *Ypres*, had orders from the king to ſeize a *Frenchman*, who had taken refuge in *Amſterdam*, and been admitted a burgeſs by the title of the count *de Sardam*. His reaſons for withdrawing from the *French* dominions were not known; but it was the buſineſs of the ſtates to prevent an infraction of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arreſted at *Rotterdam*, and ſent priſoners to the *Hague*. Several memorials were preſented by *d'Avaux* to procure the releaſe of the priſoners, or at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of the proceedings againſt them, which were actually begun. He alledged they were the king's ſubjects, waiting at *Rotterdam* for a conveyance into the *French* dominions; but this excuſe not anſwering his purpoſe, he threw off the maſk, and declared they had acted by the king his maſter's directions.

The ſtates of Holland *condemn a* French *officer to death.*

The ſtates pretended great aſtoniſhment at this confeſſion; and perceiving the conſequence of diſſembling in a point that ſo nearly affected the liberty of the ſtate, they acquainted the ambaſſador, that as the treſpaſs was committed in the provinces of *Holland* and *Friſeland*, he muſt apply to the ſtates of thoſe provinces for redreſs. He did ſo, and obtained no ſatisfaction. He was told, that ſurrendering the criminals would be founding a precedent for every prince in *Europe* to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that

if

if they complied with the king's requeſt, the ſame would be expected by other potentates, who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to underſtand, that the proceedings muſt go on, and the priſoners be either condemned, or acquitted legally. In conſequence, the proceſs was carried on, the officer ſolemnly condemned to be beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for the ſpace of ten years. Accordingly the lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, ſcaffolds were erected, a hearſe, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal; he was brought to the block, and there pardoned and ſent back, with his party, to his garriſon. By this ſteadineſs of conduct the ſtates aſſerted their liberties, without giving juſt cauſe of complaint to the moſt chriſtian king, *D'Avaux* at firſt talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance; but he was in the end forced to acknowledge that the equity and firm reſolution of the *Hollanders* were equally commendable.

MEANTIME the emperor perceiving that *Lewis*'s deſign was, gradually to deſpoil him of all his dominions in *Alſace*, deſired to be admitted into the guaranty-treaty lately executed between the court of *Stockholm* and the ſtates general. He, at the ſame time, formed an alliance with the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*, in order that he might have an army on that river, if neceſſity required. Already he had brought a body troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given to prince *Waldec*, now created a prince of the empire. The ſtates were not diſpleaſed with theſe motions, which intimated a reſolution to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of the *French* monarch. They were particularly pleaſing to the prince of *Orange*, who, beſides his general enmity to the *France*, had now perſonal cauſes of complaint againſt *Lewis*. That monarch could not avoid reſenting the zeal with which the prince of *Orange* eſpouſed the liberties of *Europe*, and combated his ambition. He ſaw that his vigilance thwarted all his meaſures, and penetrated into his moſt ſecret projects, before they were well formed. Tho' inconſiderable in point of territory and power, he regarded the prince as the moſt formidable of his enemies, becauſe he directed the councils of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in *Spain* and *Great Britain*. It was this which inſpired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of *Orange*, hemmed in by his dominions, and environed by *Provence*. It was not poſſible to make the haughty ſoul of *William*

ſtoop to conceſſions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the ſide of his ambition, though that was his predominant paſſion; but it was in *Lewis*'s power to puniſh his obſtinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of an innocent people, for the crimes of their ſovereign.

The king of France *oppreſſes the inhabitants of the principality of* Orange.

WHILE the negotiation for a defenſive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppreſſions which his highneſs had ſuſtained, either by the connivance or direction of the *French* monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the conſideration of the ſtates general, to be diſcuſſed previouſly to the expected treaty. *D'Avaux* however had the addreſs to have the motion ſet aſide, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjuſting than was allowed for the concluſion of the treaty. When the duchy of *Luxemburgh* was invaded by the *French* troops, the commanding officer had expoſed to ſale, by ſound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the prince of *Orange*, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the ſtates of the country. It was of the loſſes he ſuſtained that the prince deſired to be indemnified; but as the defenſive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretenſions to a more ſeaſonable opportunity. *Lewis*, not ſatisfied with denying the prince juſtice, had recourſe to farther violences. He obliged the magiſtrates of the town of *Orange* to expel all the *French* ſcholars from their college, and the *French* artizans out of their city. He ſent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence againſt the incurſions of their troubleſome neighbours. As theſe arbitrary proceedings were exclaimed againſt at every court in *Europe*, he was at no loſs to colour them over with ſpecious pretexts. He ſpirited up the prince of *Condé* to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of adminiſtrator to the duke *de Longueville*. To preſerve all the appearances of juſtice, he cited the prince, by the title of meſſire *William* count *de Naſſau*, living at the *Hague* in *Holland*, to appear before his privy council. The provinces of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, were unanimous in the prince's defence. They repreſented the affair to the ſtates, who mentioned it to the count *d'Avaux*; but this miniſter having no inſtructions upon that head, M. *Heinſius* was ſent to ſolicit the prince's affairs at *Paris*, where he reſided above a year to no effect.

A. D. 1682.

To account for the indifference with which the ſtates of *Holland* and the ſtates general beheld the oppreſſion of a prince ſo nearly connected with the republic, and to whom

and his anceſtors the *United Provinces* owed the greateſt obligations, it will be neceſſary to enter more particularly into the ſituation of parties at this period. It was the chief buſineſs of *d'Avaux* at the *Hague*, to rear up an oppoſition to the power of the ſtadtholder, and cheriſh the remains of the *Louveſtein* faction. In purſuing this ſcheme, he proved ſucceſsful beyond probability, conſidering the depreſſed ſtate of the oppoſite party a few years before, and the vaſt popularity and power of the prince of *Orange*. The firſt trial of the ſtrength of the faction was made on the refuſal of the *Spaniards* to cede *Aloſt*, and the invaſion of the *Ten Provinces* that enſued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, cauſed an extraordinary meeting of the ſtates, and, in concert with the penſionery *Fagel*, the *Spaniſh* reſident, and the council of ſtate, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of 16,000 men, to augment the forces of the republic. The ſtates declined the requeſt, under pretence of the neceſſity of conſulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the *French* faction, to gain time for ſtarting ſuch objections, or raiſing ſuch an oppoſition as ſhould utterly diſconcert the prince's deſign. At the next meeting of the ſtates this became apparent. Several of the deputies were inſtructed to give their negative to the motion. The city of *Amſterdam* was at the head of the oppoſition; and after violent debates, which laſted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his intereſt and credit were on the decline; for the ſtates ſeparated without coming to any deciſion. Even after the marſhal *de Humieres* had overrun the *Netherlands*, the oppoſition to the levies continued without ſhrinking; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful conſequences from the power of the ſtadtholder, than from the ambition of the *French* monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of *Amſterdam* into his ſentiments, the prince, at the head of a ſolemn deputation, waited upon the magiſtrates; but though he was received with reſpect, his errand proved fruitleſs. *Amſterdam* not only poſitively declared againſt the levies, but was ſupported in this reſolution by *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Scheidam*, the *Brille*, and other towns.

The revival of the Louveſtein *faction.*

DISAPPOINTED in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a reſolution, deſtructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very baſis of the union of *Utrecht*. Finding he could not carry his point in the conſtitutional method, by the conſent of every individual city, he determined that a plurality of voices ſhould be ſufficient authority. So raſh a meaſure,

a meaſure, dictated by paſſion, was of the utmoſt ſervice to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of exclaiming againſt his ambition; it rendered their cauſe popular, and furniſhed them with the patriot ſide of the diſpute. Grafting oppoſition upon public ſpirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the conſtitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it muſt be an enemy to his country, and that he muſt have deeper deſigns than thoſe which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by ruſhing into the war kindled between the courts of *Verſailles* and *Madrid*, they ſhould plunge themſelves into greater calamities than thoſe they pretended to remove. In proof of this they alledged, A. D. that the *French* miniſter had already offered a plan of pa-1683. cification, which *Spain* ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuſe, even though ſupported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the cloſe of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependance, they aſſerted, on the promiſes of the *German* princes; and as to the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, *Spain* had no title to expect their interpoſition, as they had not guarantied the treaty of *Nimeguen*. The emperor was fully employed in oppoſing the *Turks*, *Sweden* had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of *England*, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to eſpouſe the *French* monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the propoſals now offered, than rouſe the indignation of *France*, by making uſeleſs levies, which would produce no other effect, than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raiſing enemies to the republic [c].

NOTWITHSTANDING the plauſible plea urged by the city of *Amſterdam*, and the heads of the *French* faction, the prince ſtill inſiſted, and indeed ſeemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this inſtance, where the ſafety of the ſtate was endangered by the infatuated oppoſition of party-prejudice, ſhould be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the conſtitution. This was certainly ſo daring a treſpaſs on the conſtitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out ſuddenly into a flame; yet the prince of *Orange* purſued his deſign with that cool, determined reſolution,

[c] Scept. Anonym. p. 54. LE CLERC, p. 115.

which

which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in aſhes. He obtained both a majority of the cities and likewiſe of the provinces. *Zealand*, *Friſeland*, and *Holland*, firmly oppoſed him; but the former was at length gained over to the ſtadtholder's meaſures: yet would neither *Friſeland* nor *Groningen* ſo much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the ſenſe of a majority. As to the city of *Amſterdam*, it carried matters ſo high, as not only to enter a proteſt againſt the levy in queſtion, but to declare that ſhe could never regard this reſolution as an act of the ſtates of *Holland*, becauſe it was not authoriſed agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous conſent: ſhe therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expences of the levy.

In the midſt of theſe diſſenſions, the *Spaniſh* envoy preſented a memorial, urging the ſtates to declare againſt *France*; in conſequence of which the ſtates ſent a deputation to the count *d'Avaux*, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of *Orange* thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the ſtates, and humbling the city of *Amſterdam*. In concert with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he had intercepted ſome diſpatches from the *French* ambaſſador to his court, in which he acquaints his majeſty with the methods he had practiſed to influence the magiſtrates of the city, and the ſums expended in corrupting the deputies. Theſe letters were produced in a full aſſembly of the ſtates, the prince moving that two of the deputies chiefly concerned ſhould withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandeſtine correſpondence between M. *d'Avaux* and the city of *Amſterdam*, inconſiſtent with the honour, the liberty, and the ſafety of the republic. Upon this they were read aloud, and produced ſuch an effect, that the ſtates ordered copies to be tranſmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be ſealed up, until the ſenſe of the ſtates general ſhould be conſulted. The ſtream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured againſt the magiſtrates of the city; the *French* ambaſſador preſented a memorial to the ſtates general, renewing his maſter's former propoſals of peace; but little regard was paid to overtures which were uſed as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the penſionery, and the council, urged the neceſſity of new levies with more vehemence than ever, and they left no means untried of procuring

the ſame ſubmiſſion to an act of the majority, which the principles of the conſtitution required to the act of the whole body.

A. D. 1684. WITH reſpect to the letters read in the aſſembly, they were vindicated by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, who alledged, that the cypher was miſinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted entirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deputation, which had been ſeized, and ſecurity for their deputies to attend the public ſervice. Not ſatisfied with this, they ſent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, M. *d'Avaux* inſiſted upon the reſtitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the laws of nations, and the rights of ambaſſadors. All this was adding combuſtibles to the flame. *William* adhered to the charge with his uſual ſtability. Inſtead of reſtoring the papers, he inſiſted upon an inquiry, which however he could not accompliſh, as the privileges of all the deputies were intereſted in the event. At the ſame time he purſued the main object of the levies, and procured a farther ſupply of horſe and foot for the ſervice of his catholic majeſty: his own guards were ſpecified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he ſhould take the field in perſon, when the ſtates of *Groningen* and *Friſeland* objected to the vote of augmentation, becauſe their deputies were abſent. They therefore inſiſted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all poſſible means ſhould be uſed, to diſpoſe the court of *Spain* to accept of the propoſals made by the *French*, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preſerved. *William*, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement ſent to the marquis *de Grana* amounted to 14,000 horſe and foot: the ſtates ſignified, in their anſwer to the remonſtrances of *Friſeland* and *Groningen*, that they could not recal this reinforcement; the laſt diviſion of the prince's guards were on their march to *Flanders*, his own field-equipage was in readineſs, and the day was appointed for his ſetting out to co-operate with the *Spaniſh* general in the conduct of the campaign, when a menacing memorial from *d'Avaux*, expreſſed in a ſtile of authority, ſhook the reſolution of the ſtates, diffuſed a panic through every department of the republic, and, in deſpite of the ſtadtholder's utmoſt efforts, put a ſtop to all vigorous proceedings. *D'Avaux'* memorial was oppoſed by a counter-memorial from the *Spaniſh* envoy, in which he put on a great ſhew of magnanimity, that

that operated but little on the minds of the ſtates, as it was unſupported with the requiſite power. A reſolution was therefore taken to treat with the *French* miniſter on the propoſals made in his former memorials. But *d'Avaux* now refuſed to ſtand by thoſe conditions. He alledged, that circumſtances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the *Dutch* government had obliged the king to enter upon new meaſures, and that his majeſty was determined not to deviate in the ſmalleſt degree from the propoſals he now delivered. The ſtates ſhewed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, ſtruck with the power of *Lewis*, and incapable of being wound up by the ſpirited remonſtrances of the prince of *Orange*, to the neceſſary pitch of reſolution. *Friſeland* and *Groningen* beſides continued in their oppoſition to the levies, and the city of *Amſterdam* poſitively refuſed contributing to the ſupport of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with *d'Avaux*, and his terms accepted, upon which orders were ſent to the troops in *Flanders* to deſiſt from all hoſtilities [b].

THE *French* faction having gained this great point, determined to ſubject the prince of *Orange* to ſtill greater mortifications. As ſoon as the treaty with *France* had paſſed the uſual forms, the ſtates came to a reſolution to diſband all the forces raiſed to aſſiſt *Spain*, conſiſting of 1446 horſe and 9042 foot. The magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* puſhed their animoſity ſo far, as to invite prince *Caſimir* of *Naſſau* and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the ſtadtholderſhip, in the room of his couſin the prince of *Orange*. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony ſubſiſting between the two princes, and the magiſtrates determined to compenſate their diſappointment by ſome other method of revenge no leſs ſignal and mortifying. Their deputies were inſtructed to propoſe in the aſſembly of the ſtates, that enquiry might be made into the ſtate of the navy; that the fleet ſhould be augmented; that the army ſhould be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and ſoldiers ſhould be diminiſhed, and the money iſſued for repairing fortifications and other public ſervices, ſhould be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. Theſe propoſals were directly pointed againſt the power and authority of the ſtadtholder; but they had ſuch an appearance of patriotiſm that they could not be openly oppoſed. Yet as they affected the intereſt of ſuch a number

[b] LE CLERC. tom. ii. p. 123.

of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the diſpute, to parry the thruſt made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the aſſembly. Thus *Lewis* again revived the diſſenſions of *Holland*, roused a faction which had for ſome time lain dormant, and once more gained ſuch influence in the republic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous reſolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of ſubjection, and limit the authority of the ſtadtholder.

A. D. 1685. *State of the republic with reſpect to Great Britain.*

THE events of this year afforded a proſpect to the ſtadtholder of a cloſer connection with *England*. His father-in-law, the duke of *York*, ſucceeded to the crown, and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the *French* monarch, to procure juſtice to the prince, with reſpect to his principality and other territories, oppreſſed, impoveriſhed, and ſeized by *Lewis*. He was fully appriſed of all the grievances of which *William* had cauſually and fruitleſsly ſought redreſs. The marſhal *de Lorges* came ambaſſador from *Verſailles*, to compliment him on his acceſſion; he had the faireſt occaſion of doing his ſon eminent ſervice; but he refrained, and diſplayed a coldneſs which was ſoon after improved into invincible hatred. All the *Dutch* writers, contrary to the teſtimony of *Engliſh* hiſtorians, aſſert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendſhip of *James*, and that his highneſs proceeded ſo far upon the king's acceſſion, as to intimate to the duke of *Monmouth*, then reſiding at the *Hague*, that he might look out for another aſylum. Yet did theſe tenders of friendſhip produce no return; on the contrary, *James* was reſerved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the ſtates general. To the former he ſhewed ſome remains of the diſlike he expreſſed to the marriage of the princeſs his daughter; and to the latter, his bigotted averſion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the *Hollanders*. Yet he affected complying with the tempor of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the ballance of *Europe* with the ſteady hand of juſtice, and treat upon a level with the proud *Lewis le Grand*. His embaſſy however to the court of *Rome* afforded a bad prognoſtic, and became the ſubject of uneaſineſs, not only to the ſtates general, the prince of *Orange*, and all the proteſtant princes and powers; but even to catholics, who wiſhed well to *Great Britain*, and foreſaw that the king's bigotry would ſubject him to the counſels of the pontiff, and connect him more cloſely with the houſe of *Bourbon*. *Ronquello*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, is ſaid to have intimated his apprehenſions

ſions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the monarch.

THOUGH the duke of *Monmouth* had retired to *Bruſſels*, in conſequence of the hint given him by the prince of *Orange*, great numbers of malecontents ſtill reſided in *Holland*, particularly the earl of *Argyle*, who was making the utmoſt preparations to return in a hoſtile manner to his native country, and continually ſpurring *Monmouth* to thoſe ambitious projects, which he was on the point of relinquiſhing. *Skelton*, the *Engliſh* miniſter, had notice of what was tranſacting. Accordingly he preſented a memorial to the ſtates, deſiring the perſons of the refugees might be ſeized, and the veſſels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to *Great Britain* ſtopped in the harbours, which he ſpecified. He gave in a liſt of names obnoxious to the government; and the ſtates ſeemed willing to ſhew the utmoſt reſpect to the court of *London*, but without violating the laws of hoſpitality. They ordered the ſearch required to be made, after having hinted to the malecontents the neceſſity of of withdrawing themſelves and their effects. This has been urged by *Engliſh* writers as a proof, that the *Dutch* government connived at the intended invaſion; though, if we conſider the artifices by which the diſaffected ſubjects of *Great Britain* procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all ſtrangers, by the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, the late diſpute with the *French* king upon a ſubject of a ſimilar nature, and a variety of other circumſtances, it will appear evident, that the ſtates were far from giving them any encouragement, and that they did all in their power to oblige the king of *England*, conſiſtently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. The *Continuation* of *Nuville* [d], indeed, affirms, that notwithſtanding they had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with a prince who was the author of two wars, and had conſtantly fomented diviſions between the king his brother and the republic, yet they preſently complied with the envoy's demands, by ſending copies of his memorials, and of his liſt, to all the towns and cities of the *Seven Provinces*, commanding the magiſtrates to make diligent ſearch after the perſons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malecontents were actually embarked for *Scotland* before theſe orders were iſſued, was certainly one of the firſt public cauſes of diſcontent between the two nations. *James* al-

[d] NUVILLE, Hiſt. tom. iii. p. 84, 85.

ledged,

ledged, that the ſtates had aſſiſted in ſtirring up rebellion among his ſubjects; and, to ſhew his reſentment, he encouraged the *Algerines* to declare war afreſh againſt the *United Provinces*.

King James excites the Algerines to a war with the republic.

HOWEVER ſolid and ſincere the late peace concluded between their high mightineſſes, and the piratical ſtates of *Algiers*, might appear, the great commerce of *Holland* in the *Mediterranean*, and the valuable prizes every day before their eyes, together with the ſuggeſtions of the court of *London*, were too powerful temptations to be reſiſted by a barbarous, avaricious, lawleſs people. They therefore firſt began their piracies, and to ſanctify thoſe robberies with the name of juſtice, they publiſhed a declaration of war, in which were ſpecified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had never previouſly demanded redreſs. An incredible number of veſſels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ſhips abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpleſs hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon *James*, that while every chriſtian port in *Europe* was ſhut againſt thoſe violators of equity, order, and the laws of ſociety, they were in a manner protected in *England*. They had leave to ſculk in the creeks and harbours on the *Engliſh* coaſt, to lie in wait for their prey, to retire thither when purſued, to ſell their prizes, and to ſupply themſelves with every neceſſary. This at leaſt is the allegation of foreign writers, nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologizers of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the ſtates, by way of repriſal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crouds, to take ſhelter under the wing of the republic, and the ſtates thought themſelves juſtified, in purſuing the dictates of humanity and hoſpitality, while they at the ſame time obtained their revenge. Sir *Robert Peyton* was among the number of the *Engliſh* refugees. He was highly obnoxious to the court, and ſkreened himſelf againſt the king's reſentment, by a timely retreat to *Amſterdam*, that univerſal aſylum for diſtreſs, misfortune, and too frequently for villainy. *James* formed a deſign of ſeizing this exile by open violence, knowing the reſolution of the ſtates, not to ſurrender him in conſequence of remonſtrances. Certain natives of *Great Britain*, who held commiſſions in the *Dutch* army, were employed in this outrage, on the laws of the common-

commonwealth; and *Skelton* the envoy conducted the attempt in perſon. *Peyton* was ſeized; but he was reſcued by the populace, who committed to priſon the officers who had thus unjuſtifiably treſpaſſed upon the conſtitution. The ſtates remonſtrated to the court of *London*, and in ſuch lively terms, that the king thought proper to diſavow all knowledge of the violence; however, when a proceſs was formed againſt the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, *James* interpoſed, and requeſted that their puniſhment might be referred to him, and that as they were ſubjects of *Great Britain*, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occaſion the ſtates ſhewed their reſpect for the king; they even paid him more deference than they had ſhewed for *Lewis the Great*, in the zenith of his power and glory. The *French* king's officer was condemned, and brought on the ſcaffold; the *Engliſh* offenders, though in the ſervice of the ſtates, were ſent over to *England*, in hopes the king would have at leaſt not countenanced them; but they were diſappointed. *James* not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed.

A. D. 1686.

BESIDES theſe cauſes of mutual diſcontent, *James* enlarged the breach, by a revival of the antient diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt India* companies, with reſpect to the trade of both nations to *Bantam*, which the *Dutch*, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The *Engliſh* company indeed had preſented a petition to the king, praying his interpoſition, and ſhewing the injury ſuſtained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the *Hollanders* in that quarter. They ſpecified a number of violences committed by the *Dutch*, under the ſanction of the young king of *Bantam*'s name; they demonſtrated their deſign of excluding all *Europeans* from that trade; they expected his majeſty to procure them juſtice, reparation of their loſſes, and ſecurity for their future commerce. *James* mentioned the affair to the *Dutch* ambaſſador, and he denied the charge; upon which inſtructions were ſent to the *Engliſh* miniſter at the *Hague*, to repreſent the complaints of the company to the ſtates general. This produced conferences between the commiſſioners of the two companies, of which the reader has already had an account (A). From the

(A) It muſt be confeſſed that great artifice and chicane, appear in the anſwer of the *Dutch* deputies, to the charge exhibited

the king's ſo warmly patroniſing the *India* company, and other circumſtances, it was inferred at the *Hague*, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

State of affairs between France and Holland.

WHILE the ſtates kept a ſtrict eye on all the occurrences that paſſed in *England*, they were not neglectful of the conduct of *France*. They endeavoured ſo to conduct themſelves, with reſpect to the court of *Verſailles*, as to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repoſe of *Europe*. They ſuppreſſed all emotion, at the inhumanity ſhewn the *French* proteſtants, and the cruelties committed in the principality of *Orange*. Party and policy both contributed to prevent their interpoſing for the prince of *Orange*, and procuring him the juſtice he petitioned. They winked at many other acts of *Lewis*'s deſpotiſm, out of dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a ſlight accident had almoſt embroiled them with that monarch. Two *Dutch* men of war, going to *Villa Nova* to wood and water, fell in with a *French* ſquadron of eight men of war, commanded by the duke *de Mortemar*. The *French* admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's flag, to grant which the *Dutch* captains were not authoriſed. On their refuſal, the duke fired a broadſide, and an action enſued, which laſted for five hours. One of the *Dutch* captains perceiving the ſuperiority of the enemy, ſheered off, the other bravely maintained the engagement, was killed, and his ſhip taken, after he had made the *French* admiral pay dear for his victory. Immediately the count *d'Avaux* preſented a memorial to the ſtates general, demanding ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the king's flag. He alledged, contrary to all probability, that the *Dutch* were the aggreſſors, and confirmed his allegations with ſuch menaces, as determined the ſtates to ſend an embaſſy to *Verſailles*, to put

[a] Univ. Mod. Hiſt. vol. x.

bited by the *Engliſh* company. There remains no doubt that they were guilty of numberleſs violences, and that their deſign was to become the only commercial *European* power in *Aſia*; but whether this was the proper ſeaſon for *James* to enter upon freſh diſputes, muſt be left to the judgment of thoſe who are ſufficiently acquainted with the ſituation of his affairs at this period. It is ſufficient proof, that the *Dutch* did not act wholly upon the ſquare, that the *Danes* and other nations made directly the ſame complaints as the *Engliſh*.

an

an end to the affair in the beſt manner poſſible. Notwithſtanding juſtice and equity were on their ſide, it was found neceſſary to make conceſſions, and procure the reſtitution of their ſhip, by mean ſubmiſſion. This commonwealth has indeed been always diſtinguiſhed for temporiſing, and converting every incident, every deſpicable compliance, to her own advantage. Pride in one or two inſtances blinded her to her intereſts; in general that and every other paſſion were made ſubſervient to her avarice. While ſhe was making acknowledgments to *Lewis*, and imploring his pardon for injuries ſhe had ſuffered, for preſuming to ſtand in her own defence, this republic was harbouring the ingenious, diligent artiſans, driven out of his dominions, and perſecuted on account of their religion; ſhe was eſtabliſhing new manufactures upon the ruins of the *French* induſtry, and rendering the liberty of her conſtitution uſeful to the extenſion of her commerce. Hitherto the *Dutch* traded wholly with the commodities of other countries, now they tried to raiſe a foundation for trade among themſelves, and they ſucceeded by dint of perſeverance. They imported a breed of cattle from *Jutland*, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hard-ware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* colonies, and in a ſhort time they became the moſt diſtinguiſhed of any people in *Europe*, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid ſale, not only among the barbarians of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, but all the civilized nations of *Europe*.

The jealouſy between England and Holland encreaſes.

THE jealouſy between the ſtates and *Great Britain* in the mean time daily increaſed; and it was conſiderably augmented by the ſhare the prince of *Orange* had in the famous league of *Auguſburg*, which was ſuppoſed to operate ſo powerfully on the ſubſequent revolution in *England*; though we muſt confeſs we cannot diſcover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The ſtates took the alarm at the king's aſſembling his forces, iſſuing out commiſſions for repairing and augmenting his navy, aſſigning a ſtated annual ſum of 400,000 *l.* to be iſſued quarterly out of the treaſury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful ſquadron in continual readineſs. They ſuſpected, from theſe formidable preparations, that ſome great blow was meditated; and their writers allledge, that the prieſts who ſwarmed about the king's perſon, and were preſumed to be entirely acquainted with the ſecrets

A. D. 1687.

cets of his cabinet, inſinuated, that the ſtroke was levelled againſt the republic, and that the *French* monarch would join his weight, to render it deciſive. If we may credit the teſtimony of biſhop *Burnet* [e], this ſuſpicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, *James* certainly had not laid aſide the appearance of friendſhip for the republic. His envoy *Skelton* was recalled from the *Hague*, and ſucceeded by the marquis *d'Abbeville*, veſted with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his firſt public audience, this miniſter gave the ſtates the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the king his maſter's regard for the republic, and firm reſolution inviolably to obſerve all treaties concluded with the ſtates ſince his acceſſion. He endeavoured to diſſipate all the apprehenſions they had too raſhly entertained, from the malicious ſuggeſtions of perſons diſaffected to his majeſty's perſon and government; and he concluded with ſolemn proteſtations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preſervation of the repoſe of *Europe*, and the defence of the *Britiſh* dominions. In his private negotiation with the prince of *Orange*, he aſſured his highneſs, that the king had no deſign of injuring himſelf and the princeſs in their right of ſucceſſion to his crown, in caſe of failure of direct male iſſue. Other matters were likewiſe treated of, in a variety of conferences the *Britiſh* miniſter had with the prince; but as they have no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we ſhall omit them. Sufficient it is, that a reſolution was taken of ſending M. *Dykveldt*, in quality of envoy, to the court of *London*, with inſtructions to expoſtulate boldly with the king, upon the meaſures he was purſuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better underſtanding between him and the ſtadtholder. Before the departure of this miniſter, *Abbeville* had preſented two memorials, one upon the ſubject of the *India* commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor *Burnet*, an *Engliſh* clergyman, afterwards raiſed to the ſee of *Saliſbury*, might be baniſhed the territory of the ſtate.

A. D. 1688. THE negotiations in *England* and *Holland* turned upon the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the teſt act, to which the king wanted the prince of *Orange*'s conſent, who was now conſidered as preſumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princeſs; but *William* did not ſeem inclinable to yield any of the liberties of the proteſtant religion. He even declared poſitively, that he could not carry his reſpect to the king ſo far, as to ſacrifice his reli-

[e] Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 688. Fol.

gion

gion to his inclination to oblige his father-in-law. This firmneſs determined the king to have recourſe to violent meaſures. He made freſh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the *Engliſh* ſeamen in foreign ſervice, and by a letter to the ſtates general, demanded the ſix *Britiſh* regiments in their ſervice, a demand with which he was ſenſible the ſtates would not, and could not, comply. A civil anſwer however was returned; in which his majeſty was given to underſtand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authoriſed their ſending back the *Britiſh* troops, eſpecially at ſo critical a conjuncture, unleſs the kingdom ſhould be attacked by ſome foreign enemy. The arguments which the ſtates urged in apology for their refuſal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of *Orange* had no hand in procuring this reſolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of *England*, becauſe the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the expreſs teſtimony of all the *Engliſh* hiſtorians, that *Dykveldt* had private inſtructions from the prince, to treat clandeſtinely with the *Engliſh* malecontents, and that he executed his commiſſion with equal ſecreſy and ſucceſs. Biſhop *Burnet*, who then reſided at the prince's court, acknowledges that, previous to *Dykveldt*'s departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princeſs upon the affairs of *England*, the diſcontents of the *Engliſh* nation, the danger which threatened the proteſtant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concourſe of the nobility and gentlemen of diſtinction at the prince's court, the correſpondence he kept up in *England*, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are ſtronger proofs of his ambition and policy, than of his filial duty, his ſincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often uſed as a cloak, by princes, to cover deſigns not authoriſed either by religion or morality [f].

AT this time the vacancy of the epiſcopal ſee of *Cologne*, for which prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the cardinal of *Furſtenberg*, were candidates, furniſhed the ſtates general with a pretence for aſſembling an army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The pretenſions formed by the moſt chriſtian king juſtified this meaſure; and the augmentation of the *Engliſh* navy afforded them a ſpecious handle for putting their marine in a poſture of defence. Both were

[f] SMOLLET, lib. vii. cap. 4.

admirable

Preparations to invade England.

admirable maſks for the prince of *Orange*, at this time making preparations to invade *England*. He had an interview in *Weſtphalia* with the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the princes of *Lunenburgh*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*. To them he communicated his ſcheme, which was of ſo much conſequence to the intereſts of religion and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of *Holland* during his expedition to *England*. A fleet of fifty large ſhips of war was equipped, and ſuch a number of tranſports freighted, as would ſerve for the accommodation of twelve thouſand land-forces. *France* and *England* were alarmed at theſe preparations, but neither could penetrate into the object in view. The count *d'Avaux*, however, received inſtructions to preſent a memorial to the ſtates, expreſſing the king's aſtoniſhment at the mighty preparations they were making, by ſea and land, eſpecially at a ſeaſon of the year when the augmentation of the marine intimated ſome extraordinary enterpriſe. The marquis *d'Abbeville*, in the name of his *Britannic* majeſty, ſupported this memorial by another, in which he inſiſted on his right of demanding the object of ſo extraordinary an armament. This remonſtrance was followed by a ſecond memorial from the *French* ambaſſador, in which he declared, that the intimate friendſhip ſubſiſting between the king his maſter and the king of *England*, would oblige him not only to aſſiſt that monarch, ſhould he be attacked, but alſo to regard the firſt act of hoſtility againſt *England*, as a manifeſt violation of the peace, and a direct, formal deſign of coming to a rupture with *France*. To this memorial, which entirely conſiſted of menaces, and a declaration of *Lewis*'s purpoſes, the ſtates returned no anſwer: and with reſpect to *d'Abbeville*'s remonſtrances, they contented themſelves with replying, that the preparations in *England* rendered it neceſſary for the republic to be upon their guard, eſpecially as every power in *Europe* was buſied in raiſing forces. Beſides, they demanded an explanation of the treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the ſtates thought themſelves particularly intereſted [s].

Upon any other occaſion, ſo rough an anſwer would probably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew another memorial from the *Engliſh* miniſter, and an aſſurance, that his majeſty was ready to co-operate with the ſtates in preſerving the repoſe of *Europe*, and enforcing the treaty of *Nimeguen*. It was evident that *James* at length

[s] Traite de Nuvilles, cap. xvii.

perceived

perceived his danger. He now betrayed ſymptoms of fear, and proceeded ſo far as to expreſs his deſire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was diſregarded, from a conviction that he was ſecretly in the intereſt of *France*, and actually in treaty with *Lewis*. The truth is, the ſtates were ſo ſenſible of the weight it would give the republic in the ſcale of *Europe*, to have the prince of *Orange* on the throne of *Great Britain*, that they puſhed this meaſure with the utmoſt vigour. This was the ſecret ſpring of all their motions; it was this that ſilenced the voice of faction, and rendered every man attached to his country, though poſſibly at enmity with the houſe of *Orange*, promote with all his might the great deſign.

THE firſt direct confeſſion of the deſtination of the armament proceeded from the penſioner *Fagel*, who frankly owned to the marquis *d'Abbeville*, that the prince of *Orange*, in conſequence of an invitation from the *Engliſh* nobility, was determined to aſſiſt them in re-eſtabliſhing the ancient conſtitution, which the king had entirely altered ſince his acceſſion. Soon after the ſtates publiſhed their reaſons for aſſiſting the prince with troops and ſhipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifeſto, drawn up by the prince of *Orange*, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to *England*. Here he enumerated the grievances of the *Engliſh* nation, recapitulated the fruitleſs attempts which had been made for procuring redreſs, touched upon the ſuppoſed impoſture in the birth of the prince of *Wales*; and profeſſed his own and the princeſs's regard for the *Engliſh* nation, and for the liberties and the religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a meaſure which muſt unavoidably produce a rupture with *France*, the prince took his leave of the ſtates, and embarking on the 19th day of *October*, ſailed out a few leagues, when a ſtorm aroſe, which ſcattered the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapſed before they could reaſſemble at the place of rendezvous. A ſecond time the prince ſet ſail, had a favourable paſſage, arrived ſafe in *England*, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation [e]. *The prince of* Orange *arrives in* England.

THE ſucceſs of this expedition extremely embarraſſed the court of *Verſailles*. *Lewis* had already laid an embargo upon all the *Dutch* ſhipping in his ports, by which he violated an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, framed expreſly for the mutual ſecurity of the commerce of *France* and *Holland*. What

[e] Ibid. cap. 19. LE CLERC, p. 184.

A. D. 1689. was ſtill a greater violation of the laws of nations, the ſhips crews were forced by threats to enter into the king's ſervice, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, *Lewis* urged the reſolution ſaid to be paſſed in the ſtates to prohibit the importation of *French* manufactures, though his majeſty had by an edict expreſsly forbid the importation into his dominions of *Dutch* herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hoſtilities in *Germany*, and the Dauphin commanded in perſon at the ſiege of *Philipſburgh*. It was not the intereſt of *Lewis* to multiply his enemies; but he ſaw that the prince of *Orange*'s ſucceſs in *England* would neceſſarily engage the *Dutch* to enter into the confederacy againſt him: it was therefore his buſineſs to anticipate their deſigns, and attack them before they could be aſſiſted by the prince of *Orange*, and probably by the whole ſtrength of the *Engliſh* nation. With this view he declared war againſt the republic, on pretence that their high mightineſſes manifeſted, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppoſe the elevation of the cardinal *Furſtenberg* to the electorate of *Cologne*. It was no ſurpriſe to the ſtates to ſee this declaration; it was expected, and ſoon anſwered by a counter-declaration, in which the aſſertion of the *French* monarch was refuted, and all the incroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppreſſions committed by the court of *Verſailles* ſince the peace of *Nimeguen*, were clearly enumerated. They demonſtrated, that ambition, and the luſt of conqueſt, were the cauſes of the invaſion of the provinces in the year 1672: that neceſſity alone, and the valour of the prince of *Orange*, had forced *Lewis* to make peace with the republic in 1678, only to recover freſh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve *Europe* again in the flames of war, from which however, if he attended to his real intereſt, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the *Dutch* commerce with every kind of impoſition, and had actually put an entire ſtop to ſome branches of trade, expreſsly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could diſplay in ſtronger colours his arrogance and injuſtice, than his ſeizing all the *Dutch* ſhips in his ports, and obliging the mariners to ſerve in his navy, without any other ſhadow of excuſe for ſo flagrant a violence, than the republic's charging *French* commodities with the ſame incumbrances to which their own were ſubjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed, that

The king of France *declares war againſt the republic.*

The Dutch *anſwer the declaration.*

that all his aſſurances, by ſolemn embaſſies, were only ſnares to lull the neighbouring ſtates into ſecurity; his treaties of peace, neceſſary ſteps towards renewing the war; his word, his honour, and his faith, proſtituted to the purpoſes of ambition, and the rage of conqueſt: in a word, that his whole conduct was a ſeries of ſhuffling, tergiverſation, tyranny, oppreſſion, and perfidy.

NOTHING could be more keen, animated, and ſarcaſtic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The ſtates were ſenſible they could expect no favour from *Lewis*, and they determined to rouſe the ſpirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the artifices of the *French* monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince *Waldek*, and compoſed of the troops of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Heſſe Caſſel*, and other *German* ſtates, joined to the forces of the republic. They were oppoſed by the marſhal *de Humieres*, and both armies were encamped on oppoſite banks of the *Sambre*. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was conſtantly declined by the marſhal, who was ſtrongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a diſadvantage.

THE whole preceding year was conſumed in preparations, encampments, ſtratagems, and endeavours to bring on a deciſive action. *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Savoy*, now declared againſt *France*; but *Lewis* had ſent ſuch numerous armies into the field as were ſufficient to make head againſt all his enemies. His ſtrength ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never ſo formidable as when he combated ſingly more than half the powers of *Europe*. *Luxemburgh* ſucceeded *de Humieres* in the command, and *Waldek* ſoon experienced, in the plains of *Fleuris*, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illuſtrious *Condé*. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict, about ſix thouſand priſoners were made, all the cannon taken, and prince *Waldek* reduced to the neceſſity of acting defenſively for the remainder of the campaign [f].

A. D. 1690. *The battle of* Fleuris.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* were defeated at *Fleuris*, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince *Waldek* performed all that could be expected from conſummate abilities. *Luxemburgh* did juſtice to both, and confeſſed that never was victory more obſtinately conteſted, or a retreat more formidable than that of the *Dutch* infantry,

[f] LE CLERC, p. 138.

who were exalted above the *Spaniſh* infantry at *Rocroi*. It was now the endeavour of the ſtates to reinforce their army with all poſſible expedition, and to reſtore the ſpirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A ſum of money was diſtributed among the infantry, and the higheſt praiſes were beſtowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had ſuffered moſt were relieved by freſh troops drawn out of garriſon, the elector of *Brandenburgh* with a body of forces joined the army, and ſuch vigorous meaſures were taken as prevented *Luxemburgh*'s drawing any advantage from his victory.

ENGLAND and *Holland* were now united in the ſtricteſt bonds of alliance, though the diſturbances in *Ireland* prevented king *William* from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great ſcheme propoſed of humbling *Lewis*, it was neceſſary firſt to eſtabliſh himſelf firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate *James* of ever recovering his dominions. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* fleets were lying at *St. Helen's*, when advice arrived that the *French* ſquadron had entered the Channel. On the 23d of *July* the admirals weighed, having expreſs orders to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great inferiority. In all, the *French* fleet amounted to 119 ſail, 80 of which were of the line, while the combined ſquadrons did not exceed 56 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates. The van was led by the *Dutch* ſquadron, formed into three diviſions, under the admirals *Evertzen*, *Callenberg*, and *Vander Putten*. Lord *Torrington*, the *Engliſh* admiral, commanded in the center. Off *Beachy* they came up with the enemy, and the *Dutch* began the engagement with the *French* van, led by the famous *Chatau Renaud*, who ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at laſt put in diſorder, after a ſharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however ſupported by another diviſion of the *French* ſquadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmoſt vigour. As the *Engliſh* diviſion lay at a conſiderable diſtance, the *Hollanders* were ſurrounded. *Torrington* endeavoured to extricate them, but with ſo much caution, that, perceiving their ſafety depended upon their own courage, the *Dutch* made one violent effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loſs ſuſtained, that the *Dutch* ſuſtained the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ſhips were ſunk, and an equal number ſtranded on the coaſt of *Suſſex*, to which they ſet fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Beſides, they had ſeveral gallant officers killed, particularly the rear-admi-

A ſea-fight, in which the Dutch *are roughly handled.*

rals *Dick* and *Brockel*, and captain *Nordet*, with a multitude of inferior officers and ſeamen. Next day the *French* came up with captain *Varden Yves*, in a ſixty gun ſhip, diſabled by the loſs of her maſts in the preceding action, and took him after a deſperate reſiſtance. In a word, it was univerſally acknowledged, that the *Hollanders* fought with the utmoſt ſkill and intrepidity, and that had they been properly ſeconded, the enemy muſt have yielded the victory. So ſenſible were the ſtates of the gallant behaviour of the admirals, that they received them with the higheſt reſpect, continued them in the command, and iſſued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all poſſible diſpatch; yet was it ſome mortification to ſee two ſtates who had lately diſputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upſtart maritime power, reared in the ſpace of a few years, by the care, vigilance, and genius of *Colbert* [h].

It was now expected the war on the continent would aſſume a favourable aſpect. King *William*, by the battle of *Boyne*, had defeated the deſigns of the *French* monarch and the unfortunate king *James* in *Ireland*. He croſſed the ſeas to preſide at the congreſs at the *Hague*, the moſt ſplendid and numerous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the *Hague* was magnificent; his arrival diffuſed vigour through the provinces; he was conſidered as the head of the league forming againſt *Lewis* for the defence of public liberty; and the perſonal qualities of the prince of *Orange* received additional luſtre from the *Britiſh* diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the ſtates, to whom he paid his firſt compliments. In a ſtudied ſpeech, his majeſty acquainted them with the ſucceſs of his endeavours to ſecure the liberty and religion of the people of *Great Britain*, with the ſtate of affairs in *Ireland*, and with his reſolution now to oppoſe in perſon all the enemies of the republic, to proſecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole ſtrength of his new dominions in curbing the inſolence of *France*, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and ſolid peace for *Europe*.

King William *preſides at the grand conſreſs at the* Hague.

Having diſpatched matters with the ſtates general, the ſtates of *Holland*, and the council of ſtate, *William*, in the next place, turned his attention to the buſineſs of the congreſs, which was compoſed of a great number of ſovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a

[h] Suite de Neuville, cap. vi. tom. ii.

laboured, ſpirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. He demonſtrated, that the intereſts of every individual concerned in the league were comprized in the ſucceſs of the confederacy: he enlarged on the power of the enemy, the daring ambition of *Lewis*, the number of his forces, and the ability of his generals, trained up under *Turenne* and *Conde*, the great maſters of the military art. In the preſent circumſtances, action was more requiſite than deliberation. All the principal fortreſſes, which formed the barrier of liberty, were poſſeſſed by the enemy, who would ſoon like a torrent overrun *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, if they were not checked by the moſt ſpirited efforts. Diviſions, dilatory proceedings, or a failure of engagements, would prove equally fatal: it was in vain to oppoſe fruitleſs complaints, or unprofitable remonſtrances, againſt injuſtice; the ſword alone was the adequate protector of innocence, and avenger of wrongs. Neither the reſolutions of a barren diet, nor the airy hope of ſanguine perſons, built on a chimerical foundation, but ſoldiers, action, courage, conduct, and unanimity, could withſtand the proud elated *Lewis*. He concluded, that, for his own part, he would exert his utmoſt credit, employ his forces, expend his whole revenue, and hazard his perſon, in reſcuing the liberties of *Europe* out of the hands of an inſolent oppreſſor; and he doubted not but the Almighty would proſper his endeavours, if ſeconded by the ſame reſolutions in all the other allies. Upon this the congreſs proceeded to adjuſt the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furniſh. The whole exceeded two hundred thouſand men, of whom the republic ſent thirty-five thouſand. Next the operations of the campaign were concerted, every article of the alliance was fully explained, the conditions upon which peace would be accepted clearly determined, and the whole confederacy formed agreeable to that plan which *William* had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of *Orange* and ſtadtholder of *Holland* [c].

A. D. 1691. WHILE *William* was thus exerting himſelf to cement a powerful alliance againſt *France*, while he was performing every function of a great monarch, an able politician, and ſtaunch aſſerter of liberty, the *French* monarch, perceiving he ſhould be deprived of the advantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous meaſures for continuing the courſe of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the confederates, and produce thoſe ſolid benefits which he propoſed, by making his chief puſh on the ſide

[c] Id. ibid.

of

of the *Netherlands*. He hoped to diſconcert all the projects of his enemies by ſtriking ſome ſignal blow, which ſhould decide the fate of the war, before the allies could be ready to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations, and the diſſentions which would probably ariſe in ſo heterogeneous a league, compoſed of ſuch a variety of members, connected only, as he imagined, by one tie, that of their general animoſity to *France*. His deſign was to attack *Mons*, and thereby open the gates of *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp*, and *Liege*. In a word, he perceived, that as yet the allies had neither troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty ſchemes; and it was upon theſe circumſtances he founded his ſanguine expectations. Beſides, *Lewis* had prodigious magazines upon the frontiers; and his army was cantoned in ſuch a manner as to be aſſembled at the ſhorteſt notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to ſhake the credit of king *William*, and detaching from the confederacy ſome of the allies, by ſhewing them that the perſon they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this view that the *French* troops were put in motion in the month of *February*, and that *Mons* was inveſted, before the allies had thought of taking the field. All *William*'s endeavours could not relieve the beſieged: they ſurrendered, and *Lewis* thus ſhewed his contempt of the grand confederacy. A medal was ſtruck at *Paris*, repreſenting a town beſieged, with an army looking on, and the following explanatory inſcription, *Amat victoria teſtes*; alluding to king *William*, who lay with his whole army, at *Hall*, a ſpectator of *Luxemburg*'s triumph. Scarce any thing further was attempted during the campaign. *Lewis* returned to *Paris*, and *William* ſet out for *England*.

Diſputes between Denmark and Holland.

NOTWITHSTANDING it was the mutual intereſt of *Denmark* and the republic to live on terms of amity, a variety of cauſes aroſe to diſturb their friendſhip, and produce a rupture. *Denmark*, ſenſible that ſhe commanded the trade of the *Baltic*, by means of the *Sound*, frequently made uſe of that circumſtance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and contrary to the faith of treaties, impoſed new duties upon all merchandize paſſing through the *Sound*. The cuſtoms paid by *Dutch* veſſels was rated by treaty; but this did not ſatisfy the *Daniſh* monarch. Without giving the ſtates any previous intimation, he demanded an additional duty; and being refuſed, he ſeized upon twenty-four merchant-men in the port of *Copenhagen*. So groſs a violation of all the treaties ſubſiſting alarmed the *Dutch*: they ſent an ambaſſador to *Denmark*, and his ſpirited remonſtrances brought the northern monarch

to reaſon. Conferences were held, the *Dutch* ſhips reſtored, the quarrel was compromiſed, and the trade of the provinces eſtabliſhed upon the uſual footing [a].

A. D. 1692. THIS year *William*, as chief of the confederates, ſuſtained freſh mortifications. In the preceding campaign he was an eye-witneſs to the glorious triumph of *Lewis*, in the reduction of *Mons*. It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to *Luxemburg*; by the fruitleſs attempts he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raiſe the ſiege of *Namur*. The loſs of this city, and of the bloody battle that enſued at *Steinkirk*, though they defaced nothing from the reputation of the king of *Great Britain*, proved extremely irkſome to the ſtates general, who beheld the *Netherlands* gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in deſpite of their utmoſt efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the *Spaniſh* provinces, obliged *William* to decline the offer of them made by *Spain*, and recommend the elector of *Bavaria* to the government, which however proved but a faint ſecurity. To preſerve the reſidue of the *Netherlands* under the dominion of *Spain*, and prevent the exorbitant growth of *France*, by the addition of the ten provinces, was evidently the object of the grand alliance. Hitherto all attempts to regain what had been loſt proved fruitleſs. *France* was every day adding to her conqueſts: it was neceſſary therefore to redouble the efforts to oppoſe her. All the powers engaged in the confederacy were ſenſible of the neceſſity of the moſt vigorous meaſures; but they ſhifted the burthen from their own ſhoulders. The emperor's favourite point was the making conqueſts on the ſide of *Hungary*: the *German* princes, neareſt danger, could act only under the protection of the whole empire; and thoſe more remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable conſideration. The *Swiſs* cantons ſtudied only to convert their neutrality to the beſt advantage. *Spain* ſeemed declined in the uſe of all her faculties: her uſual ſtrength and vigour were vaniſhed, and ſhe relied intirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and ſecurity; *England* and *Holland*, indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all deficiencies; and *William* blended indiſcriminately the duties of a *Britiſh* monarch and a *Dutch* ſtadtholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abſtract himſelf from the affairs of the continent: as the ſtadtholder of *Holland*, he was immediately intereſted in checking the progreſs of *Lewis*'s conqueſts. But, unfortunately for his new ſubjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation,

State of affairs in the Netherlands.

[a] Suite de Hiſt. de NEUVILLE, cap. xiii. l. ii.

and

and the fundamental neceſſary intereſt of the other, in the ſafety of the *Netherlands*. *Great Britain* contributed perhaps more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that iſland expect an additional foot of territory by the moſt fortunate iſſue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the foundation of that enormous ſtructure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*.

THE *French* king did not confine himſelf to the efforts made by his generals in *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and *Italy*. He projected a ſcheme which would have proved deciſive, had it ſucceeded. This was a deſcent upon *England*, the meaſures for which had been ſo admirably concerted, that king *James* looked upon himſelf as already reſtored to his throne. As *Lewis* made no ſecret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of *England*, regent in the king's abſence, to fruſtrate its effects; and the ſtates-general heartily co-operated with her majeſty, ordering a powerful ſquadron immediately to join the *Engliſh* admiral, though they yet ſmarted under the ſevere blow received in the laſt ſea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight ſail, near double the number of *Tourville*'s ſquadron, who was then waiting at *La Hogue* for the *Toulon* ſquadron, commanded by M. *d'Etree*. To the poſitive orders received from the *French* court to fight the *Engliſh*, before they ſhould be joined by the *Dutch* fleet, may be attributed the miſcarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwiſe have at leaſt anſwered *Lewis*'s purpoſe of making a powerful diverſion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of *England* and *Holland* had not yet taken place, *Tourville* ſet ſail, and encountered the enemy off *Cape Barfleur* on the twenty-ninth of *May*. The allies were deſcried in three diviſions; admiral *Allemonde*, with the *Dutch* ſhips, leading the van; admiral *Ruſſel*, with the *Engliſh* red ſquadron, compoſing the center; and Sir *John Aſhly*, with the blue *Engliſh* ſquadron, being ſtationed in the rear. The engagement began between *d'Amfreville*, who led the *French* van, and *Allemonde*. The former bore down upon the *Dutch*, and made a very briſk attack, which was ſuſtained with unſhaken firmneſs. *Tourville* engaged the red ſquadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear diviſions of both ſides came up to ſupport the centers, by which the battle became general, as far as the ſituation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm, that enſued, prevented *Ruſſel*'s cloſing the line. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt vigour and impetuoſity for ſome hours, until ſo thick a fog aroſe as obliged the combatants to ſeparate. This receſs was, however, but of ſhort duration: the

The French fleet defeated.

the fog was diſpelled, and *Tourville* was ſeen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himſelf unequal. Rear-admiral *Shovel* had the addreſs to gain the windward, and ſeparate *Tourville's* diviſion from the ſquadron deſtined to ſupport him under *Pannatier*; by which the engagement was again renewed, and the *French* admiral incloſed between two fires. Never did *French* valour appear more conſpicuous: after incredible efforts, *Tourville* broke through the enemy, and eſcaped a purſuit by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of night. The fleets, however, were ſo ſcattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for *La Hogue*; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day ſome of the diviſions on both ſides came to an action, in which the *French* were worſted. Several other rencounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, *Tourville's* ſquadron was intirely defeated and diſperſed; and by the deſtruction of ſixteen capital ſhips, including thoſe burnt in *La Hogue* by *Rooke* and *Allemonde*, a fatal blow was given to the marine of *France*, and the deſcent on *England* wholly fruſtrated. Cenſure is the inſeparable attendant on diſappointment. *Tourville* was blamed by the *French* for engaging raſhly. The *Engliſh* nation, who expected, from their great ſuperiority, to ſee the *French* fleet brought in triumph into the river *Thames*, did not refrain from aſperſing the character of *Allemonde* and the *Dutch* officers. They in their turn recriminated; and had even the boldneſs to aſſert, that admiral *Carter* [b], a gallant *Engliſh* officer who loſt his life in the engagement, was corrupted. They even threw reflections upon *Ruſſel's* conduct, and highly blamed his diſpoſition and tardineſs in cloſing with *Tourville*, after the *Dutch* were engaged with the enemy's van. Theſe, however, are the ſuggeſtions of prejudice and paſſion. Facts evince that both admirals behaved with the utmoſt gallantry. The ſtates did juſtice to the valour and conduct of *Allemonde*; *Ruſſel* became the darling of the *Engliſh* nation; and poſterity muſt confeſs, that *Tourville* performed every duty of a brave and able ſeaman, who had received expreſs orders to fight, againſt his own judgment.

A. D. 1693. THOUGH the marine of *France* languiſhed, in conſequence of the fatal defeat at *La Hogue*, *Lewis* made the moſt ſpirited efforts to reſtore its ſtrength and vigour. Animated by diſap-

[b] Id. ibid. VOLTAIRE Siecle, t. i. SMOLLET, RALPH, and the Engliſh Hiſtorians.

point-

pointment, that monarch, fruitful in reſources, ordered all the ſhips in his ports to be equipped. All hands were ſet to work in building new veſſels. So much buſineſs was carried on in the docks, that a ſpectator would have imagined the whole attention of the adminiſtration was employed in repairing the navy, and putting the fleet in a reſpectable poſture. Before the month of *June*, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with perſons who had ſcarce ever beheld a ſhip, put to ſea under *Tourville*, who was kept in the command, notwithſtanding the *French* nation was exaſperated at his conduct in the laſt action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* merchantmen, outward-bound for *Spain* and *Portugal*. Sir *George Rooke* and rear-admiral *Vandergoes* were appointed to eſcort this fleet, with a ſquadron compoſed of thirteen *Engliſh* and eight *Dutch* men of war. On the twenty-third, turning *Cape Vincent*, they deſcried the *French* ſquadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadſides with the enemy, after which they ſlackened ſail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented *Tourville's* coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuſe to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a proſpect of being ſupported. For four days the two fleets were in ſight, without coming to an action: at laſt an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which *Tourville* embraced with great alacrity. His great ſuperiority rendered the event almoſt certain; and Sir *George Rooke* was ſo ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſaving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmoſt diverſion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline battle, and make the firſt harbours he could on the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. The enemy, however, came up with the ſternmoſt ſhips, where they were gallantly received by three *Dutch* men of war, who fought with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and for ſome time employed the whole ſtrength of the *French* admiral. After they were ſurrounded, they obſtinately refuſed to ſtrike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy had got into the ports of *Cadiz* and *Gibraltar*. At laſt the *Dutch* ſhips were taken, and with them about thirty merchantmen; moſt of which *Tourville* either burnt or ſunk, after taking out their cargoes. *Tourville* is juſtly cenſured for not dividing his ſtrength, by which he could have prevented the poſſibility of an eſcape; and Sir *George Rooke* is perhaps no leſs blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant-fleet an opportunity of eſcaping. Both the *French* and confederates were diſpleaſed; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part ſhould have fallen into

The French deſtroy a number of Engliſh *and* Dutch *merchant-ſhips.*

into the hands of the enemy. *Tourville*, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*; but ſuch prudent meaſures had been taken, as diſconcerted his project. He had no better ſucceſs in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ſhips out of the bay of *Gibraltar*. Two frigates and ſeveral armed boats were employed in this enterprize; but the gallantry of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and ſent fireſhips among the enemy, by which means ſeven *Daniſh*, four *Engliſh*, two *Genoeſe*, and ſix *Dutch* merchantmen were deſtroyed. Thus ended an expedition, unfortunate indeed to the allies, as well as to ſome neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to *France*.

MEAN time the campaign in *Flanders* went on with great vigour. The battle of *Landen* was loſt by the allies, and the king of *England*'s reputation was ſomewhat diminiſhed for not avoiding an action, in circumſtances when even a victory could have produced no ſolid advantage, and he could ſcarcely hope not to be defeated. *France* magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their diſgrace. *Charleroi* ſurrendered to *Luxemburg*, and this was almoſt the only fruit of a victory dearly purchaſed, and highly celebrated. The *French* general's addreſs in improving every advantage, and the king of *England*'s alertneſs in repairing an error, acquired both immortal honour. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the ſtates-general, began to complain of the conduct of the *Swiſs* cantons, who had engaged to obſerve an exact neutrality. The reduction of *Namur*, and the victories at *Steinkirk* and *Neerwinde* or *Landen*, were attributed to the valour of their troops in the ſervice of *France*. The ſtates alledged, that hiring out their forces to *Lewis* was contrary to the neutrality they profeſſed, and an actual hoſtility againſt the allies. Beſides, by the treaty of *Milan*, the cantons engaged that their troops in the *French* pay ſhould only be employed in the defence of towns, of which *Lewis* was poſſeſſed in the year 1663. In conſideration of this, *Spain* and the empire had paid them a ſubſidy, which was doubled at the approach of the preſent war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offenſively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of *Swiſs* infantry, who had fought with the ſame deſperate fury and animoſity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* now joined the ſtates-general, in remonſtrances upon this proceeding ſo contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of ſolemn engagements. The moſt ſpirited memorials were preſented and diſregarded.

Altercation between the Swiſs *cantons and the allies.*

The

The emperor and Catholic king expreſſed their reſentment, not only by ſtopping the ſubſidies, but by cutting off all communication between *Switzerland* and their *Italian* dominions. In particular, they forbad their ſubjects to ſell corn to the *Swiſs*, which, upon account of the ſcarcity then reigning in *France*, put the cantons to great neceſſity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with *Lewis*, who buoyed them up with lofty promiſes, and encouraged them by ſome real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of *Spain* and the empire, and to the deputies of *Holland*, that they would lay themſelves under no reſtraint, though at the ſame time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At laſt the affair was diſcuſſed at a diet at *Baden*. Expedients were propoſed; but they proved inſufficient and unſatisfactory to all parties. Yet the interpoſition of the Proteſtant cantons, and the reſolution formed by ſeveral of the Catholic diviſions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of *Spain* to remove the prohibition reſpecting grain, and again to open the communication between *Switzerland* and their dominions [a].

WHILE the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over ſome of the beſt troops in the *French* army, an occaſional congreſs ſat at *Cologn*, compoſed of ambaſſadors from *England*, *Holland*, the emperor, the electors of *Treves*, *Cologn*, *Brandenburg*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and biſhop of *Munſter*. The deſign of this congreſs was to reconcile all the jarring intereſts of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous ſteps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions aroſe about the chief command of the army on the *Rhine*, which could not fail of prejudicing the intereſt of the confederacy, and proving as ſerviceable to *France* as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was *France* more fortunate in this particular than ſucceſsful in the intrigues carried on at the *Porte*, to retard the pacification in treaty between the emperor and the Grand Signior. Such influence and credit had the *French* ambaſſador acquired in the divan, that *Heemſkirk*, the *Dutch* envoy, could neither obtain an audience, nor an anſwer to the propoſals which he had delivered in writing to the vizier. It is true, he was treated with great reſpect, and the denial of his requeſt palliated by apologies and pretences of the neceſſity of waiting until the arrival of

The Dutch *envoy is refuſed an audience at* Conſtantinople.

[a] Suite de Hiſt. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 8.

lord

Freſh diſputes between Denmark *and* Holland.

fairs of commerce. The opportunity for renewing the old diſputes about the duties of the *Sound* was favourable. His *Daniſh* majeſty, therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or the neutrality profeſſed, began firſt to intimate his intentions, by avowedly aſſiſting the *French* monarch. In this the *Swedes* concurred with him; both had carried on a prodigious commerce with *France* during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom for corn, naval ſtores, and all the commodities of the North. At this the allies connived, while there remained hopes of inducing thoſe powers to accede to the confederacy. So far *England* and the allies in general were concerned; but *Holland* had complaints of a private nature, in which the *Dutch* commerce alone was intereſted. His *Daniſh* majeſty had ordered the antient duties of the *Sound* to be exacted from all *Dutch* ſhipping, and on their refuſal, they were ſeized and brought to *Copenhagen*. Theſe concurring circumſtances determined the ſtates to come to extremities, and the king of *England* joined iſſue with them about the expediency of making reprizals, and puniſhing the northern powers for a breach of treaty and profeſſed neutrality. It was reſolved to make both the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* ſenſible, that notwithſtanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important war, they had ſtrength and courage enough to reſent the inſults of neutral ſtates. Accordingly the commanders of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war and privateers had inſtructions to ſtop, examine, and ſeize all *Daniſh* or *Swediſh* ſhipping bound to *French* ports, or laden with ſuch commodities as ſeemed deſtined for the markets of that kingdom. The orders were punctually obſerved; ſeveral ſhips were taken, but none condemned, as the experiment was made, only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to an open rupture. The *Dutch* went farther. They ſtopped in different ports of *Holland* to the amount of twenty-four *Daniſh* ſhips, of which they gave notice to the *Daniſh* envoy, declaring they ſhould be detained, until reſtitution was made of the *Dutch* ſhips at *Copenhagen*, and the owners amply indemnified for all the loſſes they might have ſuſtained by their detention. A conduct ſo ſpirited ſoon produced the expected effect. *Sweden* not only avoided making repriſals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling the king of *Denmark* and the republic. In conſequence the ſhips were mutually reſtored, the treaties concerning the duties of the *Sound* renewed, and all things placed on the former footing[a].

[a] Le Clerc, p. 142.

In

In general the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies, than any of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was loſt, and the *French* king ſuffered more by the death of Marſhal *Luxemburgh*, than if half his army had periſhed: beſides, the coaſts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the ſquadrons of *England* and *Holland*. By this means a great number of troops were kept ſtationed towards the coaſts, and a conſiderable revulſion was made from that ſtrength which *Lewis* would otherwiſe have exerted in the *Netherlands*. *Breſt* was bombarded by the combined fleets; *Dieppe* afterwards met with the ſame fate, and more than half the town was laid in aſhes; adverſe winds probably ſaved it from total deſtruction. Having finiſhed this buſineſs, the allied fleet proceeded to *Havre de Grace*, where they began bombarding with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their ſtation, the citadel almoſt demoliſhed; in a word, an univerſal panic ſeized the inhabitants of the coaſt, the innocent induſtrious ſubjects were puniſhed for the ambition of the ſovereign, and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the moſt barbarous.

Sea fight between the French *and* Dutch *fleets.*

While the grand armament was thus employed in deſolating the enemy's country, a *Dutch* ſquadron of eight men of war, under the conduct of *Hidde de Vries*, fell in with the famous *du Bart*, and his ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the line and three frigates. The *Dutch* admiral had a conſiderable fleet under his convoy, and would if poſſible have declined an engagement; but *du Bart* purſued, overtook and attacked him between the *Meuſe* and the *Texel*. The diſpute proved obſtinate. *Du Bart* fought with his uſual intrepidity; he boarded *de Vries*, and tho' vigorouſly ſuſtained was repulſed with loſs. Had the *Dutch* captains ſupported their admiral, the *Frenchman* would have found himſelf roughly handled; but the terror of *du Bart*'s name kept them aloof, while *de Vries*, covered with wounds, was ſingly engaged. The event was unfortunate; he was taken priſoner, and great part of the merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the enemy (A).

On

(A) *Dutch* writers, to qualify the diſgrace reſulting from this defeat, endeavour to perſuade the world, that *du Bart*'s ſquadron was compoſed of large men of war; whereas it really com-

On the return of the ſquadron to *Holland*, all the captains were caſhiered, and the ſtates conſoled for their loſs by news from the *Eaſt-Indies*, that *Pondicherry* had ſurrendered to the governor-general of *Batavia*, with all the artillery, ſtores, and merchandize belonging to the *French* company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by ſea this ſeaſon. Beſides, the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved *Barcelona*, blocked up *Tourville*, and bombarded *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. *Dunkirk* had, for time immemorial, been the great rendezvous of privateers in every war. Even as far back as the reign of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, the commerce of the *Netherlands* was greatly diſturbed from this quarter, and frequent attempts had been made to deſtroy the town and harbour. It had ſucceſſively been in the hands of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Engliſh*; and *Lewis* found means to have it reſtored to him for a ſum of money, in the diſſolute reign of *Charles* II. The allies had long meditated an attack on *Dunkirk*, but it was always laid aſide on account of the hazard and difficulty of the enterprize. At laſt Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* ſet ſail from the *Downs* on the 14th of *September*, and arrived before the harbour with a ſquadron of thirteen *Engliſh* and ſix *Dutch* ſhips of the line, and a great number of frigates and bomb-ketches. The garriſon and inhabitants were greatly alarmed; they ſent to marſhal *Villeroy*, then at *Ypres*, upon the firſt appearance of the fleet, and he came to their aſſiſtance with two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons. *Shovel* was ambitious of aſpiring after glory, and eager to collect laurels; but all his endeavours were fruſtrated by the ſtrength of the place, and the vigilance of the garriſon. In ſhort, he returned, after having thrown the place into conſternation, and alarmed *Calais* by ſome bombs which he threw into the town.

Religious diſputes in Holland.

Towards the cloſe of this year, the theological controverſies that had ſo long diſturbed the provinces were now again revived. King *William*, before his acceſſion to the throne of *England*, had ſilenced ſome riſing diſputes, by his authority as ſtadtholder. He was now again forced to interpoſe, and it was at his requeſt that the ſtates of *Holland* and *Frieſeland* publiſhed an ordonnance on the 18th day of *September*, for

conſiſted of light, neat, clean built privateers (1). They likewiſe affirm that he was a *Dutchman* by birth, who, upon ſome diſcontent, retired into the *French* ſervice; but they do not vouch this fact by proper authorities.

(1) *Siecle*, t. i.

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the preſervation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, equally prudent and neceſſary, it was ordained that all doctors, profeſſors, and lecturers in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of *Holland* and *Frieſeland*, ſhould conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formulary contained in the catechiſm, confeſſion, and canons of the national ſynod of *Dordrecht*; and that they ſhould live in the utmoſt cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without diſpute, diſcuſſion, or controverſy upon points already ſettled by the church. That with reſpect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national ſynod, theſe they were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwiſe than was authorized by the ſcriptures, and the general ſenſe of the ſynod of *Dordrecht*. That they ſhould introduce into their writings, ſermons, lectures, or public courſes of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no diſputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines; in a word, they were ordered to abſtain from whatever could raiſe doubts, create ſchiſms or diviſions among the people; and if through inadvertence any of them ſhould have given room for diſputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the eſtabliſhed faith. All profeſſors were farther enjoined from encouraging their pupils to apply philoſophy to the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reaſoning to matters purely philoſophical, and not to examine by the light of reaſon, what was intended by the author of our being to exceed reaſon. Upon the whole, the paſtors of the church were fervently requeſted to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate ſobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordonnance had a good effect, and ſuppreſſed in the birth, controverſies which might in time have created much trouble to the government [b].

THE operations of the ſucceeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king *William*; but it ought to be remembered, that marechal *Luxemburg* was now dead, and the command of the army given to *Villeroi*, a general neither equal to the marechal in capacity nor experience. *Namur*, defended by *Bouffiers* at the head of a numerous garriſon, and covered by a formidable army, ſurrendered to king *William*; and the *French* king, in revenge, ordered *Bruſſels* to be bombarded [c]. A. I 169

[b] Suite de Hiſt. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 44. [c] Univer. Hiſt. vol. XXV.

This was followed by the bombardment of *Calais*, and ſome attempts upon other ſea-ports on the coaſt of *France*. But theſe ſucceſſes, though they inſpirited the allies, weakened *Lewis*, and drew the war nearer an iſſue, produced no immediate advantage. The ſtates-general had proſecuted the war with great vigour, in hope of obtaining ſuch a peace as would recompenſe the expence and trouble of ſupporting vaſt armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the laſt, and this encouraged the people to ſubmit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent diſappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly againſt meaſures calculated only to oppreſs the induſtrious ſubject, and ruin commerce. A new tax laid upon burials, by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, was highly reſented by the populace; though the intention was to aboliſh a pernicious cuſtom, that prevailed in almoſt all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feaſting, and rioting, upon occaſions where decency required the moſt ſolemn conduct and ſtrict temperance. No ſooner was the reſolution of the magiſtrates known, than ſome evil-diſpoſed perſons excited a popular tumult, by perſuading the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax muſt be buried with ſuch marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceaſed, and add inſult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increaſed. The whole rabble of *Amſterdam*, foreigners and natives, aſſembled to oppoſe the regulation; and there were not wanting ſeveral ſubſtantial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjuſt and iniquitous. The mob threatened to ſet fire to the city; all was in confuſion, ſhops were ſhut up, and every kind of buſineſs at a ſtand. It was difficult to apply remedies to ſo deſperate a diſeaſe: the military force in the city was inſufficient to diſperſe ſo vaſt a concourſe. The ſeditious were emboldened by the defenceleſs condition of the magiſtracy: they flew to the houſe of M. *Boreel*, one of the principal perſons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, deſtroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time captain *Spaarogge* had collected a body of ſoldiers, with which he haſtened to the defence of *Boreel*'s houſe. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with ſuch fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own houſe. Thither the mob purſued, deſtroyed all before them, and committed every violence of which an incenſed brutal populace is capable. Happily for *Amſterdam*, night came on before they could proceed to farther buſineſs:

Inſurrection at Amſterdam.

A. D. 1696.

this

this determined them to poſtpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had paſſed. By day-light placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax, which had given ſo much offence, ſhould not take place. Orders were likewiſe iſſued for all the burghers and ſoldiers to aſſemble under arms. Endeavours were alſo made to mount a few companies of horſe, which were compoſed of all the young gentlemen in the city, perſons of diſtinction in public offices, and rich merchants. Theſe precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from aſſembling, and attacking in a body the houſe of *Kirby*, the *Engliſh* conſul, who, they alledged, had ſuggeſted the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulſed with great vigour; upon which they turned their indignation againſt a *Jew*, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *rich Pinto*. To this reſolution *Amſterdam* probably owed its ſafety. In an inſtant the whole *Jewiſh* quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, amaſſed with indefatigable induſtry. To them the burghers joined themſelves, both marching in good order againſt the ſeditious, who, ſtruck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to diſperſe. Some were ſeized loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; which produced ſuch an effect, that in the ſpace of a few minutes the ſtreets were intirely cleared, and the city reſtored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought adviſeable to remove all cauſe of freſh inſurrections, and to annul the edict paſſed for levying the new impoſition. The whole affair ended with the publication of a great reward to whoever ſhould diſcover the authors of this ſedition. It was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that ſome perſons, who were enemies to the magiſtracy, had excited the people; but proofs never appeared to juſtify the ſuſpicion [d].

NOTHING conſiderable this year was performed in the *Netherlands*; and as to the naval operations, they were equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice, is the misfortune of a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward-bound from *Portugal*, which fell in with *du Bart*'s ſquadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred ſail, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largeſt ſhips, while the others were dealing deſtruction among the trading veſſels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themſelves vigorouſly, *The French ſucceſsful by ſea.*

[d] Suite de Hiſt. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 142.

but

but were at laſt overpowered, one only eſcaping. Scarce was the action finiſhed when the victorious *du Bart* deſcried a ſquadron of *Dutch* men of war, upon which he ſet fire to all his captures, after unloading the moſt valuable effects, and taking all the crews' priſoners, and made the beſt ſail he could out of the reach of danger.

ABOUT the cloſe of the year the duke of *Savoy* detached himſelf from the confederates, accepted of the terms propoſed by *Lewis*, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with *France*, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, which enabled *Lewis* to reinforce his army in the *Netherlands* with ſeveral regiments drawn from *Italy*. Probably this defection of an uſeful ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to liſten to the conditions propoſed by the *French* monarch, who declared that he had now ſuſtained a war ſingly againſt all *Europe*, for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, with no other view than to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Chriſtendom on a more ſolid baſis. The king of *England* ſaw the difficulties that would ariſe in procuring the ſupplies for continuing the war; the ſtates-general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces, againſt the burthen of taxes; both were ſenſible of the miſchiefs to be apprehended from *Poland* ſhould the *French* intereſt prevail at the enſuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger, that other powers might follow the example of *Savoy*, and ſtrike up a ſeparate peace. It became now a very ſerious queſtion, Whether the criſis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to ſheath the ſword? *France* appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went ſo far as to demand paſſports for M. *Callieres*, to go to *Holland* to lay the baſis of a general pacification.

Negotiations of peace.

WITH the king of *England*'s approbation the ſtates had granted the paſſports required, and M. *Dykeveldt* was appointed to confer with the ambaſſador. M. *Callieres* had been inſtructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, reſpecting the treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*. This M. *Dykeveldt* reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who tranſmitted it to the ſtates-general. After mature deliberation the ſtates declared, that as the *French* monarch had made the conceſſions required by the court of *Vienna*, matters were now in ſuch a ſituation, that, in concert with their allies, the offered mediation of *Sweden* might be accepted. A tranſcript of their reſolutions was ſent to the different courts of *Europe*; but it ſoon appeared, that neither the

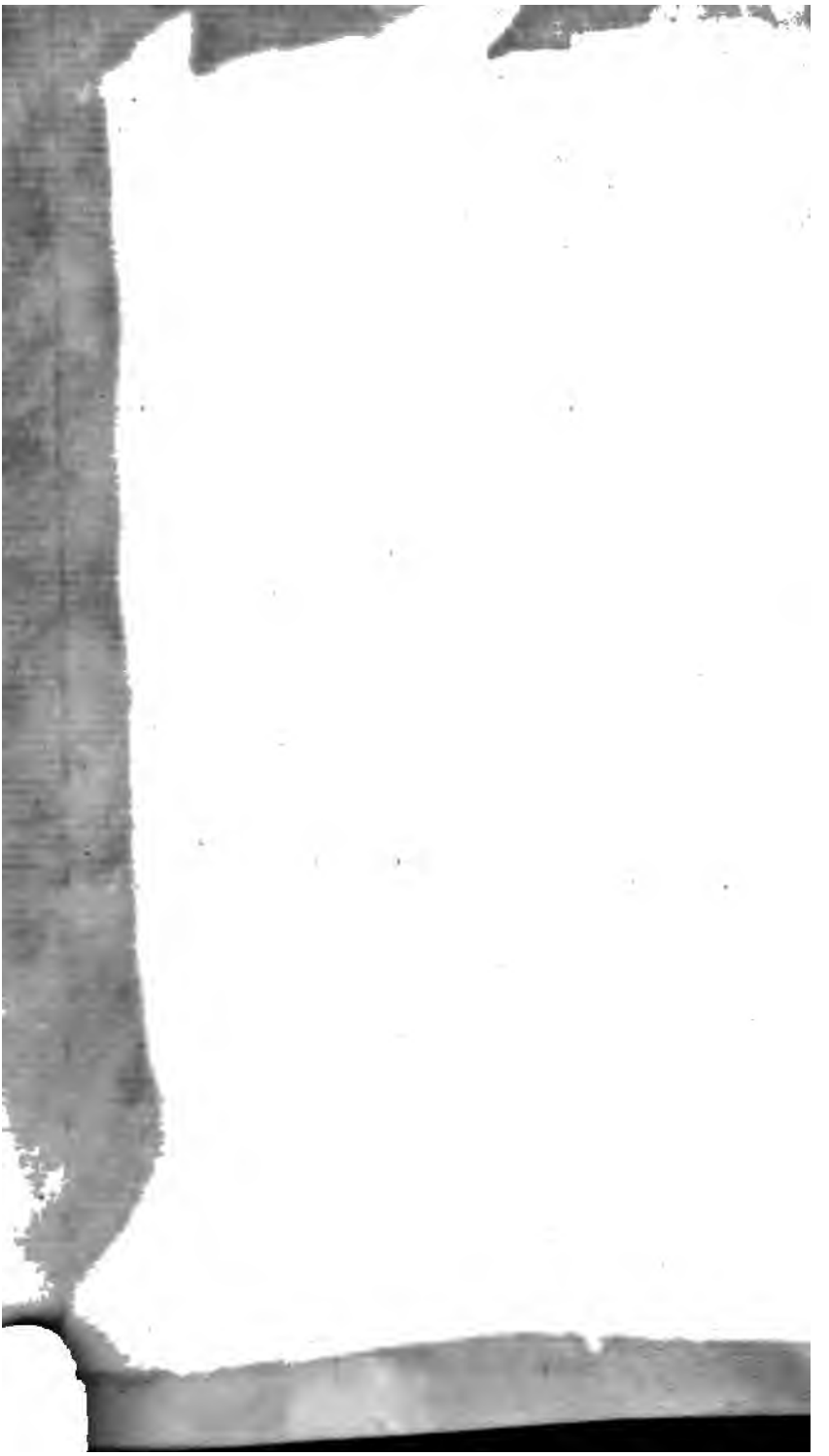
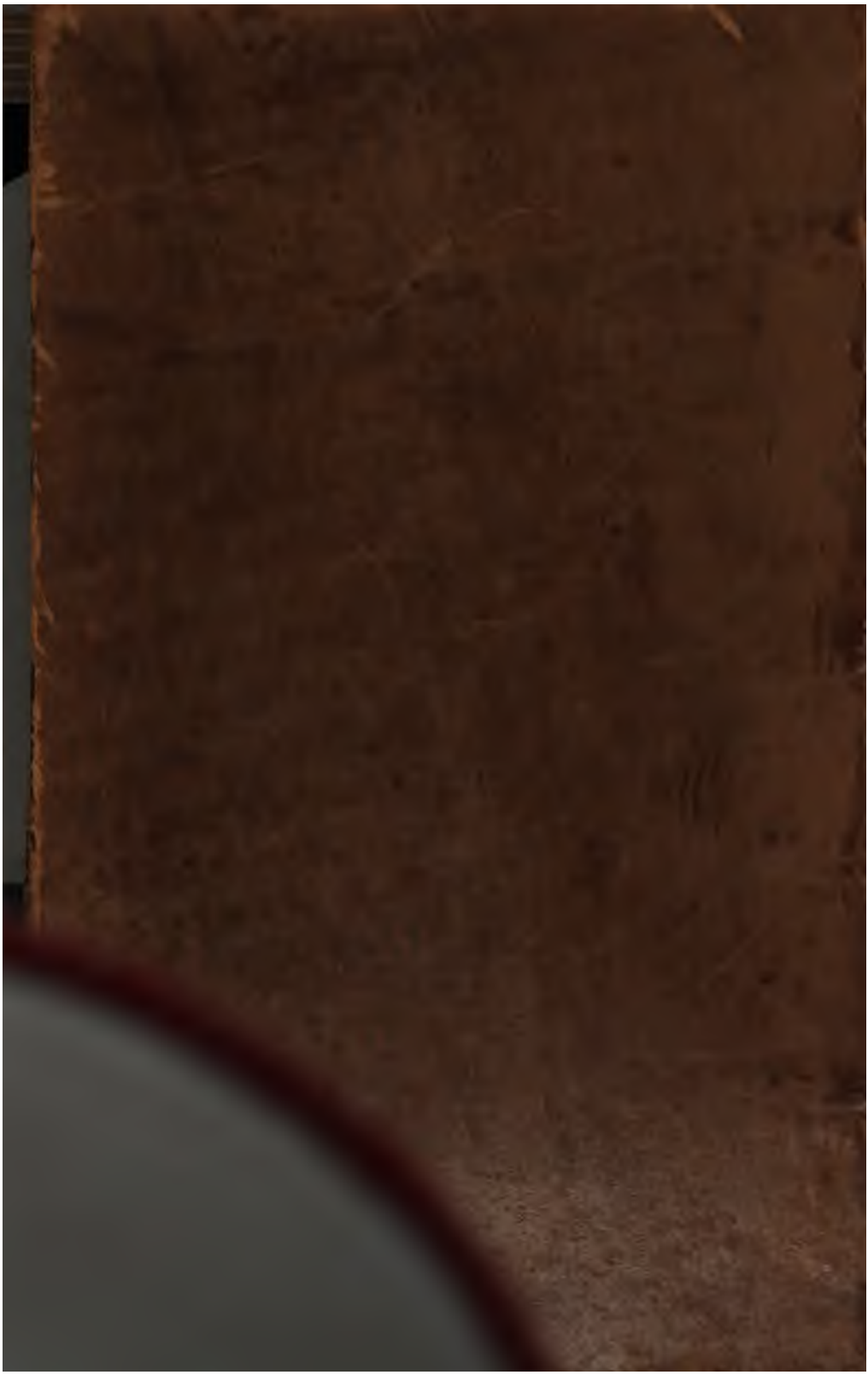
the emperor nor the Catholic king were ſatisfied that the conditions offered by *France* were either ſatisfactory or explicit. Yet were the *Spaniards* forced to ſign a treaty of neutrality for *Italy*, whereby *Lewis* was ſet at liberty to employ all his ſtrength in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

THIS was the ſituation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; yet did all the parties reſolve to treat ſword in hand. In the ſpring the uſual rivalſhip aroſe, who ſhould firſt commence hoſtilities; and the *Dutch* were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding: however, as the whole allied army was not aſſembled, no conſiderale enterprize was undertaken. The *French* would likewiſe ſeem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the maritime powers. This ſpring their cruizers had been extremely ſucceſsful. A ſmall ſquadron ſet ſail from *Dunkirk* in the month of *February*, encountered a fleet of *Dutch* and *Engliſh* merchantmen off *Oſtend*, and made prize of fourteen veſſels, moſt of which belonged to *Holland*. Three weeks after another fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, under the convoy of three men of war commanded by admiral *Waſſenaar*, fell in with a *French* ſquadron in the bay of *Biſcay*. The enemy were greatly ſuperior in ſtrength; but *Waſſenaar* fought with great gallantry, and defended himſelf until he was mortally wounded, and his ſhip ſhattered in pieces, when the next in command ſtruck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a ſhort reſiſtance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchantmen, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodities[*]. A. D. 1697.

THIS was the laſt act of hoſtility that paſſed between *France* and *Holland*. As early as the month of *February* all the allied powers, *Spain* excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of *Sweden*, which was accordingly notified in form to the *Swediſh* miniſter at the *Hague*. By the ninth day of *May* the congreſs was opened at *Ryſwick*, when *France* propoſed, by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen* ſhould form the baſis of the preſent negotiation; that *Straſburg* ſhould be reſtored to the emperor on the ſame condition as before the war; that *Luxemburg* ſhould be reſtored to *Spain*, together with *Mons*, *Charleroi*, and all the places in *Catalonia*, taken ſince the peace of *Nimeguen*; that the city and citadel of *Dunkirk* ſhould be ceded to the *Congreſs at Ryſwick.*

[*] Id. ibid.

biſhop

biſhop of *Liege*; that reſtitution ſhould be made to the other allies, of all conqueſts ſince the peace of *Nimeguen*; and that *Lorrain* ſhould be reſtored, agreeable to the conditions of the ſaid pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length ſigned, and peace reſtored to *Europe*, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and ſo unpopular in *France*, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for ſome time to appear in public. The reader will find them ſpecified in former parts of this work.

END *of the* THIRTY-FIRST VOLUME.